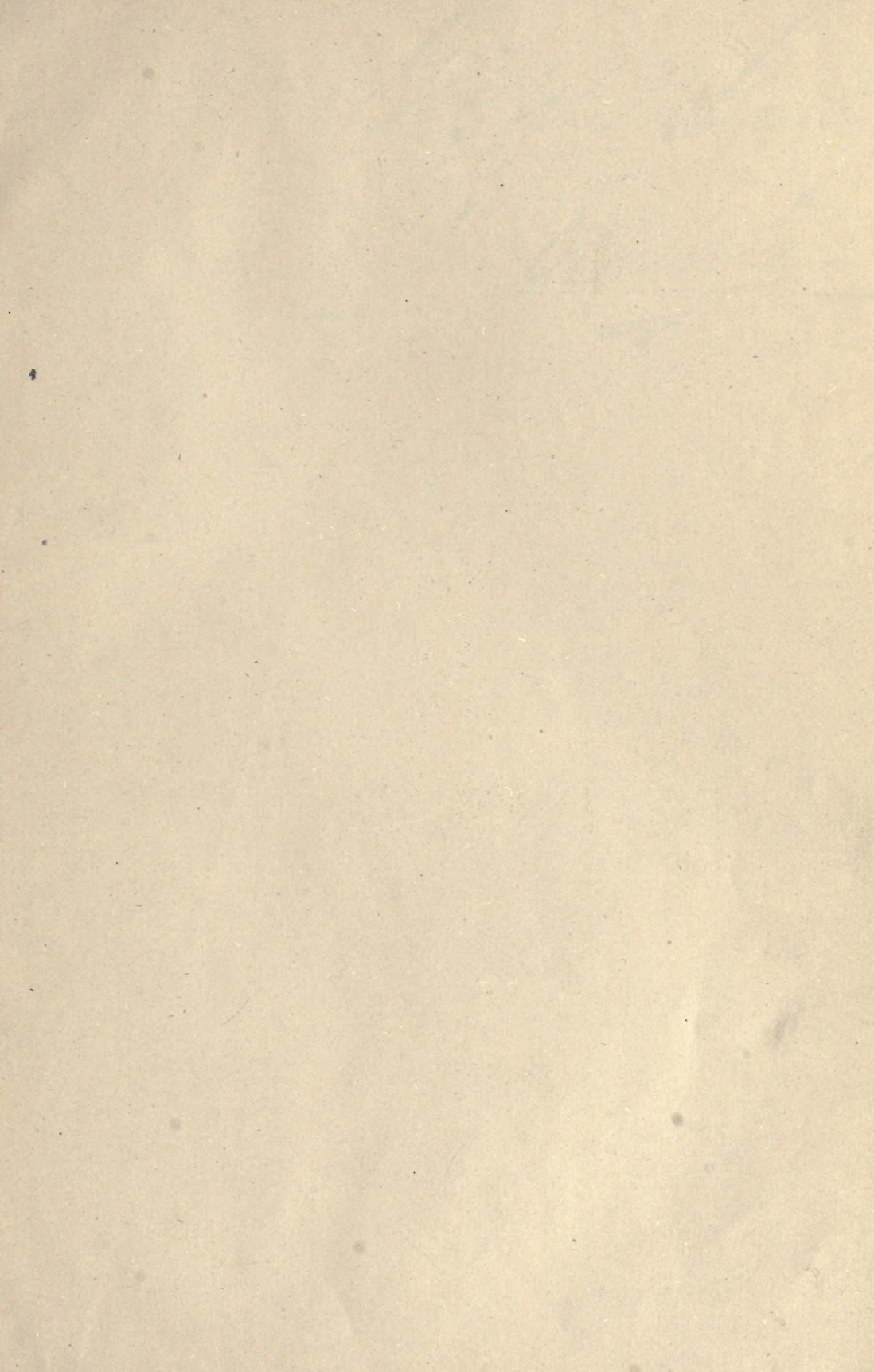


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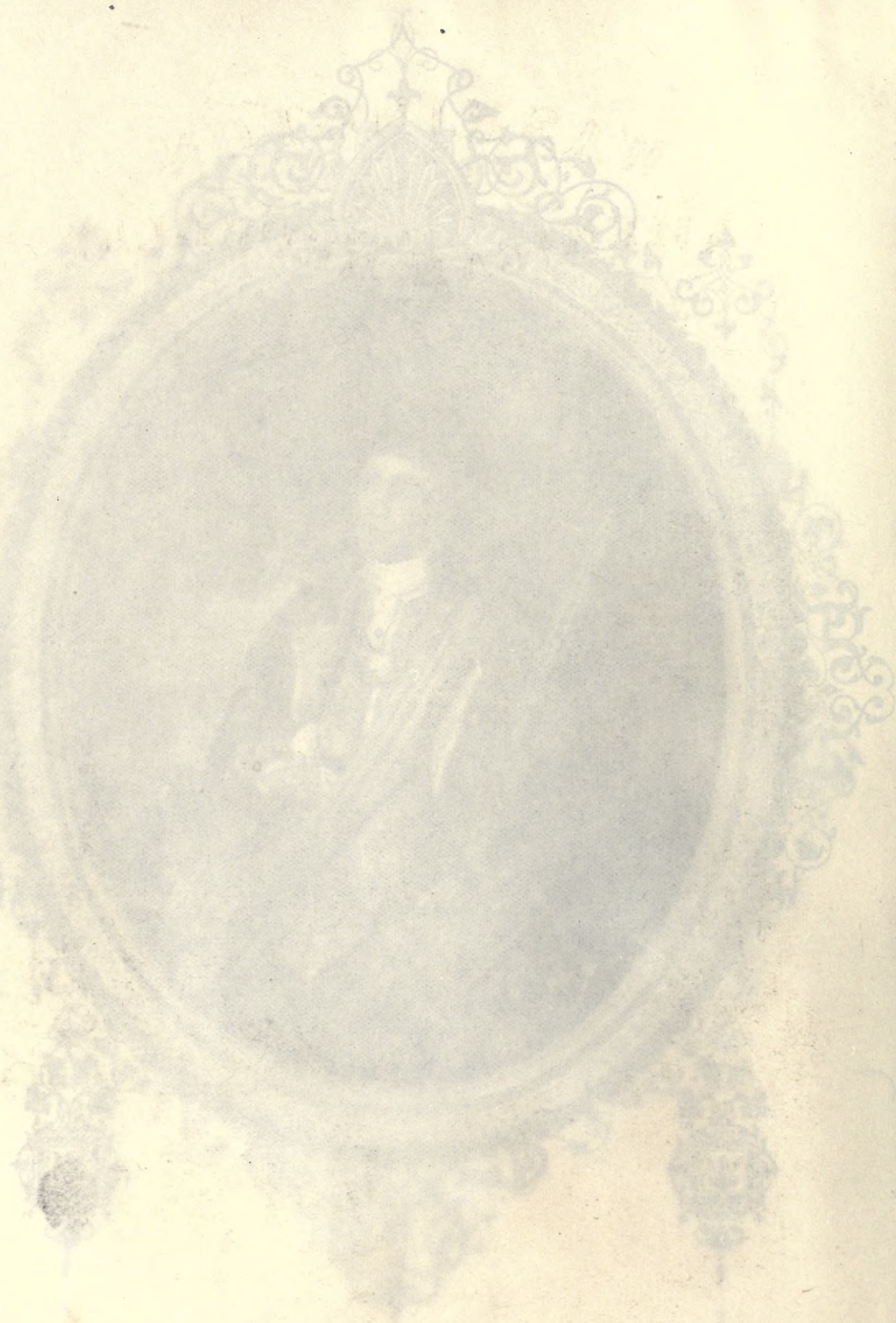
Georgian Garden

O'Hara

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George Washington



W. H. Kingston

WASHINGTON
AND THE
AMERICAN REPUBLIC.
BY
BENSON J. LOSSING.



Birth place of Washington

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WASHINGTON

AND THE

AMERICAN REPUBLIC

BY

BENSON J. LOSSING

*AUTHOR OF "PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR," "FIELD-BOOK OF THE
REVOLUTION," "FIELD-BOOK OF THE WAR OF 1812." ETC., ETC.*

VOLUME I.

ILLUSTRATED

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TO

Patriots in all Lands,

WHO LOVE JUSTICE AND FREEDOM,

AND REVERENCE THE RIGHTS OF MAN,

These Volumes,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THEIR GREAT EXEMPLAR,

ARE DEDICATED BY

THE AUTHOR.



P R E F A C E .

AT the close of the Civil War, in which the Government founded by WASHINGTON and his compatriots vindicated its rightful authority and the truth that an enlightened people may be safely invested with political sovereignty, it seems to be an appropriate service to present to that people a full record of the life and times of their GREAT LEADER, to whom the lovers of liberty in all lands pay the homage of profound veneration. He will ever appear in History as the central figure of the group of statesmen who fashioned a Republic out of several independent colonies, and established a Nation upon the representative principle which makes Democracy compatible with a stable and powerful central government, having the form of an Aristocracy, but absolutely responsible to, and under the control of the People.

From the moment when Washington drew his sword in defence of the liberties of his countrymen, he labored to secure for them the blessings of Union and Nationality ; and the precious treasure of advice presented in his legacy to us in the form of his Farewell Address, consists chiefly in pleadings and warnings concerning the importance of unity. Deeply impressed by the dangerous doctrines of Supreme State Sovereignty then prevailing, which aimed a direct blow at the National Constitution and the Union, he said :

"It is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness, that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it ; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity ; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety ; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned ; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts. For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affection. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together ; the Independence and Liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes."

These words are addressed to us to-day with equal solemnity and appropriateness as to our countrymen seventy years ago. Let us all ponder them well, and profit by their teachings.

B. J. L.

WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER I.

GENEALOGY OF THE WASHINGTON FAMILY—EMIGRATION OF JOHN AND LAWRENCE
WASHINGTON TO AMERICA—BIRTH OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.

GEORGE WASHINGTON was born at a modest farmhouse near the place where a small stream called Pope's creek falls into the Potomac river, on the twenty-second day of February, in the year of our Lord 1732, which was the fifth year of the reign of George the Second, sovereign of these dominions. In the same year was planted Georgia, the last of the old thirteen colonies which this child was destined to lead to independence and liberty.

The family of Washington was eminently respectable, and had been so for many generations. Mr. Sparks, in his careful and judicious history of our illustrious hero has elucidated this point with great particularity and exactness of research. Not only is pride of ancestry an honorable pride, but there are few feelings apt to be productive of more happy consequences. The ambition to transmit to posterity a shining name untarnished or with added lustre is often the strongest incentive to generous action and the surest safeguard of virtue. In this country, where so many noble men have been the creators of their own family distinctions, and meaner characters, without hereditary elevation, have also been without that bravery of nature necessary to the establishment of a far reaching good reputation, the sentiment here commended is frequently undervalued or depreciated. But how many men of

great fortunes are among us who would give half their possessions, if by doing so it were possible to dignify the traditional positions of their ancestors, or relieve their inherited names from well-deserved reproaches! Such is the infirmity of human nature however that persons of this description are more likely than any others to stigmatise as unrepugnant or otherwise to decry a respect for blood. The ignorant and vulgar ambition of characters, badly made at last, to be regarded as self-made, is much inculcated by a class who are sensible of the disadvantages of birth only, or who have but inadequate perceptions of their moral or intellectual deficiencies. This large class has been effectively exposed to contemptuous ridicule by Mr. Charles Dickens in his instructive novel of "Hard Times." It is not to be questioned that the pursuit under difficulties of knowledge, glory, or a capacity for usefulness, is entitled to generous admiration. God forbid. From the beginning the heights of fame were of rough ascent, and the most fortunate never attained to their serener atmosphere but by excessive toil and self-sacrifice. It is as natural and wise however to believe that a man whose father has scaled these elevations will be more successful than another in repeating the achievement, as that a horse sired by the winner of a hundred fields will secure the stakes upon a course where every competitor is from a drayman's stable. Though this law obtains so commonly as to compel a recognition of its authority, happily it is not inflexible. A rude boy like Daniel Morgan may sometimes in ripened years wear gallantly the decorations of the general, or a gentlemanly bred Charles Lee, learned and used to the atmosphere of courts, may fall into the temper and habits of a vagabond.

The lineage of Washington is traceable through six hundred years to William de Hertburn of the manor of Washington or Wessyngton in the county of Durham in England. According to a custom which at that period obtained among Norman families of consideration De Hertburn assumed as a surname the name of his estate. For between two and three centuries the De Wessingtons, as knights of the palatinate of Durham, were engaged in frequent

chivalrous enterprises, or as ecclesiastics, were attached to its cloisters. John De Wessyngton, prior of the Benedictine convent connected with the Durham cathedral, and author of a learned treatise maintaining the rights of his priory, in 1426 presided at a general chapter of his order. The family increased and was honorably known in different parts of England. The name underwent a variety of changes; the seigniorial prefix of *de* was abandoned, and Wessyngton became Wassington, Washington, and, finally, Washington. John Washington, of Warton, in Lancashire, was the immediate ancestor of the American Washingtons. His son Lawrence was of Gray's Inn, held the office of mayor of Northampton, and when Henry the Eighth, in 1538, carrying out a plan he had formed and partially executed two years before, shut up the larger as well as the smaller religious houses, the domain of Sulgrave, a part of the confiscated property which had belonged to the monastery of St. Andrew, near that borough, was granted to him, perhaps for services rendered in the then recent rebellion in the northern counties. Sulgrave remained in the possession of his heirs nearly a century, and was commonly called the Washington manor. Lawrence Washington died at an advanced age in 1584, and with Anne his wife was buried there. He had four sons and eleven daughters.* His second son, Lawrence Washington, jr., became chief register of the chancery, and was knighted. His wife also was named Anne, and their monument is still shown in the parish church of Garsdon, about three miles from Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, where Sir Lawrence died, at the age of sixty-four, in 1643. One of his grand-daughters married an earl of Ferrars. Another son of the grantee of Sulgrave, Sir William Washington, of Packington, in the county of Kent, married a half-sister of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, whose name is so conspicuous in the history of Charles the First. Sir William's son, Sir Henry, was a colonel in the king's army in the ensuing civil war, and after distinguishing

* So Mr. Irving infers, i. 13, from a personal examination of the monumental inscription in Sulgrave church, dated 1564. Mr. Sparks, i. 545, copying a letter from Sulgrave written in 1793 to Sir Isaac Heard says "four sons and seven daughters."

himself under Prince Rupert, in 1643, gave Cromwell's general Fairfax a great deal of trouble at Worcester, which he refused to surrender until the last extremity, in 1646. Though the Washingtons in most cases adhered to the royal cause, an exception is discovered in Joseph Washington, of the Temple, author of several works in the law and in general literature, who translated Milton's *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano* Claudii Salmasii *Defensionem Regem*—a defence of the people of England against Salmasius's defence of the king—which did more harm to the party of the Stuarts than would have been done by fifty defeats in battle.

Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave, as we have observed, had fifteen children. His eldest son, Robert, had sixteen and Robert's eldest son, Lawrence, who died at Brington, in Northamptonshire, in 1616, was the father of seventeen children—eight sons and nine daughters. In the year 1657, the second and fourth of these sons, John and Lawrence* Washington, emigrated to Virginia, a favorite resort of the cavaliers during the period of the commonwealth.†

The population of Virginia at this period scarcely exceeded thirty thousand, exclusive of the Indians. Fourteen years afterward Sir William Berkeley estimated the number at but "forty thousand persons, men, women, and children," of whom there were "two thousand black slaves, six thousand christian servants for a short time, and the rest," he says, "have been born in the country or have come in to settle or serve in hope of bettering their condition."‡ The people were hospitable but indolent. The home government had

* Andrew, according to Mr. Irving; Mr. Sparks gives the name Lawrence instead of Andrew, following memoranda prepared for Sir Isaac Heard by President Washington in 1792.

† A short time before the emigration of the Washingtons, Sir William Davenant, the poet, under the patronage of the queen mother of France, had projected and organized a company comprising a large number of artificers collected in that kingdom, with whom he set sail with the purpose of founding a new plantation in Virginia. The expedition was intercepted by Cromwell's fleet, and Davenant, who was taken prisoner, owed the safety of his life to the friendly interposition of Milton. Cowley, referring to this enterprise, in a poem addressed to Davenant, exclaimed:

"Sure 't was the noble boldness of the muse
Did thy desire to seek new worlds infuse."

Cowley himself was anxious for a "safer world" than Europe was at that time, and in the preface to a volume of his poems published in 1656 declares that "his desire had been for some time past, and did still very vehemently continue, to retire to some of the American plantations, and to forsake this world for ever."

‡ Answers to the Lords of the Committee of Colonies.

adopted the principle of Montesquieu that "the mother country alone shall trade in the colonies, and that from very good reason: because the design of the settlement was the extension of commerce, and not the foundation of a city or a new empire."* The colony was subjected to excessive commercial oppression. By the Navigation Act of the first year of Charles the Second, which made the trade of the several plantations completely subject to governmental authority, and exclusively subservient to the interests of English commerce and navigation, the policy of the Long Parliament was simply continued. By this act it was ordained that no commodities should be imported into any English settlement or exported thence but in vessels built in England or her colonial plantations, and navigated by crews of which the masters and three fourths of the mariners should be English subjects, under the penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo; and that none but natural-born subjects of the English crown, or persons legally naturalized, should exercise the occupation of merchant or factor in any English or colonial settlement but at the peril of losing goods and chattels. These regulations being evaded or found insufficient it was ordained that the colonists could have no foreign goods which were not first landed in England, and carried directly thence to the plantations. "This was a misfortune," says Beverley, "that cut with a double edge; for it reduced their staple to a very low price, while it raised the value of European goods to what the merchants pleased." It is amusing to read of the sham compensation which was offered by the parliament for these restraints, in declaring that the colonies should enjoy the exclusive privilege of supplying tobacco, the cultivation of which was prohibited in England, Ireland, Guernsey, and Jersey. Their natural energies thus repressed and their activity thus discouraged, it is not strange that the Virginians were generally content with the easily acquired necessities of a comfortable subsistence. "They depend," says Beverley, writing a few years after the emigration of the Washingtons, "altogether upon the liberality of nature, without endeavoring to improve its gifts by art

* Spirit of Laws.

or industry. They sponged upon the blessings of a warm sun and a fruitful soil, and almost grudge the pains of gathering in the bounties of the earth.”*

The Washingtons however were not men to be forced or seduced into lives of idleness. They purchased lands in Westmoreland county, on the northern neck, between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, and became active and successful planters. John had a vocation for public affairs, and was in turn a soldier and a legislator. The Seneca Indians, a tribe of the Iroquois, had driven the Susquehannahs, who occupied the region about the head of the Chesapeake, southward into Maryland, and the people of that province had been compelled to take arms for the defence of their territory. Apprehensive that Virginia might be invaded, the Potomac was guarded, and, as dangers increased, at the solicitation of Governor Calvert was crossed, by Colonel Washington, who took an energetic part in the vengeful and not very creditable war.† He became a magistrate also, and a member of the house of burgesses. His distinction and popularity are illustrated in the fact that the parish in which he resided received and has ever since borne the name of Washington. He married Anne Pope, daughter of a neighboring planter, by whom he had several children, the eldest of whom was Lawrence Washington, married in 1689 to Mildred Warner, of the county of Gloucester. Lawrence Washington died at an early age, in 1697, leaving two sons, John and Augustine. Augustine Washington, born in 1694, was married at twenty-one to Jane Butler, of his native county, who lived thirteen years, and sixteen months after her death became the husband of Mary Ball, the mother of the Liberator.

As has already been stated, George Washington was born on the twenty-second of February, (old style, the eleventh,) in the year of

* History of Virginia, part iv., ch. 22.

† The Indians “began to be more inclinable to peace than war, which was the cause (no more horse-flesh being to had), that they sent out six of their wærowances (chief men) to commence a treaty. What the artikles were that they brought along with them, to treat of, I do not know, but certainly they were so unacceptable to the English, that they caused the commissioners’ braines to be knocked out for dictating so badly to their tongues: which yet, ’t is possible, expressed more reason than the English had to prove the lawfulness of this action, being diametricall to the law of arms.”—*Burwell’s Account of Bacon’s and Ingram’s Rebellion*, p. 2.

grace 1732. He was the eldest son by the second marriage, and a great-grandson of his emigrant ancestor. By his first wife Augustine Washington had four children, two of whom, Lawrence and Augustine, lived to mature years. By the second he had six, George, Betty, Samuel, John Augustine, Charles, and Mildred.

The house in which George Washington was born was of a very modest appearance. It was the old homestead which the family had occupied for three quarters of a century, with but four rooms, and attics, a steep roof with projecting eaves, and a large chimney at each end. Not a vestige of it is now remaining, but the last surviving executor of his will has placed a stone where it stood, with an inscription of his name and the date of his birth. In describing the place Mr. Paulding, writing in 1834, says: "A few scanty relics alone remain to mark the spot, which will ever be sacred in the eyes of posterity. A clump of old decayed fig trees, probably coeval with the mansion, yet exists; and a number of vines, and shrubs, and flowers, still reproduce themselves every year, as if to mark its site, and flourish among the hallowed ruins."

CHAPTER II.

REMOVAL OF THE FAMILY TO STAFFORD COUNTY—EARLY TRAINING OF GEORGE WASHINGTON—HIS BROTHER LAWRENCE A CAPTAIN IN THE WAR WITH SPAIN—COMES HOME AFTER THE BATTLE OF CARTHAGENA—HIS MARRIAGE—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF LAWRENCE WASHINGTON—CHARACTER OF HIS WIDOW.

Soon after the birth of George Washington his father removed from the family seat in Westmoreland county to an estate which he owned in Stafford county, on the east bank of the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg. Here was passed Washington's childhood. The new home was a small house, built of wood, in the style generally adopted by the better class of Virginia farmers at that time. It looked out on an ample meadow, sloping away to the river, and was surrounded with trees and a finely cultivated garden.

Augustine Washington was a large man, with fine health, and addicted to the sports of country gentlemen, but thrifty and prosperous in his commerce with the world. He was fond of his children, and anecdotes have come down to us which show the care with which he attended to their moral as well as their intellectual culture. The sons of many of the wealthier families in the middle and southern colonies were in this period educated abroad, and the learned professions were largely occupied by graduates of the English universities. Augustine Washington sent his eldest son, Lawrence, to England, when about fifteen years of age, that he might possess every advantage which could give grace or dignity to the future head of his house. George, the eldest son by the second marriage, was instructed at home, and in a school kept by one of his father's tenants, the sexton of the parish, named Hobby, whose own acquirements were probably limited to a meagre knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Such schools, provided by the joint contributions of neighboring planters, were not uncommon in Virginia. There were some of a better description in the villages, and a few

clergymen, here and there, found leisure from parochial duties for attention to private classes in more advanced studies. The best public means of education would however have been unfortunate for George Washington if they had caused his withdrawal in any considerable degree from the altogether suitable and excellent culture which he received at home. There is, as Mr. Upham well observes,* every reason to believe that he enjoyed from his earliest years the best advantages that result from wise and faithful parental care and affection. From his subsequent character it is quite certain that the elements of moral principle, of careful and accurate observation, of industry and order, were instilled into his mind at the very beginning. The qualities and habits for which he was remarkable were precisely those which indicate the power of domestic education, and could not have sprung from any other influence than the ever watchful eye and untiring attention of affectionate and thoughtful parents. From the first opening of his mind, through the whole forming period of childhood, he was guarded, guided, and led forward, by unwearied vigilance and devoted fidelity on the part of his father and mother.

When he was seven or eight years of age, his brother Lawrence, having recently attained to his majority, returned from England, well educated, accomplished, and with a brave and manly character. The large, fine-looking, frank, ingenuous, and intelligent boy, whose opening virtues had already made him an object of especial tenderness and pride to his parents, appears at once to have taken a strong hold upon his affections, and we may well believe that they became almost inseparable companions: the one describing gayeties and splendors and pleasant or strange adventures he had encountered in the old world, where the smallest villages were as imposing as Virginia's most populous towns, with their winding bridle-path connections reaching through primeval forests, or haply kindling at the recollection of grand reviews which he had seen of fleets or armies, or at the anticipation of triumphs which awaited England in the opening war with Spain; and the other listening with trustful

* Life of Washington i. 14

enthusiasm, of all that was to him so new and wonderful, and thinking that his accomplished and high-minded brother, really so superior to the other young men with whom he had been acquainted, was a character entitled to his warmest admiration, a faultless model to be studied and imitated.

Discontents had been continually growing between England and Spain since the treaty of Seville, in 1729, and at length the conduct of Spain in prohibiting all foreign intercourse with her American dominions, and the severity with which she enforced this policy, leading to the seizure of many British subjects, and their condemnation to slavery in the mines of Potosi, induced Sir Robert Walpole to consent to reprisals. The first display of hostility was the granting of letters of marque against the Spaniards in America. Edward Vernon, who had just been advanced to the rank of vice admiral of the blue, and appointed commander in chief of all his majesty's naval forces in the West Indies, had often boasted that with six ships only he could take Porto Bello, and having gained permission to make the experiment, by a combination of extraordinary temerity and good fortune he succeeded. His auspicious commencement of the war induced unusual efforts for its vigorous prosecution. A more formidable armament was immediately placed under Admiral Vernon's command, and orders were given that the land forces despatched to Jamaica under General Wentworth should be increased by a regiment of four battalions to be raised in the colonies. Virginia entered with ardor into the contest. Her ancient woods and rivers echoed to scattered hamlets the inspiring music of the fife and drum, and her quota of men was rapidly assembled and embarked under her popular governor, General Gooch. In this expedition Lawrence Washington held the rank of captain. The fleet at anchor before Jamaica on the first of February, 1741, consisting of thirty-one sail of the line, was the most powerful that had ever been collected in the American seas. At a council of war composed of the naval and military chiefs it was resolved to attack Carthagena, and on the ninth of May an assault was made upon the forts guarding the approach to that wealthy and stately city.

These were carried with unexpected ease, and the sanguine admiral despatched a ship to England with the intelligence and assurances that he should take the town. He was however disappointed. The troops became sickly, and a feud existed between Vernon and Wentworth, each of whom seemed more anxious for the disgrace of his rival than for the glory of his country. The castle Bocca Chica and six forts had been overcome; but a single fort was in the way of a complete triumph; and the general, who had been reproached by the admiral for inactivity, suddenly determined, without consulting the latter, to attempt carrying it by storm; the rash attempt failed, and six hundred of the flower of the army were left dead before the enemy's cannon. The town was next bombarded by the fleet, but unsuccessfully, and, the rainy season setting in, the armament returned to Jamaica, with a total loss in the different engagements and by sickness of more than three thousand men.

The Virginia troops remained in the West Indies nearly two years, until operations in that quarter were abandoned. Captain Washington with his company had behaved gallantly at Carthagená, and notwithstanding the quarrels of Wentworth and Vernon, enjoyed the friendly confidence of both these commanders. Whatever may have been his feelings toward the general, he regarded the admiral with unfaltering respect and affection.

When he came home in the autumn of 1742 his brother George was nearly eleven years of age, and had evinced new qualities, calculated to endear him more and more to the young soldier. The events of the war had made a profound impression on his mind, and the play ground by the school house had under his influence become a mimic camp. Master Hobby's boys were classified as Spanish and English, and had frequent sham fights. The former were commanded by William Bustle, and the latter by George Washington, who was always, when the school was not thus divided, for parades, reviews, or battles, the acknowledged chief of the whole, by his judgment guiding their conduct, and by his justice settling their disputes.

On leaving the army Lawrence Washington had felt a strong predilection for the military profession, and during several months

had cherished an intention to rejoin his regiment in England; but becoming attached to Miss Anne Fairfax, eldest daughter of the Honorable William Fairfax, of Fairfax county, he declared himself her lover, was accepted, and the time was appointed for their marriage. This event however was deferred on account of a sudden and unexpected misfortune: Augustine Washington, the father, after a short and painful attack of gout in the stomach, died suddenly on the twelfth of April, 1743, in the forty-ninth year of his age.

Everything we know of Augustine Washington justifies an impression of his dignified respectability. Of a race of gentlemen, he cultivated, as has already been stated, the manly pastimes that are characteristic of the better classes of English society; among his books was a copy of Isaac Walton's "Complete Angler," to read which, says Charles Lamb, "would at any time sweeten a man's temper, and christianize every discordant passion." A memorial of his addiction to field sports is said to be still existing in a gun of large size and extraordinary weight, confirming traditions of his commanding figure and muscular energy. His piety and the kindliness of his nature are illustrated in reminiscences of the enlightened instruction and discipline with which he developed the qualities of that marvellous boy, whose veracity and integrity of heart shone as conspicuously to him, during their garden walks, as afterward to mankind when he appeared as the leading character in the theatre of the world. That he was industrious and judicious in the care and management of his private affairs is evident from the extent and condition of his estate, which had been mainly acquired by his own thoughtful activity; and his forecast and method appeared in the preparation it was found he had made for his death, while it seemed very remote. To each of his sons he was able to give a separate plantation. To Lawrence, the eldest, he bequeathed that on the Potomac, containing twenty-five hundred acres, since memorable and hallowed under the name of Mount Vernon, besides other lands, and shares in productive iron works in Virginia and Maryland. To Augustine, the second, was left the

old homestead of the family at Pope's creek. George on becoming of age, was to have the house and lands occupied by his father in his later years on the Rappahannock, and each of the younger sons was provided with an estate of six or seven hundred acres. To the only surviving daughter, Betty Washington, afterward Mrs. Lewis, was also secured an independence.

Augustine Washington by his will declared his widow the sole guardian of their children, the only custodian of their property until they should cease to be minors. A dying husband could leave no better praise of his wife. She had not yet entered her thirty-eighth year, and having all her life had excellent health, was now in the perfection of her womanhood. Mr. Paulding says she was described to him by those who knew her well, as of ordinary stature, "once a great belle and beauty in that part of Virginia. High spirited, yet of great simplicity of manners, uncommon strength of mind, and decision of character, she exacted great deference from her sons, of whom George was the favorite." She was remarkable, according to the same author, for having but a single weakness, which was "an excessive fear of thunder, originated in the melancholy death of a young female friend who was struck dead at her side by lightning, when she was about fifteen years old." She was inflexible in the performance of the ordinary duties of life, punctual in discharging the obligations of justice, and conscientious in the observance of those nicer social morals which, as they elude definition, are often violated without reproach. "There was a plain honesty and truth about her, peculiar to that age, and which has been ill exchanged for empty professions and outward polish. As a native of Virginia she was hospitable by birthright, and always received her visitors with a smiling welcome; but they were never asked to stay but once, and she always speeded the parting guest by affording every facility in her power. She possessed all those domestic habits and qualities which confer value on woman, but had no desire to be distinguished by other titles than those of a good wife and mother."

Her attention, when not occupied with the various and compli-

cated affairs connected with their several estates, was given as largely as possible to the education of her five young children, of whom the oldest had but just entered his twelfth year when she became a widow. One of the means to which she resorted for this purpose was that of reading to them every day lessons of religion and morality from some standard author, and it is known that her favorite book on such occasions was the "Contemplations, Moral and Divine, by Sir Matthew Hale, late Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench." The copy that she used, in which is written with her own hand her name, Mary Washington, was preserved with filial care by her son, who exemplified in so striking a manner its admirable maxims for outward action as well as self-government, and it is still shown among the cherished relics at Mount Vernon. Mr. Paulding remarks that one of the chapters appears to have been selected as an ordinary lesson, and is marked for that purpose in the table of contents. It is entitled "The Great Audit," and we may well believe that it had much influence in the formation of George Washington's character. Some parts of this chapter are so noticeable for their harmony with the life they contributed to form that it is thought proper here to extract them. In histories of the development of noble natures what more significant fact can be cited than that any one of them was guided and strengthened in boyhood by such words as these:

"As touching my conscience, and the light thou hast given me in it, I have been very jealous of wounding, or grieving, or discouraging or deadening it. I have therefore chosen rather to foster that which seemed but indifferent, lest there should be somewhat in it that might be useful; and would rather gratify my conscience with being too scrupulous than displease or disquiet it by being too venturesome. I have still chosen, therefore, what might be probably lawful, than to do what might possibly be unlawful; because, though I could not err in the former, I might in the latter. If things were disputable, whether they might be done, I rather chose to forbear, because the lawfulness of my forbearance was unquestionable.

"Touching human prudence and understanding in affairs, and

dexterity in the arranging of them: I have ever been careful to mingle justice and honesty with my prudence, and have always esteemed prudence, actuated by injustice and falsity, the arrantest and most devilish practice in the world, because it prostitutes thy gift to the service of hell, and mingles a beam of thy divine excellence with an extract of the devil's furnishing, making a man so much the worse by how much he is wiser than others.

"I always thought that wisdom which, in a tradesman or a politician, was mingled with deceit, falsity, and injustice, deserved the same name, only the latter is so much the worse, because it is of the more public and general concernment. Yet because I have often observed great employments, especially in public affairs, are sometimes under great temptations of mingling too much craft with prudence, and then to miscall it policy, I have, as much as may be, avoided such temptations, and if I have met with them, I have resolutely rejected them.

"I have always observed that honesty and plain-dealing in transactions, as well public as private, is the best and soundest prudence and policy, and commonly, at the long-run, over-matcheth craft and subtilty. And more advantage is derived from possessing the confidence of mankind, than can ever be made by deceiving them.

"As human prudence is abused if mingled with falsity and deceit, though the end be never so good, so it is much more debased if directed to a bad end, to the dishonor of thy name, the oppression of thy people, the corrupting thy worship or truth, or to practise any injustice toward any person.

"It hath been my care as not to err in the manner, so neither in the end of the exercising of thy providence. I have ever esteemed thy prudence best employed when it was exercised in the preservation and support of thy truth, in contemning, discovering, and disappointing the designs of evil and treacherous men, in delivering the oppressed, in righting the injured, in preventing of wars and discords, in preserving the public peace and tranquillity of the people where I live, and in all those offices laid upon me by thy providence, under every relation.

“When my end was most unquestionably good, I ever then took most heed that the means were suitable and justifiable. Because the better the end was, the more easily are we cozened into the use of ill means to effect it. We are too apt to dispense with ourselves in the practice of what is amiss, in order to the accomplishment of an end that is good; we are apt, while with great intensity of mind we gaze upon the end, not to take care what course we take so we attain it; and we are apt to think that God will dispense with, or at least overlook the miscarriages in our attempts, if the end be good.

“Because many times, if not most times, thy name and honor do more suffer by attempting a good end by bad means, than by attempting both a bad end, and by bad means. For bad ends are suitable to bad means; they are alike—and it doth not immediately as such concern thy honor. But everything that is good hath somewhat of thee in it, thy name, and thy nature, and thy honor is written upon it; and the blemish that is cast upon it, is, in some measure, cast upon thee. The evil, and scandal, and ugliness that is in the means, is cast upon the end, and doth disparage and blemish it, and, consequently, is dishonor to thee. To rob for burnt-offerings, or to lie for God, is a greater disservice to thy majesty, than to rob for rapine, or to lie for advantage.”

“Touching my eminence of place and power in this world, this is my account. I never sought or desired it, and that for these reasons. First, because I easily saw that it was rather a burden than a privilege. It made my charge and my account the greater, my contentment and my rest the less. I found enough in it to make me decline it in respect to myself, but not any that could invite me to seek or desire it.

“That external glory and splendor that attended it I esteemed as vain and frivolous in itself, a bait to allure vain and inconsiderate persons to affect and delight—not valuable enough to invite a considerate judgment to desire or undertake it. I esteemed them as the gilding that covers a bitter pill, and I looked through this dress and outside and easily saw that it covered a state obnoxious to

danger, solicitude, care, trouble, envy, discontent, unquietness, temptation, and vexation.

"I esteemed it a condition which, if there were any distempers abroad, they would be infallibly hunting and pushing at it; and if it found any corruptions within, either of pride, vainglory, insolence, vindictiveness, or the like, it would be sure to draw them out and set them to work. And if they prevailed, it made my power and greatness not only my burden but my sin; if they prevailed not, yet it required a most watchful, assiduous, and severe labor and industry to suppress them.

"When I undertook any place of power or eminence, first, I looked to my call thereunto to be such as I might discern to be thy call, not my own ambition. Second, that the place was such as might be answered by suitable abilities in some measure to perform. Third, that my end in it might not be the satisfaction of any pride, ambition, or vanity in myself, but to serve Providence and my generation honestly and faithfully.

"In the holding or exercising these places, I kept my heart humble; I valued not myself one rush the more for it. First, because I easily found that that base affectation of pride, which commonly is the fly that haunts such employments, would render me dishonorable to thy majesty, and discreditable in the employment. Second, because I easily saw that great places were slippery places, the mark of envy. It was, therefore, always my care so to behave in them as I might be in a capacity to leave them; and so to leave them, as that, when I had left them, I might have no scars and blemishes stick upon me. I carried, therefore, the same evenness of temper in holding them as might become me if I were without them. I found enough in great employments to make me sensible of the danger, trouble, and cares of them; enough to make me humble, but not enough to make me proud and haughty.

"I never made use of my power or greatness to serve my own turns, either to heap up riches, or oppress my neighbor, or to revenge injuries, or to uphold injustice. For, though others thought me great, I knew myself to be still the same, and in all things, be-

sides the due execution of my place, my deportment was just the same as if I had been no such man; for I very well and practically knew that place, and honor, and preferment are things extrinsical, and have no ingredience into the man. His value and estimate before, and under, and after his greatness is still the same in itself—as the counter that now stands for a penny, anon for sixpence, and anon for twelve pence is still the same counter, though its place and extrinsical denomination be changed.”

“Though I have loved my reputation, and have been careful not to lose or impair it by my own neglect, yet I have looked upon it as a brittle thing that the devil aims to hit in an especial manner; a thing that is much in the power of a false report, a mistake, or misapprehension to wound and hurt, and notwithstanding all my care, I am at the mercy of others, without God’s wonderful overruling providence.

“And as my reputation is the esteem that others have of me, so that esteem may be blemished without my default. I have, therefore, always taken this care not to set my heart upon my reputation. I will use all fidelity and honesty, and take care it shall not be lost by any default of mine, and if, notwithstanding all this, my reputation be foiled by evil or man, I will patiently bear it, and content myself with the serenity of my own conscience.

“When thy honor or the good of my country was concerned, I then thought it was a seasonable time to lay out my reputation for the advantage of either, and to act with it, and by it, and upon it, to the highest, in the use of all lawful means. And upon such an occasion, the counsel of Mordecai to Esther was my encouragement, —‘*Who knoweth whether God hath not given thee this reputation and esteem for such a time as this?*’”

These sentences might readily be taken for a reviewal by Washington of his own history.

CHAPTER III.

WASHINGTON AT MR. WILLIAMS'S SCHOOL—HIS PREEMINENCE AMONG THE PUPILS—SPORTS AND ATHLETIC EXERCISES—PRACTICAL STUDIES—FORMS OF WRITING—RULES OF CONVERSATION AND BEHAVIOR IN COMPANY—HIS CHARACTER FORMED BY SELF-DISCIPLINE.

THE marriage of Lawrence Washington with Miss Fairfax was followed by that of his brother Augustine with Anne Aylett, daughter of Mr. William Aylett, a gentleman of wealth and social eminence in Westmoreland county. Augustine Washington established himself in the house where he was born, on the domain of his ancestors at Pope's Creek. He had less inclination than his elder brother for public life, and found the satisfaction of his desires in the delights of home, the care of his estate, and such interchange of neighborly courtesies as then prevailed among the planters of Virginia. Partly perhaps for anticipated pleasures from his society, but mainly for the greater advantages of education which might there be offered him, he invited his half brother George to become a member of his family, and Mrs. Washington having consented to this arrangement, the pupil of Master Hobby, who was no longer capable of instructing him, was transferred to the school of Mr. Williams, reputed to be one of the best of its class in the colony. Many years after, when the hero was in the zenith of his fame, it was the frequent boast of Hobby that he had "laid the foundation of his greatness," but it was reserved for Mr. Williams to guide his quick intelligence and persevering will through those common and practical studies which were best adapted to the development of his peculiar faculties and the most suitable preparation for his future career.

His new companions quickly discovered and acknowledged the superiority of his abilities and his elevation and force of character. They yielded him the deference he had won from the younger boys

on the Rappahannock. Their confidence in his judgment and probity was such that his decisions in all matters of disagreement were received with unhesitating acquiescence and satisfaction, and his courage and firmness were so well understood that he never suffered insult or wrong from even the most unscrupulous of his school fellows. Boys sometimes acquire certain immunities and shows of respect by simply being unsocial or manifesting an unwillingness to share in sports which are usual at their age; but this was not the case with young Washington; at thirteen not only his demeanor but his height and well knit frame indicated a life much more advanced, and his associates who were superior in years, as well as those who were younger, spontaneously recognised him as the leader in all their games and exploits. He could leap, run, wrestle, pitch the bar, or toss the quoit, with the strongest and the most skilful, and though keenly enjoying these active exercises, bore the triumphs which they brought him with so amiable a grace as to provoke no jealousies, no rivalries, but only a generous emulation.

In the schoolroom all these pastimes and excitements were forgotten, and if he failed of his out-door preeminence he was at least distinguished for such method and diligence as secured him an honorable place in his class. Of the degree of his improvement in the different branches of education not much is certainly known. At thirteen he had become a proficient in arithmetic, and entered upon the study of geometry. His manuscript school books, from this period, have been preserved, and are remarkable for neatness and accuracy, as well as for the nature of their contents. The earliest of them is occupied with forms of mercantile and legal papers, such as receipts, notes of hand, bills of exchange, bonds, mortgages, deeds, indentures, land warrants, leases, and wills, written out with care, and with the prominent words in varied and striking characters such as are used by scribes. The fact that any boy so young should practise these dry business details for amusement or as a voluntary preparation for active life would attract attention for its singularity and suggestiveness. All we know of the early

days of Washington indicates, if not a particular interposition of Providence to prepare him for his high calling, at least a discipline of his powers and passions so admirably fitted for that end as to justify our special wonder. These clerkly accomplishments, thus acquired, at the only period in which he had time or opportunity for their acquisition, were of inestimable importance to him and to the country in subsequent years. They enabled him to draft documents with a lawyer's skill, and to keep accounts with a merchant's exactness; and his concerns with his various estates, his dealings with his domestic stewards and foreign agents, his transactions with government, and all his pecuniary affairs, are thus recorded in his own handwriting down to the week of his death. Those who consider intelligently the difficulties and responsibilities of his earlier and later military and civil administrations will not doubt that much of his success resulted from the strict and methodical habits of business which he maintained through his whole life, and it will be admitted that the purity of his fame is in a large degree attributable to that persevering industry which enabled him to leave for the study of posterity such particular and perspicuous demonstrations of his integrity in the most inconsiderable as well as the most important affairs in which he was ever engaged.

Another and more noticeable portion of this manuscript volume is a series of practical maxims for the government of conduct in society. Mr. Sparks supposes they were drawn from miscellaneous sources, and Mr. Everett that they were transcribed from some manual of good-manners. The only evidence however that they were not composed by Washington himself appears to be that they have a certain precision and maturity of style to which he had not attained at the period in which the handwriting shows that they were copied into the book. No trace of any collection of such rules from which they could have been borrowed has been discovered. The series consists of one hundred and ten paragraphs, of which Mr. Sparks selects the following:

"1. Every action in company ought to be with some sign of respect to those present.

"2. In the presence of others, sing not to yourself with a humming noise, nor drum with your fingers or feet.

"3. Speak not when others speak, sit not when others stand, and walk not when others stop.

"4. Turn not your back to others, especially in speaking; jog not the table or desk on which another reads or writes; lean not on any one.

"5. Be no flatterer, neither play with any one that delights not to be played with.

"6. Read no letters, books, or papers in company; but when there is a necessity for doing it, you must ask leave. Come not near the books or writings of any one so as to read them, unasked; also, look not nigh when another is writing a letter.

"7. Let your countenance be pleasant, but in serious matters somewhat grave.

"8. Show not yourself glad at the misfortune of another, though he were your enemy.

"9. They that are in dignity or office have in all places precedence; but whilst they are young, they ought to respect those that are their equals in birth or other qualities, though they have no public charge.

"10. It is good manners to prefer them to whom we speak before ourselves, especially if they be above us, with whom, in no sort, we ought to begin.

"11. Let your discourse with men of business be short and comprehensive.

"12. In visiting the sick, do not presently play the physician, if you be not knowing therein.

"13. In writing or speaking, give to every person his due title, according to his degree and the custom of the place.

"14. Strive not with your superiors in argument, but always submit your judgment to others with modesty.

"15 Undertake not to teach your equal in the art himself professes; it savors of arrogancy.

"16. When a man does all he can, though it succeeds not well, blame not him that did it.

"17. Being to advise or reprehend any one, consider whether it ought to be in public or in private, presently or at some other time, also in what terms to do it; and in reproving, show no signs of choler, but do it with sweetness and mildness.

"18. Mock not, nor jest at anything of importance; break no jests that are sharp or biting, and if you deliver anything witty or pleasant, abstain from laughing thereat yourself.

"19. Wherein you reprove another be unblamable yourself, for example is more prevalent than precept.

"20. Use no reproachful language against any one, neither curses nor revilings.

"21. Be not hasty to believe flying reports, to the disparagement of any one.

"22. In your apparel be modest, and endeavor to accommodate nature rather than procure admiration. Keep to the fashion of your equals, such as are civil and orderly with respect to time and place.

"23. Play not the peacock, looking everywhere about you to see if you be well decked, if your shoes fit well, if your stockings sit neatly, and clothes handsomely.

"24. Associate yourself with men of good quality if you esteem your own reputation, for it is better to be alone than in bad company.

"25. Let your conversation be without malice or envy, for it is a sign of a tractable and commendable nature, and in all causes of passion admit reason to govern.

"26. Be not immodest in urging your friend to discover a secret.

"27. Utter not base and frivolous things amongst grown and learned men: nor very difficult questions or subjects amongst the ignorant, nor things hard to be believed.

"28. Speak not of doleful things in time of mirth, nor at the table: speak not of melancholy things, as death and wounds, and if others mention them, change, if you can, the discourse. Tell not your dreams but to your intimate friends.

"29. Break not a jest where none take pleasure in mirth. Laugh

not aloud, nor at all without occasion. Deride no man's misfortune, though there seem to be some cause.

"30. Speak not injurious words, neither in jest or earnest. Scoff at none, although they give occasion.

"31. Be not forward, but friendly and courteous, the first to salute, hear and answer, and be not pensive when it is a time to converse.

"32. Detract not from others, but neither be excessive in commending.

"33. Go not thither, where you know not whether you shall be welcome or not. Give not advice without being asked, and when desired, do it briefly.

"34. If two contend together, take not the part of either unconstrained, and be not obstinate in your opinion: in things indifferent be of the major side.

"35. Reprehend not the imperfections of others, for that belongs to parents, masters, and superiors.

"36. Gaze not on the marks or blemishes of others, and ask not how they came. What you may speak in secret to your friend, deliver not before others.

"37. Speak not in an unknown tongue in company, but in your own language; and that as those of quality do, and not as the vulgar. Sublime matters treat seriously.

"38. Think before you speak; pronounce not imperfectly, nor bring out your words too hastily, but orderly and distinctly.

"39. When another speaks, be attentive yourself, and disturb not the audience. If any hesitate in his words, help him not, nor prompt him without being desired; interrupt him not, nor answer him till his speech be ended.

"40. Treat with men at fit times about business, and whisper not in the company of others.

"41. Make no comparisons, and if any of the company be commended for any brave act of virtue, commend not another for the same.

"42. Be not apt to relate news, if you know not the truth thereof.

In discoursing of things you have heard, name not your author always. A secret discover not.

"43. Be not curious to know the affairs of others, neither approach to those that speak in private.

"44. Undertake not what you can not perform; but be careful to keep your promise.

"45. When you deliver a matter, do it without passion and indiscretion, however mean the person may be you do it to.

"46. When your superiors talk to anybody, hear them, neither speak nor laugh.

"47. In disputes, be not so desirous to overcome as not to give liberty to each one to deliver his opinion, and submit to the judgment of the major part, especially if they are judges of the dispute.

"48. Be not tedious in discourse, make not many digressions, nor repeat often the same matter of discourse.

"49. Speak no evil of the absent, for it is unjust.

"50. Be not angry at table whatever happens, and if you have reason to be so, show it not, put on a cheerful countenance, especially if there be strangers, for good humor makes one dish a feast.

"51. Set not yourself at the upper end of the table, but if it be your due, or the master of the house will have it so, contend not, lest you should trouble the company.

"52. When you speak of God or his attributes, let it be seriously in reverence and honor, and obey your natural parents.

"53. Let your recreations be manful, not sinful.

"54. Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire, called conscience."

These rules show an instinctive and thorough appreciation of the principles of courtesy and propriety, and the conformity of Washington's own conduct with their spirit during all his life proves that he adopted them as an imperative law for the government of his deportment. Other rules in the collection are trivial, or suited only to form the habits of a child, but all, however quaint or formal or circumstantial, are essentially just, and

excellently adapted for the control of an impulsive and ardent temper. Chief Justice Marshall, who had failed to discover them during his own diligent researches respecting the life of Washington, on reading them in the pages of Mr. Sparks, expressed his conviction that they were the most interesting and important revelation that had been made of the constitution of his character. Mr. Sparks himself says, that "in studying the character of Washington it is obvious that this code of rules had an influence upon his whole life. His temperament was ardent, his passions strong, and, amidst the multiplied scenes of temptation and excitement through which he passed it was his constant effort and ultimate triumph to check the one and subdue the other. His intercourse with men, public and private, in every walk and station, was marked with a consistency, a fitness to occasions, a dignity, decorum, condescension, and mildness, a respect for the claims of others, and a delicate perception of the nicer shades of civility, which were not more the dictates of his native good sense and incomparable judgment, than the fruits of a long and unwearied discipline."

CHAPTER IV.

WASHINGTON'S YOUTHFUL ASSOCIATIONS—HIS MARTIAL SPIRIT—OBTAINS A MIDSHIPMAN'S WARRANT—HIS MOTHER'S OBJECTIONS TO HIS ENTERING THE NAVY—HE RETURNS TO MR. WILLIAMS'S SCHOOL—INSTRUCTED IN THE MANUAL EXERCISE BY ADJUTANT MUSE—A YOUTHFUL PASSION—THE FAIRFAX FAMILY—LORD FAIRFAX—HUNTING—A SURVEYING EXPEDITION PROPOSED.

WHILE George Washington remained a pupil of Mr. Williams the school vacations and perhaps some additional portions of the time were passed with his mother or with his brother Lawrence at Mount Vernon. Since the death of their father Lawrence had evinced for him a still warmer affection and had taken a truly paternal interest in his affairs. Such society as he was likely to meet at Mount Vernon could hardly fail of strengthening his boyish predilections for a military life. The materials of much of the conversation he had heard in the family circle from his earliest years had been drawn from the French and Indian wars in which the colonists had been so frequently involved, from the first settlement of the country, and, as his mind expanded, the battles and sieges in which his brother had been engaged in the West Indies had made him familiar with the pomp and circumstance of a higher and more fascinating martial experience. Lawrence Washington was now a leading character in Westmoreland county, a member of the house of burgesses, and adjutant general of the district. His father-in-law, the Honorable William Fairfax, had also been a soldier, and had served with distinction many years in various parts of the world. His seat, called Belvoir, was but a few miles away, down the river, and the two families were in habits of frequent and familiar intercourse. George Washington appears to have been a favorite guest at Belvoir, where, as well as at Mount Vernon, he must sometimes

have met the companions in arms of Mr. Fairfax and his brother Lawrence, or other officers of the army or navy, brought into the Potomac upon the public service. Scenes of chivalry and intrepidity on land and sea, stories of cruising in the East and West Indies, and campaigns against pirates or barbarian or civilized armies, repeated or debated at the table, kindled his enthusiasm and shaped his ambition, until the quiet life of a planter, for which he had been intended, ceased to have any strong attractions for his youthful and adventurous spirit.

Observing the development in him of a taste and temper so congenial with his own, and regarding the navy as more probable than the army to lead to distinction, Lawrence Washington, in 1746, when he was about fourteen years of age, proposed to his mother to send him to sea as a midshipman. Mr. Fairfax entered into the scheme, and on the tenth of September in that year wrote to his son-in-law: "George has been with us, and says he will thankfully follow your advice, as his best friend.... I have spoken to Dr. Spencer, who I find is often at the widow's,* and has some influence, to persuade her to think better of your advice of putting George to sea." Mrs. Washington reluctantly and after much persuasion consented; a midshipman's warrant was obtained; the youth entered with a buoyant spirit upon preparations for his departure, and it is said that his luggage was actually on board a man of war anchored in the river, when his mother relented. On the eighteenth of October a friend of the family, Mr. Robert Jackson, wrote to Lawrence Washington from Fredericksburg: "I am afraid Mrs. Washington will not keep up to her first resolution. She seems to intimate a dislike to George's going to sea, and says several persons have told her it was a bad scheme. She offers several trifling objections, such as fond unthinking mothers habitually suggest; and I find that one word against his going has more weight than ten for it. Colonel Fairfax seems desirous he should go, and wished me to acquaint you with Mrs. Washington's sentiments. I intend shortly to take an opportunity to talk with her, and will let you

* Mrs. Washington's.

know the result." This result was a persistence in her objections, and the plan was abandoned.

It was one of the grand turning points in Washington's life, and if there is a providence in the affairs of men it can hardly be doubted that the mother's heart was swayed on this occasion, as Mr. Uplam suggests, by a divine impulse. A strong current of maternal tenderness and anxiety is made to pour over her soul, filling it with a timidity which does not appear to have been natural or habitual to her, rendering her insensible to the persuasions of all around her, and leading her to rescue her son from a step that might have changed the destinies of half the world. "Shall his feet quit the firm soil of his country?" exclaims Mr. Everett; "shall he enter a line of duty and promotion, in which, if he escape the hazards and gain the prizes of his career, he can scarce fail to be carried to distant scenes—to bestow his energies on foreign expeditions, in remote seas, perhaps in another hemisphere—in which he will certainly fail of the opportunity of preparing himself, in the camp and field of the approaching war, to command the armies of the revolution, and not improbably sink under the pestilential climate of the West Indies and the Spanish main? Such indeed seems almost inevitably his career. He desires it; his brother, standing in the place of a father, approves it; the warrant is obtained. But nothing could overcome the invincible repugnance of his widowed mother. She saw only the dangers which awaited the health, the morals, and the life of her favorite child; and her influence prevailed. Thus the voice of his high destiny first spoke to the affections of the youthful hero, through the fond yearnings of a mother's heart. He was saved to the country."

Washington returned to Mr. Williams's school, and continued there more than a year, devoting his attention chiefly to mathematical studies, especially geometry and trigonometry, and to practical surveying, with the view of becoming familiar with the application of principles and the use of instruments. He made surveys about the neighborhood, and kept regular field books, in which the boundaries and measurements of the grounds surveyed were care-

fully entered, with diagrams, as neatly and exactly as if they were intended to be guides in important transfers of property.

After leaving school, where, it is said, he was so much beloved and respected by his companions that they parted from him with tears, he went to reside with his brother Lawrence at Mount Vernon, but passed some portions of his time with his mother near Fredericksburg, and with the Fairfax family at Belvoir.

He had not given up all thoughts of being a soldier, and as opportunities presented, or leisure from the severer science to which he still applied himself, he studied the principles of war, and acquired great dexterity in the manual exercise, with a certain Adjutant Muse, who had accompanied Captain Washington in the expedition against Carthagera. He also became an expert fencer, under the instruction of a Frenchman named Van Braam, who afterwards was his interpreter, on his first expedition to the Ohio.

At fifteen he was tall and finely proportioned, firmly knit and agile as a young athlete, and had an intrepidity of spirit and dignity of demeanor suitable for an age yet more advanced than that to which he seemed to have attained. He had been little used to the society of the drawing room, and was now, as for many years afterwards, apt to be silent and embarrassed in the presence of women. He preferred the bold brave life of the fields, the solitary quests of the hunter, the manly games which were a test of skill as well as strength, or those equestrian exercises in which he excelled all his youthful associates. These tastes were inherited in a degree from both his parents. His mother, Mr. Paulding tells us, was very fond of fine horses, so much so that on one occasion when she became possessed of a pair of handsome grays, she had them turned out to pasture in a meadow before her house, that she might at all hours see them from the windows of her sitting room. It chanced that at one time she owned a handsome and spirited young horse which had never been broken to the saddle, and which no one was permitted to ride. A party of her son's friends, spending the day with him, proposed after dinner to mount the colt and make the circuit of the field. No one could accomplish the feat, and several

were baffled in attempting to mount, or thrown from the animal's back afterwards. Young Washington however succeeded, and gave the favorite such a breathing that he at length fell dead under his rider, who immediately went and told his mother of the misfortune. Her reply was characteristic. "George," said she, "I forgive you, because you have had the courage to tell the truth, at once; had you skulked away, I should have despised you."

Notwithstanding his shyness and the little pleasure he seems to have found in female society it appears from copies of verses still preserved in the waste pages of his manuscript school books, and from other records, as well as from traditions, that he did not escape that sad but sweet disease to which every youth is more or less exposed, and which is rarely cured except by the homœopathic law of *similia similibus*. While staying at his brother Augustine's, before he was fifteen years of age, he was captivated by the charms of some rural beauty, whose image he bore in his heart long after his removal to other scenes. It is not known that he ever declared his passion, and it is doubtful who was its object, though Mr. Irving mentions an impression which prevails in Virginia that she was a Miss Grimes of Westmoreland, afterwards Mrs. Lee, the mother of Colonel Henry Lee, the Light Horse Harry of Lee's Legion, "who was always a favorite with Washington, probably from the recollections of his early tenderness for the mother."

The society to which Washington was accustomed was eminently refined, intelligent and chivalric. There was in Virginia none more truly elegant. The characters of his elder brothers have been indicated in preceding pages. When not with them, or his mother, as stately as she was fond and wise, he was generally with the Fairfaxes. The family of Lord Fairfax was one of the most ancient and distinguished in the British aristocracy. It was of Anglo Saxon origin, and was settled in Northumberland before the conquest. The first peer was created Baron Fairfax of Cameron in Scotland, in 1627. The third was the celebrated republican general who defeated the king's troops at Naseby. Thomas, the sixth lord, inherited from his mother a daughter of Lord Colepepper, formerly

governor of Virginia, a splendid fortune, consisting of several manors in Kent, estates in the isle of Wight, and the vast tract of land called the Northern Neck, between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers in Virginia, which was estimated to contain five million and seven hundred thousand acres. From his father he received Fenton Hall and other property in Yorkshire, but was induced by his mother and grandmother to sell it in order to redeem the Colepepper manor. He had been educated at Oxford, and afterwards held a commission in the Horse Guards, and Mr. Irving, following Mr. Sparks, states that he acquired distinction in literature by contributing several papers to the *Spectator*.* His career as a man of fashion is said to have been suddenly brought to a close by an affair of the heart. A young lady of rank accepted his offer of marriage, and every preparation had been made for the wedding and for the matrimonial establishment, when she changed her mind, fascinated by the superior brilliancy of a ducal coronet. After this he was comparatively unknown in the gay world of London, and about 1739, when he had entered upon his fiftieth year, made a voyage to Virginia, to examine his immense domain there, and was so captivated with the soil, climate, scenery, and other attractions of the country, that he resolved to make it his home for the remainder of his life. He therefore returned to England to arrange his affairs, and in 1748 had recently arrived a second time in the colony to carry into effect his purposes.

Lord Fairfax was large, more than six feet high, sharp featured, with an aquiline nose, and a swarthy complexion. At sixty he retained all the muscular energy of youth, and, when his eccentric humor prompted, much of its vivacity. After spending a short time with his cousin, William Fairfax, at Belvoir, he established himself in the wilderness, at a place which he named Greenway Court, about twelve miles from the present town of Winchester, where he continued ever afterwards to reside and to maintain a baronial hospitality.

* This however may be doubted, as his name does not appear to be mentioned by any of the editors of that work

His dress was plain and simple, his manners modest and unaffected, and his style of living as generous and magnificent as was possible in a somewhat rudely built story-and-a-half house of wood. Such was his liberality that he gave up his English estates to a younger brother, and the surplus of his American income was distributed with a lavish hand among his tenants and neighbors. His principal amusement was hunting, and after the close of a morning's sport he was wont to invite all his companions to dinner. He had been educated in revolutionary principles, and had received high notions of republican liberty. He was the principal magistrate of Frederick county, and presided at the provincial courts at Winchester, where, during the sessions, he kept an open table.*

The Honorable William Fairfax† had resided several years in Virginia, in charge of his cousin's estates, before the marriage of his daughter with Lawrence Washington, and he remained there until his removal to New England, two or three years after the period here referred to. His eldest son, George William Fairfax, now about twenty-two years of age, had been educated in England, and since his return had married a daughter of Colonel Carey, of Hampton, on James river, whom, with her sister, he had brought home to Belvoir.

George Washington received and accepted an invitation from the old lord to accompany the bridal party to Greenway Court, and while there wrote a letter to one of his youthful confidants from which it appears that he still suffered from the melancholy depression induced by unrequited or hopeless love. "As it is the greatest mark of friendship and esteem," he says, "which absent friends can show each other, to write and often communicate their thoughts, I

* See Lodge's *Peers*, Burke's ditto.

† William Fairfax was born in England, and after serving in the army in the East and West Indies and Spain was made governor of New Providence and chief justice of the Bahamas, whence he was transferred to some office in New England. He was living here when his kinsman Lord Fairfax persuaded him to undertake the charge of his estates in Virginia. Here he became distinguished in public affairs, and was for several years a member, and for some time president, of the council of state. He returned to New England, where he had acquired some property, soon after the arrival of Lord Fairfax in this country, and died there in 1757, leaving two sons, of whom the younger, the Rev. Bryan Fairfax, became the eighth Lord Fairfax. His descendant, Thomas, the tenth Lord Fairfax, was in 1855 residing at Woodburne in Maryland.

shall endeavor from time to time, and at all times, to acquaint you with my situation and employments in life, and I could wish you would take half the pains to send me a letter by any opportunity, as you may be well assured of its meeting a welcome reception. My place of residence at present is at his lordship's, where I might, were my heart disengaged, pass my time very pleasantly, as there is a very agreeable young lady in the same house, Colonel George Fairfax's wife's sister. But that only adds fuel to the fire, as being often and unavoidably in company with her revives my passion for your lowland beauty; whereas, were I to live more retired from young women, I might in some measure alleviate my sorrow by burying that chaste and troublesome passion in oblivion; and I am very well assured that this will be the only antidote or remedy"

It was the hunting season, and Lord Fairfax was an accomplished and bold sportsman, keenly enjoying the chase in those grand old woods, so different from the scenes of his earlier sporting experiences. Through half cleared fields, or tangled copses, or among the gigantic trees whose foliage gave what seemed a boundless shade to the bear, panther, buffalo, deer, fox, raccoon, squirrel or opossum,* he guided his horse after a well trained pack of hounds,† with a skill and daring that had hitherto been rarely known on this continent. But he found young Washington as expert and fearless in the saddle as himself, and in many of the mysteries of American hunting fitted to be his teacher. The valley of the Shenandoah

* Beverley gives a much larger list of animals hunted in the forests of Virginia. "Though some of their names may seem frightful to the English, who hear not of them in their own country," he remarks, "they are not so here, for all these creatures ever fly from man."

† Lord Fairfax is said to have brought to Virginia a pack of foxhounds. But "hunting, in its true acceptation, with trained hounds followed in view by mounted hunters," says Mr. Herbert, our best authority on this subject, "can hardly be said to exist in North America. Gentlemen in the south keep packs of hounds for the pursuit of the deer and the bear, and, when the ground is practicable, ride to them well and daringly, but the woody nature of the country, and the unwillingness of the game to break covert and take to the open field, render it nearly impossible to keep near the hounds; the principal utility of which is to drive the animal across the stand of the ambushed hunter."—*Field Sports*, ii. 146. The presence of better game has from the first nearly prevented fox-hunting in this country. "The fox," remarks Mr. Herbert, in the same work, "is pursued merely for the sake of destroying a noxious animal, generally on foot, with a few heavy southern hounds, and the gun." The impression therefore that Lord Fairfax was a hard riding fox hunter in Virginia, and that Washington was his companion in any sport of this description, is probably erroneous.

was famous for its wild turkeys, which Beverley describes as "of incredible bigness," and partridges, pigeons, and other species of winged game abounded there. The youth was familiar with all the manœuvering and finesse most in vogue among the Virginia hunters, and he grew rapidly in the nobleman's regard. His frankness, modesty, and unfailing good sense, together with his nice appreciation of social proprieties, and native undauntedness of spirit, commanded his affection as well as his confidence. He was already acquainted with the quality of his education, and had perhaps noticed his practice with the theodolite and chain about the grounds at Mount Vernon, or looked over his field books, so remarkable for their exactness and completeness; and though knowing him to be scarcely sixteen years of age, he resolved to procure him a commission as a public surveyor, giving authority to his reports and enabling him to have them recorded in the county offices, and to employ him in the division and measurement of his immense wilderness estate.

It was thus to his acquaintance with the Fairfax family that Washington was, in the outset of his active life, chiefly indebted for the opportunity of performing those acts which were the foundation of his subsequent advancement in the world.

CHAPTER V.

WASHINGTON'S FIRST SURVEYING EXPEDITION—A PREPARATION FOR HIS FUTURE LIFE—DIARY OF HIS ADVENTURES—SWOLLEN RIVERS AND IMPASSABLE ROADS—UNCOMFORTABLE LODGINGS—VISITS THE BERKELEY SPRINGS—AN INDIAN WAR DANCE—SUPPER AT THE HOUSE OF A FOREST SQUIRE—GERMAN SETTLERS—RETURNS TO MOUNT VERNON—CHARACTERISTIC LETTER—OTHER EXPEDITIONS—MANNER IN WHICH HIS SURVEYS WERE EXECUTED—PECULIAR ADVANTAGES DERIVED FROM THEM BY HIM—HIS ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE BACKWOODSMEN AND INDIANS—ACCURACY OF HIS TOPOGRAPHICAL ESTIMATES.

It would be difficult to conceive of an experience more excellently adapted to prepare Washington for the high destiny which awaited him than that upon which he now entered. The lands possessed by Lord Fairfax, between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, and extending back beyond the Alleghany mountains, had never been surveyed. Hitherto the population of Virginia had been principally confined to the narrow region east of the Blue Ridge, but now a tide was setting toward the west, and adventurous settlers were finding their way up the streams and along the rich valleys, and occupying the most fertile and attractive places without warrants from the proprietors. In the absence of any system of public surveys, such as now prevails, it was of the utmost importance to them that their estates should be methodically divided into lots and accurately measured, for the purpose of claiming quit-rents and giving legal titles. The duty assigned to young Washington became to him one of the sternest but most beneficent processes of his education. In the period which he devoted to it, the future leader of the Virginia forces and chief of the continental army could not have been more suitably disciplined in the best military school in christendom. "I know not," says Mr. Everett, "if it would be deemed unbecoming, were a thoughtful student of our history

to say that he could almost hear the voice of Providence, in the language of Milton, announce its high purpose :

“ To exercise him in the wilderness ;
There he shall first lay down the rudiments
Of his great warfare, ere I send him forth
To conquer !”

Washington set out from Mount Vernon on his first surveying expedition, in company with George William Fairfax, Mrs. Lawrence Washington's elder brother, early in March, 1748, just after he had completed his sixteenth year. He kept a journal of his proceedings and adventures, which is still preserved, and its details, though in themselves of very little significance, are extremely interesting as a portion of his biography. After leaving Greenway Court, Lord Fairfax's lodge in the valley of the Shenandoah, they struck into the wilderness, and their nights were passed under the shelter of trees or rocks on blankets or bear skins, with feet to the blazing fires they had kindled, or in tents or rude cabins, affording but an inadequate protection against the weather of that inclement season. The retreating winter sent down floods from melting snows on the mountains, which, with frequent rains, rendered the streams impassable at the usual fords except by swimming the horses, and the roads and paths through the woods were in their worst condition.

On the thirteenth of March they passed through beautiful groves of sugar maples, and “spent the best part of the day in admiring the trees and the richness of the land.” On the sixteenth he writes that they “worked hard till night, and then returned” to the house of a settler. “After supper we were lighted into a room, and I, not being so good a woodsman as the rest, stripped myself very orderly, and went into the bed, as they called it, when to my surprise I found it to be nothing but a little straw matted together, without a sheet or any thing else but one threadbare blanket, with double its weight of vermin. I was glad to get up, and put on my clothes, and lie as my companions did. Had we not been very tired I am sure we should not have slept much that night. I made a promise to sleep so no more, choosing rather to sleep in the open air before a fire.” Two days after, finding the river, in consequence

of rains that had fallen among the Alleghanies, so high as not to be fordable, they made an excursion to see the warm springs, since called the Berkeley Springs at Bath. The water did not subside, and, having swum their horses to the Maryland side, on the morning of the twenty-first the surveyors crossed over in a canoe, and travelled all day, "about forty miles," he says, "over the worst road I believe that ever was trod by man or beast." They stopped at the house of a Colonel Cresap, where they were detained three or four days by bad weather. On the second day they were surprised by the appearance of more than thirty Indians, coming from a battle, with the scalp of an enemy. Having some liquor, they gave the savages a part of it, which put them in the humor of dancing, so that the surveyors had the spectacle of a war dance. After clearing away a large space and building a fire in the centre, the warriors seated themselves around it, and their principal orator made a speech. When he had finished, the best dancer in the company started up as if from sleep, and "ran and jumped about the ring in a most comical manner." The rest followed. After the dancing came their music. One of them drummed on a deer skin, stretched over a pot half filled with water, and another rattled a few shot in a gourd which was decorated with a horse's tail. It must have been a picturesque and striking sight amid those lonely old woods, to see the savages, in their wild costume, dancing, in the strong fire-light to the discordant music of their war songs. To Washington it was a novelty, and the particularity with which it is described in his diary shows that he was deeply interested by it.

From Cresap's the party proceeded to the mouth of Patterson's creek, where they recrossed the Potomac in a canoe, swimming their horses as before; and the next day, after travelling a considerable distance, supped at the house of Solomon Hedges, Esquire, one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Frederick, whose style of living is illustrated by the fact that there was neither a knife nor a fork on the table except those brought in the pockets of the guests. The night of the second of April was rainy, and the straw on which Washington was sleeping caught fire; "but I



J. Rogers

J. M. Smith

WASHINGTON AND FAIRFAX AT A WAR-DANCE.

was luckily preserved," he says, "by one of our men awaking when it was in a flame." On the fourth Mr. Fairfax left him to go down to the mouth of the river. He himself with his assistants went on surveying, and was attended by a large company of people, men, women, and children, who followed him through the woods, "showing their antic tricks." They seemed to him as ignorant as the Indians. They would never speak English, he says, but when addressed always answered in Dutch. The night of the fifth "was so intolerably smoky" that they were obliged to leave their tent to the mercy of the wind and fire. On the seventh one of the men killed a wild turkey weighing twenty pounds, and they surveyed fifteen hundred acres. Mr. Fairfax had now rejoined him, and in his journal, for the eighth of the month, he says, "we camped in the woods, and after we had pitched our tent and made a large fire, pulled out our knapsacks to recruit ourselves. Every one was his own cook. Our spits were forked sticks; our plates were large chips."

Having completed the tasks which they had undertaken they set forth from the south branch of the Potomac on their way homeward, and, on the twelfth, Mr. Fairfax was at Belvoir and Washington at Mount Vernon.

There is preserved among his papers a letter written to a friend, while he was engaged on one of his surveying tours, which, though its details are of a homely kind, brings him before us in all the truth of real life. "Yours," he says, "gave me the more pleasure, as I received it among barbarians, and an uncouth set of people. Since you received my letter of October last I have not slept above three or four nights in a bed; but after walking a good deal all day I have lain down before the fire, upon a little hay, straw, fodder, or a bear skin, whichever was to be had, with man, wife, and children, like dogs and cats, and happy is he who gets the berth nearest the fire. Nothing would make it pass off tolerably but a good reward. A doubloon is my constant gain every day that the weather will permit my going out, and sometimes six pistoles.* The coldness of the weather will not allow of my making a long stay, as the

* A pistole is three dollars and sixty cents; a doubloon is twice that sum.

lodging is rather too cold for the time of year. I have never had my clothes off, but have lain and slept in them, except the few nights I have been at Fredericksburgh."

Washington continued in the business of surveying about three years, with few or no interruptions except during the severe weather of the winters. He was exposed while in the field to continual hardships, privations, and dangers, and was without any of the comforts or necessities of civilized life, but he endured every thing with a brave cheerfulness for the sake of acquiring pecuniary independence, without which he probably perceived that it is generally difficult for even men of the finest and highest qualities to maintain either self respect or good reputation. But few authorized and competent surveyors were at that time in the colony, there was a large demand for their services, and the pay they received was consequently liberal. Washington's perseverance, industry, and habits of despatch, rendered the occupation very profitable to him. The satisfaction of his professional charges however constituted but a small proportion of the benefits he derived from this employment. The knowledge which it gave him of the excellence of the soil in various places, and of the value of particular localities, guided him afterwards in the purchase of extensive tracts of land which became the most productive portions of his fortune.

The manner in which he executed his duties was entirely satisfactory to Lord Fairfax, who would doubtless have retained him in the same service for many subsequent years had not circumstances led to his abandonment of such pursuits. His surveys extended along the tributaries of the Potomac river among the farthest ridges and spurs of the Alleghany mountains, and embraced much of the richest valley country of Virginia. The curious fact has frequently been pointed out in proof and illustration of the skill and integrity with which they were made, that they are almost the only ones recorded previous to the revolution in their respective counties which have not since been disturbed by decisions of the courts.

At the Natural Bridge, in Rockbridge county, carved at a great

elevation, the initials of the youthful surveyor's name, renewed, of course, in later years, are still shown to the traveller. For a long time it was the highest inscription at the place, but recently some one has had the indifferent taste to register his name above that of the Father of his country.

His home during this period was with his brother Lawrence at Mount Vernon, which was nearer than Fredericksburgh to the scenes of his labors; but he frequently visited his mother, and assisted in the management of her affairs. He was sometimes also the guest of his employer, at Greenway Court, where he found a good library. The books he read on these occasions are mentioned in his diary, and appear to have been selected with the excellent judgment which characterized all his actions.

His experience as a surveyor was eminently favorable to the development of his strength and activity of muscle and limb. From childhood his frame had seemed precociously large and vigorous, and now he had reached a maturity of physical energy, a firmness, size, and symmetry of person, and a hardihood of temperament, such as men of his inherited social position have rarely been able to acquire.

He thoroughly acquainted himself with the habits and feelings of the frontier settlers, the outer and expanding circle of civilization, who at this time constituted a large proportion of the whole population of the country. Their log cabins, scattered at remote distances through the forest, afforded him shelter from night or storm, and in his familiar intercourse with them, around the hearth or in the fields, he learned their character, and the influences by which they were most apt to be moved; and he himself also became extensively known to these backwoodsmen, upon whom the simplicity, frankness and earnestness of his nature must have made the most favorable impressions; so that when an army was to be made up largely of individuals of this description, and deriving from them its chief moral and physical qualities, he was found above all men fitted to appreciate its efficiency and command its confidence.

In these three years he had also ample opportunities for studying

the character and temper of the Indians, whose predatory or vengeful incursions upon the settlements had at one time or another brought mourning into almost every household, and whose uncertain dispositions made them a continual terror not only to women and children but to the most bold spirited and sagacious invaders of the forests. He saw them stealthily following the wild game on the mountains, and in their wigwams, about their council fires, or celebrating their prowess in fraternal wars; and was so careful and wise an observer of their peculiarities that during his subsequent military and civil administrations few were as good judges as to the best modes of dealing with them.

There are not many things more important or essential to the great commander than a proper education of the eye. The quick glance which accurately measures distances, numbers, or elevations, as it ranges across the battle field through clouds of smoke and bristling rows of bayonets, is in most cases a result of long experience in the conduct, arrangement and disposition of armies. Washington's observation as a surveyor enabled him to estimate with astonishing rapidity and certainty the features and capacities of fields as large as his vision comprehended, so that he could direct the movements of forces in such a manner as to be assured of every advantage within his reach that depended on the favorable accidents of nature.

On the whole it would be difficult to conceive of any manner in which Washington might have passed this portion of his life more advantageously, either with reference to his private interest or his preparation for the great work before him.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH DOMINIONS IN AMERICA—TREATY OF AIX LA CHAPELLE—SURVIVING CONTROVERSIES RESPECTING BOUNDARIES ON THIS CONTINENT—THE OHIO COMPANY—PROSPECTS OF WAR—WASHINGTON APPOINTED ADJUTANT GENERAL—ENTERS UPON A MILITARY LIFE—HIS BROTHER LAWRENCE HAS CONSUMPTION—HE ACCOMPANIES HIM TO THE WEST INDIES—IS ATTACKED WITH THE SMALL POX—RETURNS TO VIRGINIA—DEATH OF LAWRENCE WASHINGTON—GEORGE WASHINGTON HIS EXECUTOR AND LEGATEE.

BEFORE the seven years' war, which has with propriety been regarded as the school of the revolution, this continent had been the scene of numerous sanguinary conflicts between the English and the French. The former possessed the sea coast from Nova Scotia to Florida, and claimed dominion westward to the Pacific, but the latter had established themselves in the interior from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. The treaty of Aix la Chapelle, signed on the seventh of October, 1748, was framed by the wisest statesmen of Europe, and was expected to give peace to the world, but it left the controversy between these two nations respecting their American boundaries entirely unsettled. Neither party admitted the right of the other to the valley of the Penobscot or to that of the Ohio. In regard to the English colonies here the treaty embraced only the humiliating stipulation that Louisburg, conquered by their own treasure and blood in 1745, should be given up to France in return for territorial restitutions of which only the queen of Hungary and the States General of Holland reaped advantages. The attachment of the people for the mother country was lessened, but they were soon compelled in self defence to prepare for a renewal of the war against the French. In settling America the European nations admitted no right to the soil on the part of the aborigines, but though this unfortunate race was incapable of maintaining its

independence, it had ample energies for carrying on harassing and destructive incursions into the settlements of the two rival states, and it was alternately stimulated by these parties against each other, and much more commonly and effectively by the French against the English than by the English against the French. Every quarrel in Europe between England and France brought the war whoop and scalping knife to the frontiers, all the way from the St. Croix to the Savannah.

In western Pennsylvania and Virginia, in Kentucky, and all the region south of it, and in that northwest of the Ohio and west of the Mississippi, there was not a single Anglo Saxon inhabitant. In the early part of the century portions of the Delaware, Shawnee and Mingo tribes of Indians had migrated from Canada and taken up their abodes about the Ohio and its tributaries, and the French pretended to hold them under their protection; but their doubtful allegiance to the governor of Canada had in recent years been undermined by an influx of fur traders from Pennsylvania. Many of these hardy and rude adventurers became rich with the spoils of their commerce, in which worthless trinkets, gaudy colored fabrics for dress, powder, shot, and rum, were exchanged at enormous profits for valuable furs and peltries. Some of the more enterprising and intelligent gentlemen of Virginia and Maryland were anxious to share in these extraordinary advantages, and soon after the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, declaring peace between England and France, obtained a charter for an association styled the Ohio Company, the avowed object of which was the occupation and settlement of the fertile region southwest of the Ohio river and west of the Alleghany mountains. It consisted of a small number of Virginians and Marylanders, among whom were Augustine and Lawrence Washington, and Mr. Thomas Hanbury, an eminent merchant of London. The company were bound by the terms of a grant of six hundred thousand acres of land, to introduce one hundred families into this district within seven years, and to build a fort and provide a garrison adequate to its defence.

Preparations for the execution of the conditions of this grant,

and for opening a trade with the Indians, arrested the attention of the French authorities; emissaries were sent from Canada to break up the friendly relations which had been entered into between the agents of the company and the Indian tribes; and during the last winter in which Washington had been engaged in surveying, it became evident that Virginia was to be exposed to the horrors of a border and savage war. As a precautionary measure the colony was divided into four military districts, in each of which an officer was appointed called an adjutant general, with the rank of major, and a salary of one hundred and fifty pounds a year, whose duty it was to assemble and exercise the militia, inspect their arms and equipments, and enforce generally the established regulations for discipline.

It is probable that Washington during his career as a surveyor had become acquainted with many gentlemen of standing and influence in the colony, and it is a proof of the high degree of respect and confidence he had inspired that he received a commission to take charge of one of these districts, though at the time but nineteen years of age. It is true that his brother Lawrence was at this period a member of the house of burgesses, and that his friend Mr. William Fairfax had a seat in the governor's council, but only a diffused and well established reputation for extraordinary talents, accomplishments, and virtues, could have been sufficient to procure under these circumstances of public danger the appointment of so youthful a person to an office thus intimately connected with the preservation of the lives and fortunes of the people.

The martial propensities which he displayed in boyhood had rather increased than diminished with his years, and a knowledge of these on the part of the governor and council had probably some effect in procuring for him this distinguished position. There were in Virginia many officers besides Lawrence Washington who had served in the French or Spanish wars, and some of them must have been accomplished soldiers, familiar with military science as well as with the practical use of arms. In applying himself with characteristic earnestness to the study of his new

duties he was therefore not without some considerable advantages. Jacob Van Braam renewed his instructions in fence, and Adjutant Muse practised with him the manual exercise, described evolutions in the field, and loaned him books on the military art. The Fairfaxes and his brother, with their well informed and critical conversations on such subjects, must have been nearly as serviceable as professed teachers of tactics and strategy.

He had scarcely entered on the active discharge of the duties of his office when fraternal affection led him to undertake others of a very different nature. His brother Lawrence, who had been to him the wisest and faithfulest of friends, and whose house had been his home from the time of his leaving school, was now in so critical a condition of health that it was deemed necessary by his physicians that he should be removed to a more genial climate for the approaching winter. His constitution had always been delicate, his physical energies had gradually been declining ever since his return from the campaign against Carthagena, and at length it was apparent that he was rapidly failing from consumption. He visited England, hoping the voyage would be of some advantage, but was disappointed; he also passed a summer at the Berkeley Springs, then surrounded by a wilderness, but still found no essential relief; and at last it was resolved, upon consultation with his medical advisers, that he should try the air of the West Indies. Accompanied by his younger brother he accordingly sailed for Barbadoes on the twenty-eighth of September, 1751, and arrived at that island on the third of the following November. George Washington, as was his habit, kept a journal of every day's events and what he saw or heard. On the ship he copied the logbook, and added his own remarks on the weather and on nautical occurrences, and after reaching their destination, described the appearance and resources of the place, the social and political condition of its inhabitants, and the movements of his brother and himself while they remained there.

The change of scene, pleasantness of the climate, cordial hospitality of the people, and his brother's watchful attentions, revived the invalid's spirits, and for a while renewed his strength, so that

the resident physician whom he consulted encouraged a belief that he would be restored to health. They took lodgings at an agreeably situated house about a mile from the town, owned by the commander of the fort, and were invited to dinners by a club of gentlemen, and by the principal civil and military dignitaries, and were taken to the theatre, where George Washington for the first time saw a play acted. It was the tragedy of George Barnwell, and he mentions in his diary that "the character of Barnwell, and several others, were said to be well performed."

He had not been more than a fortnight on the island when he became ill with the small pox. The attack was severe, but by skilful medical treatment, and the kind attentions of friends, he was cured in about three weeks. Some traces of the disease are said to have remained upon his countenance for the rest of his days. He thus happily, at so early an age, and in the favorable climate of the tropics, passed through this terrible ordeal, and before his military career began, was placed beyond the reach of a malady which, in one of his letters written to the governor of Virginia in 1777, he refers to as more dreaded and often more destructive than the enemy's sword.

Believing that his health was benefited by the climate, Lawrence Washington determined to remain for a considerable period under its healing and invigorating influence, and instead of returning home in the spring, to pass the ensuing summer in Bermuda. Regretting the absence of his wife, it was arranged that his brother should return to Virginia and bring her out to meet him at that island. Accordingly on the twenty-second of December he sailed for the Chesapeake, and, after a very stormy passage, of five weeks, reached Mount Vernon.

Lawrence Washington lingered through the winter at Barbadoes, but the invariable beauty and mildness of the climate wearied him. "No place can please me," he wrote, "without a change of seasons." In the beginning of March he proceeded to Bermuda, but the sharp damp winds of the early spring aggravated his disease and induced depression of spirits. Some temporary relief caused him to

send home an encouraging account of his condition, and to urge the speedy departure of his wife and brother to join him there, but another letter subdued the hopes which this awakened, and prevented them from leaving Virginia. He feared, now, that no essential improvement would result from a continuance abroad; soon after, was uncertain whether to go back to Barbadoes or to visit the south of France; and next, in a moment of despondency, was on the eve of "hurrying home to his grave." His melancholy forebodings were soon realized. He arrived at Mount Vernon in time to die, surrounded by his kindred and friends, under his own roof, on the twenty-sixth of July, 1752. "Few men," says Mr. Sparks, "have been more beloved for their amiable qualities, or more admired for those higher traits of character which give dignity to virtue and a charm to accomplishments of mind and manners."

He was thirty years of age, and left an only child, a daughter to inherit his large estates, of which the use and income were secured to his widow during her life. In case of the daughter's death without issue it was provided that Mount Vernon and other property specified in the will should descend to his brother George, who was appointed one of his executors. Of these he was the youngest, yet his familiarity with his brother's affairs, and his discretion and integrity, were so well understood, that the business was placed almost entirely in his hands. For several months therefore his attention was largely occupied with private employments, but even in this period he was not forgetful of his duties as adjutant general. As soon as circumstances permitted he visited the several counties in his district, to instruct the militia officers, review the companies and battalions, and by all the means in his power to prepare the country for vigorous military operations.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FRENCH DOMINION IN AMERICA—DESIGNS OF THE FRENCH AGAINST THE ENGLISH COLONIES—FRENCH AND ENGLISH TERRITORIAL CLAIMS—INDIAN VIEW OF THEM—DISTINCTIONS OF THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH POLICY—REMARKABLE PROPHECY BY PETER KALM—INCREDULITY OF CARDILLAC—A NEW ERA—PREDICTION OF JOHN ADAMS—THE SCHOOL OF THE REVOLUTION.

At this period the fortunes of France on this continent wore their brightest aspect. Along the line of the lakes, and down the Mississippi river, French politics, with the Roman religion, had compassed, through the daring efforts of traders, seconded by ambitious members of the society of Jesus, results eminently dangerous to British power. The Englishman made his way slowly and with difficulty to the affection and the alliance of the savages, but the Frenchman seemed almost without an exertion to secure their friendship. A cordon of French posts was extending slowly but persistently from Lake Erie to New Orleans, already a town of considerable importance, and it was apparent to sagacious statesmen that the far-reaching policy of France, which contemplated the gradual extinction of British authority in America, would be successful unless met with a degree of energy on the part of the English which they had hitherto failed to display in this controversy.

Favored by their maritime superiority the English had possessed themselves of the Atlantic coast, but the charters granted to some of their earlier adventurers extended across the continent. The French pretensions, however, would have limited their settlements to the narrow region east of the Alleghanies. The Marquis de la Gallisonière, while governor of Canada, had pointed to Detroit as the centre of a boundless inland commerce, and to Louisiana and Canada, almost connected by the navigable waters of the St. Lawrence and the

Mississippi, bordered by some of the richest lands in the world, as the bulwarks of France in America against English ambition.

The claims of the rival nations to authority over the disputed territories were alike unfounded. Great Britain asserted her rights to all the country west of her dominions on the seaboard, as naturally appertaining to them, and to that between the mountains and the Mississippi, by an additional title derived from the Indians. By careful and liberal management an amicable relation had been preserved with the powerful confederacy of the Iroquois, inhabiting the eastern and southern borders of Lake Ontario. The chiefs of these tribes, in 1744, had met at Lancaster commissioners from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and had ceded to them the lands in question, for four hundred pounds, alleging that they had been conquered by their forefathers. But the Indians by whom they were occupied, and whose ancestors had dwelt upon them from time immemorial, derided this proceeding, declaring that they themselves were the only rightful owners of the soil, and that the Six Nations had nothing to do with it in any manner whatever.

The French rested their claim mainly on the right of discovery, but fortified it by the sanction of treaties at Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix la Chapelle. Marquette, Joliet, and La Salle, had descended the Mississippi, and settlements had been made by other subjects of the crown of France, southward of Lake Michigan and on the Illinois river, before any Englishman had crossed the Alleghanies. It was held to be an axiom in the law of nations that the discovery of a river gave to the sovereign of the discoverer a right to all the lands drained by it or by its tributaries, and in the treaties referred to the title of France had been recognized to all her actual possessions in America.

The jealousy of the Indians was naturally excited by a knowledge of these debates, and a deputy of the Delaware chiefs exposed their absurdity by the natural and pertinent inquiry, addressed to Mr. Gist, while that bold pioneer was examining the valley of the Ohio, in 1752, "Where lie the lands of the Indians? The French claim all on one side of the river, and the English all on the other?"

Although the white population of the English colonies was supposed to amount to more than one million, and that of the French was not estimated to exceed fifty or sixty thousand, the latter had still great advantages, independent of any support from the mother country, which it was believed would justify an appeal to arms for the settlement of their territorial jurisdiction.

The English colonists were peaceable farmers and traders, slowly extending their settlements by diligent and continuous cultivation, and, except in New England, little used to the excitements of a military life. They were divided into separate commonwealths, differing in religion and political constitutions, jealous of each other, and united only by a common distrust of the temper and designs of the parent state. The suspicion had long been entertained that Great Britain was restrained from the maintenance of her colonial rights against the French by apprehensions of American independence. Peter Kalm, an accomplished and sensible Swedish traveller, who came to this country in 1748 and remained here two years, was well acquainted with Franklin and other persons eminent in society and in public affairs, and he says, "There is reason to believe that the king never was in earnest in his attempts to drive the French from their possessions, though it might have been done with little difficulty, for the English colonies in this part of the world have increased so much in the number of their inhabitants, and in their riches, that they almost vie with England herself. . . . I have been told by English subjects, and not only by such as were natives of America, but even by those who had emigrated from Europe, that the English colonies, within the space of thirty or fifty years hence, would be able to form a state by themselves, entirely independent of England; but as the whole country which lies along the sea shore is unguarded, while on the inland side it is harassed by the French in time of war, these dangerous neighbors are sufficient to prevent the connection of the colonies with the mother country from being quite broken off. The English government has, therefore, abundant reason to consider the French in America as the best guardians of the submission of its own plantations." The

policy here suggested was perhaps disturbed only by a suspicion that unless the French were driven from the continent, they would not only retard the advancement of the English, but expel them from the region they had already subdued.

Earlier to see, more comprehensive in designs, superior in activity, and governed by a larger ambition and more generous views, France was already far advanced in the race when England had not yet become aware of its object and importance. More daring, capable and facile men were ranged under her banners. Her chief purposes were mercenary, but for their attainment the cross and the sword were equally under her direction. Personal gallantry in the most eminent degree characterized her commercial as well as her military adventurers, and Jesuit missionaries dreamed that under the banner of France was to be fought the battle which should give to their church and to their order dominion over the continent. These three classes of men, in commercial, military and priestly life, had long been actively interested for the progress of France in America, and their efforts, both here and at home, had been appreciated by a monarch who had inherited the empire and the views of Louis the Fourteenth. Cardillac, governor of Louisiana, was one of the few Frenchmen in dignified positions who did not foresee the wealth and greatness of the country. Writing to the minister at home, respecting certain instructions issued to his agents by the *Sieur Crozat*, he exclaims, "What! is it expected that for any commercial or profitable aims boats will ever be able to run up the Mississippi into the Ohio, Missouri, or Red river? one might as well try to bite a slice off the moon!" Others anticipated something of the power and magnificence which in these regions has crowned the industry of civilized men after one hundred and fifty years. The least efficient of the three classes I have mentioned were the priests. They were generally but appendages to trading houses, and were far more serviceable to the traders than to the church. In Europe it answered very well to appeal to the religious sentiment in behalf of a munificent policy toward the French colonies. The conversions made here by the Jesuits were, however, few and

but nominal. Father Marest describes their converts, in 1712, as "lazy, treacherous, fickle, inconstant, deceitful, and thievish, so as even to glory in their address in stealing; brutal, without honor, without truth, ready to promise any thing for those who are liberal to them, but at the same time ungrateful, and without thankfulness." Father Charlevoix, descending the Mississippi in 1722, though constantly encountering commercial adventurers, discovered but one cross between the Illinois river and New Orleans, and that was at a trading post. Of the people at one of the stations he says, "They have no priests, but it is not their fault: they had one, whom they were obliged to get rid of, because he was drunken."* Traders and priests were alike accustomed to implicit obedience to despotic power, and were easily moulded into armies when needed as instruments of war or conquest. Their minds had never been disturbed by visions of liberty, and their only ambition, except that of personal gain, was to be witnesses of the aggrandizement and glory of France. The French governors, at least those of Canada, were nearly all soldiers of high reputation, and were intrusted with the absolute regulation and superintendence of Indian affairs, and, with the exception of the Iroquois, or Six Nations, and their tributaries, they had been easily successful in conciliating and gaining the adherence of all the tribes with whom they had been brought in contact.

Unity of design and promptness of execution characterized in all its departments the French administration in America, while the councils of the various English colonies were distracted by a hundred local causes, and by pervading doubts respecting the temper of parliament and the policy of ministers, which had thus far been as selfish and hostile to their true interests as if they had been conquered provinces.

A new era approached, and to the contemplative intelligence there are few if any others in American history which furnish more incitements to reflection. The destinies of the continent hung in

* "At the present day," remarks a well informed writer in the Presbyterian Review, "there is but one band of Indians in the northwest who are really civilized, and these received the rudiments of education from Jonathan Edwards. Those who were accustomed to the teachings of the Jesuits, with few exceptions, remain as lustful, warlike, and indolent, as their forefathers."

poise, and within a few years clustered deeds that lightened the weight of France in the scale, and caused the beam, heavy with the greatness of an empire, to gravitate to England. In this period young John Adams, then the teacher of a village school, wrote to a friend, "If we can remove the turbulent Frenchmen, our people, according to the exactest calculations, will, in another century, become more numerous than the population of England herself. All Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves is to disunite us."* It was a cause of surprise with many that while the Six Nations of savages had no difficulty in preserving their powerful confederation, the English colonies could not be even combined for their common defence. But events were rapidly occurring which gave life to the plans of union first proposed from Philadelphia in 1751, and more distinctly announced at Albany, by Franklin, in 1754. The colonies were at length to act in concert, and with unlooked for efficiency. The "turbulent Frenchmen" were to be removed, the field cleared for a larger action, and the people trained for that astonishing contest which thirty years later was to inaugurate the most truly glorious period in human history.

* October 12, 1755. *Life and Works of John Adams*, i. 23.

CHAPTER VIII.

MOVEMENTS OF THE OHIO COMPANY—EXPLORATIONS BY CHRISTOPHER GIST—TREATY BETWEEN VIRGINIA AND THE MIAMIS—MOVEMENTS OF THE FRENCH—INTERVIEW BETWEEN TANACHARISSE AND THE FRENCH COMMANDER ON LAKE ERIE—HOSTILITIES COMMENCED BY M. DUQUESNE—ROBERT DINWIDDIE MADE GOVERNOR—HIS OFFICIAL CONDUCT—MISSION OF CAPTAIN TRENT—WASHINGTON APPOINTED TO VISIT THE FRENCH POSTS—VAN BRAAM HIS INTERPRETER AND GIST HIS GUIDE—OBSERVATIONS AT THE CONFLUENCE OF THE MONONGAHELA AND ALLEGHANY RIVERS—DETENTION AT LOGSTOWN—INDIAN COUNCILS—ESCORT OF CHIEFS—ARRIVAL AT VENANGO—CAPTAIN JONCAIRE—REVELRY AT HIS QUARTERS—SCANDAL—DIPLOMACY—END OF THE JOURNEY.

THE Ohio Company had proceeded with earnestness to fulfill the conditions of their grant from the crown. In 1750 they entered into an arrangement with Christopher Gist, an experienced woodsman and Indian trader, living on the Yadkin, near the borders of North Carolina, to make a careful exploration of the lands which they had acquired, to ascertain the best route to them, to observe the strength of the Indian nations, and to conciliate them in regard to their proposed new settlement. On the last day of October Gist set out by way of Will's creek, since called Cumberland river, for the Ohio. At Logstown, a little below the site of the present city of Pittsburg, he heard of George Croghan, an envoy from the governor of Pennsylvania, charged with friendly communications to several tribes, including the Twightwees, or Miamis, next to the Iroquois the strongest confederacy of Indians on this continent, and two or three days after overtook him, at Muskingum, a town of the Wyandots and Mingoes. Croghan had raised the English flag over his tent, as a sign of opposition to the French, who had recently captured three white men, employed in the fur trade, and sent them as prisoners to Presqu'île. He soon after concluded a treaty of

peace and alliance between the English of Pennsylvania and the Weas and Piankeshas, and Gist was assured that all the friendly tribes of the west would assemble the next summer at Logstown for a general negotiation with Virginia.

The meeting of the representatives of the Ohio tribes with the commissioners of Virginia took place at the time appointed, and it was agreed that none of the settlements which might be made by the agents of the company, on the southeastern side of the river, should be disturbed. Tanacharisson, called Half King, on account of his subordination to the Iroquois, had his home at Logstown, and he advised the Virginians to build a fort at the fork of the Monongahela, as a means of resisting the designs of the French. Gist was accordingly instructed to commence a settlement there, with suitable defences, and on the faith of the treaty he was joined by twelve families of adventurers.

The French viewed these proceedings with jealousy, and sent emissaries to break up the amicable relations established between the Indians and the government of Virginia. Succeeding La Jonquière,* M. Duquesne† had become governor of Canada, and upon a rumor that he had detached twelve hundred men to occupy the valley of the Ohio, Tanacharisson repaired to the French posts on

* The Marquis de la Jonquière arrived in Canada in August, 1749, succeeding, as governor general, the accomplished scholar, soldier and statesman, Lieutenant General Roland Michel Barrin, Marquis de la Galissonnière, who had held the same office during the four preceding years. La Jonquière, born in Languedoc in 1696, was a man of splendid presence, and a good soldier, but was remarkable for excessive avarice. The most noticeable point of his administration in Canada was an attempt to suppress the order of the Jesuits there. He died in Quebec, May 17, 1752.

† The Marquis de Duquesne de Menneville, whose name is one of the most familiar in the history of the French dominion in America, was a grandson of the famous admiral, Abraham Duquesne, and was himself a captain in the royal marine. He became governor general of Canada in 1752, and in 1754 was recalled, at his own request, to re-enter the naval service. Before leaving Montreal, in an interview with deputies from the Iroquois, he reproached them for their willingness to surrender the control of the Ohio to the English rather than to the French. "Are you ignorant," he inquired, "of the difference between the king of France and the English? Look at the forts which the king has built: you will find that under the very shadows of their walls the beasts are hunted and slain; that they are, in fact, fixed in the places most frequented by you, merely to gratify more conveniently your necessities. The English, on the contrary, no sooner occupy a post, than the woods fall before their hands, the earth is subjected to cultivation, the game disappears, and your people are soon reduced to battle with starvation." In this speech he accurately described the two civilizations. M. Duquesne, in 1758, being in France, was appointed to the command of all the forces, sea and land, in America, and in March sailed from Toulon, with a small squadron, but was soon after utterly defeated and driven back by the English.—See Winthrop Sargent's Expedition against Fort Duquesne.

Lake Erie to complain in person of their intended aggressions. "Fathers," said he, "you are disturbers of this land, by building towns, and taking it from us, by fraud or force. We kindled a fire long ago at Montreal, where we desired you to stay, and not to come and intrude upon our country. I now advise you to return thither, for this land is ours. If you had come in a peaceable manner, like our brothers the English, we should have traded with you as we do with them; but that you should come and take our possessions by force, and build houses upon them, is what we can not submit to. Both you and the English are white. We live in a region between you both. The land belongs to neither of you. The Great Being allotted it to us as a home. So, I desire you, as I have desired our brothers the English, to withdraw, for I will keep you both at arms length. Whoever most regards this request, by them we will stand, and consider them friends. Our brothers the English have heard this, and I now come to tell it to you." And he gave the belt of wampum. The French commandant treated with derision the simple and dignified words of the chief. "Child," he replied, "you talk foolishly; you say this land belongs to you, but not so much of it as the black of your nails belongs to you. It is mine, and I will have it, let who will stand up against me." And he threw back the belt of wampum with signs of contempt.

Tanacharisson was wounded and dismayed by the bold language and insolent demeanor of the Frenchman. He saw the approaching ruin of his race, but continued to look with some hope to the English, as less disposed than the French to do them wrong. His favorable disposition was strengthened in a few months by an interview with Franklin, at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania.

Duquesne, meanwhile, was active in carrying out the policy enjoined on him by his superiors. The advances of the English into the interior threatened to disturb the splendid scheme which the French had steadily pursued for years, and must be prevented at every hazard. Missionaries were employed to persuade the Indians that the purposes of their new friends were treacherous and dangerous. Some of the traders were seized and sent to

France, and a fort was immediately commenced on the Buffalo river,* as a position from which the Indians could be controlled and the Virginians held in check.

In 1752 Robert Dinwiddie, a shrewd Scotchman, previously a clerk in one of the custom houses of the West Indies, where he had commended himself for favor and promotion by discovering a vast system of fraud that had been practised by his superiors, had arrived in Virginia to preside over her councils as lieutenant governor. In December of the same year he had sent home to the Board of Trade an elaborate report on the condition and prospects of the colony, and solicited particular instructions for the regulation of his conduct in resisting the French. He had recommended a series of western forts, and, urging the benefits of an intimate alliance with the Miamas, had offered to cross the mountains and deliver a present to them in person. The ministers had given little heed to his earnest and sensible recommendations, but he had continued to furnish them with early and accurate intelligence, and at last, in the beginning of 1753, it was decided at Whitehall that the proceedings of the French in the valley of the Ohio should be vigorously opposed. Governor Dinwiddie was reminded of the military resources of Virginia, but neither troops nor money were sent over to aid him in the proposed war against France for the conquest of the western territory. The governor of Canada, pursuing his plans with characteristic activity, was now, it seemed, firmly established on the Ohio river. The approach of the French towards the English settlements had encouraged their Indian allies to frequent and bold assaults upon them, while the tribes which had been friendly to the English were overawed and shaken in their fidelity.

The necessity of prompt and energetic action, for self preservation as well as for the vindication of the rights of the crown, was apparent to every body who gave even the slightest attention to affairs, and Governor Dinwiddie lost no time in sending Captain William Trent as a commissioner to expostulate with the French

* Now called French creek, in Pennsylvania, but named by the French *Rivière aux Bœufs*, on account of the great numbers of buffaloes that were found in its vicinity.

commander on the Ohio for his invasion of the British possessions. This officer seems not to have had the qualities necessary for a fit performance of his duties, and after reaching Piqua, the principal town of the Miamis, where Gist and Croghan had been so well received, and discovering that the enemy's flag waved above its ruins, and that generally the aspect of things on the frontier was more threatening than he had anticipated, he abandoned his purposes and returned home.

The immediate appointment of his successor was resolved upon, but it was not an easy matter to find a person of the requisite moral and physical capacities for so responsible and hazardous an enterprise.

The task to be set before the commissioner was undoubtedly a very difficult one. Four or five hundred miles were to be travelled, the greater part of the way through a wilderness, made more impassable with mountains and rivers, and inhabited by hostile Indians, in a state of daily increasing irritation. It was near the end of October, and the season added obstacles almost insurmountable.

The position appears to have been offered to several gentlemen, by all of whom it was declined, when the governor received an intimation that it would be accepted by Major Washington. Washington was now twenty-one years of age. He had recently come into possession of the fine estate of Mount Vernon, and had therefore unusual temptations to avoid so laborious and dangerous an undertaking. But his whole constitution was heroical, and it was not consistent with his ideas of patriotism to shrink from any honorable service which could be rendered to his country. Besides, he was ambitious, and ready to avail himself of every good opportunity for carving his way to eminent distinction. The governor was not ignorant of his reputation, and in his official relations had probably become personally acquainted with him. He accepted his offer, saying at the time, "Faith! you are a brave lad, and if you play your cards well you shall have no cause to repent your bargain."*

* Paulding, i. 52

Washington received his commission and instructions, and a passport under the great seal of the colony, on the thirty-first of October. He was directed to proceed without delay to Logstown, and there make known to Tanacharisson, Monacatoocha, and other friendly chiefs, the purport of his errand, and after ascertaining where the French were stationed, to request an escort of warriors to guide and protect him to the end of his journey. On meeting the French commandant he was to exhibit his credentials, and deliver a letter from the governor of Virginia, demanding an answer, in the name of the king, but not to wait for one beyond a week. He was also to inquire diligently as to the number of the French troops that had crossed the lakes, the means of communication with Canada, the reinforcements expected, how many forts had been erected, how they were garrisoned and appointed, and their distances from each other; and, in short, to learn every thing possible respecting the condition, prospects and pretensions of the intruders, necessary for the proper information of the government.

He left Williamsburg the same day, and the next arrived at Fredericksburg, where he was joined by his old fencing master, Jacob Van Braam, whose familiarity with the French language and habits was deemed of great importance for furthering the objects of the expedition. He also engaged John Davidson, an Indian interpreter. At Alexandria he provided himself with such means of comfort as could be conveniently carried, and at Winchester, then on the frontier, with horses, tents, and other traveling equipments; and on the fourteenth of November, by a road which had been opened by the Ohio Company, reached Will's creek. Here he found Mr. Gist, whom he engaged to accompany him as a guide, and four other men, two of them Indian traders, were hired as attendants.

The party, now increased to eight persons, with horses, tents, provisions, and other things necessary for the expedition, the next day entered the wilderness. The season was more than usually unfavorable. There had been heavy and frequent rains, and before

the ground was frozen snow had fallen to the depth of more than six inches. The streams were much swollen, and the common difficulties of fording them or crossing them on rafts were greatly increased. They were seven days in reaching John Frazier's peltry house, at the junction of Turtle creek with the Monongahela, a distance of but eighty miles. They were hospitably entertained by Frazier, who loaned them a canoe, in which two of the men were sent with the luggage ten miles farther, to the place where the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers unite to form the Ohio. "As I got down before the canoe," he writes in his journal, "I spent some time in viewing the rivers, and the land in the fork, which I think extremely well situated for a fort, as it has the absolute command of both rivers. The land at the point is twenty or twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water, with a considerable bottom of flat well timbered land all around it, very convenient for building. The rivers are each a quarter of a mile or more across, and run here nearly at right angles: the Alleghany bearing northeast, and the Monongahela southeast. The former of these two is very rapid and swift running water, the other deep and still, without any perceptible fall." The Ohio Company had determined to erect a fort two miles farther down, but Washington was impressed with the advantages this point afforded as a military post, and it was by his advice that a fortification was soon after commenced here. French engineers subsequently approved his judgment by selecting the same site for the fort which was so long celebrated under the name of Duquesne.

Being joined by Shingis, head sachem of the Delawares, they hastened onward to Logstown, about twenty miles below the confluence of the rivers, where they arrived on the evening of Saturday the twenty-fourth of the month. Tanacharisson was absent on a hunt, but messengers were despatched to summon him and other chiefs to a meeting on Monday. On Sunday morning four French soldiers came into the town. They had deserted from a company of one hundred men sent up from New Orleans, with eight canoes laden with provisions, expecting to meet at Logstown a detachment from

the garrison near Lake Erie. Washington obtained from them an account of the French force at New Orleans, and of the forts along the Mississippi and at the mouth of the Wabash, by which they maintained a communication with the lakes. The deserters were on their way, under the direction of a Pennsylvania trader, to Philadelphia. The half king came in during the afternoon, and he had a long conference with him, in which the chief gave a narrative of his visit to the commandant of the French posts on Lake Erie, and exhibited a drawing, made by himself, of two forts which had been built, one on the lake, and the other at a creek fifteen miles inland.

On the following morning at an early hour the chiefs met in council, and Washington addressed them in a speech, which was interpreted by Davidson, explaining the objects of his mission, and the wishes of the governor of Virginia in regard to themselves. He then gave them a string of wampum, the usual token of friendship and alliance, and when they had consulted together Tanacharisson was deputed to answer him. His words were pacific. They would give back to the French their "speech belt," by which act all amicable relations with them would be ended, and would furnish the commissioner from Virginia an escort, composed of Mingoes, Shawnees, and Delawares, to show the fraternal feelings of these tribes; but the young warriors being out on a hunting party, he was requested to wait three days for their return.

As he had orders to make all possible despatch, and the thought of waiting at Logstown was very disagreeable to him, he told the chief, while thanking him, that his business would not admit of that delay. Tanacharisson was not well pleased that his arrangement was declined, and Washington consented to remain, but finally, on the morning of the thirtieth, set out with only Tanacharisson and four other Indians, one of whom was an aged chief named Jeskake, who on the previous evening, in the council house, had rehearsed the speech he was to deliver to the French. It was agreed that unless they would heed this new warning to leave the country the Delawares also would be their enemies, and a large

string of black and white wampum was despatched to the Iroquois as a prayer for assistance.

The imperfect fulfilment of the promises given to Washington on his arrival at Logstown had a secret cause which was probably much more efficient than any that was avowed. The chiefs had heard that Captain Joncaire, an old and well known agent of the governors general in their dealings with the Indians, had called together a considerable number from the Mingoes, Delawares, and other disaffected or doubtful tribes, and informed them that the French, although for the present they had gone into winter quarters, would assuredly in the spring go down the river in great force to attack the English, whom they should conquer, and that he had advised them to remain passive, saying that if they should interfere the French and English would unite, cut them all off, and divide their land between them. With such rumors preying on their minds the poor savages naturally hesitated a little about committing themselves irretrievably to either party.

The distance to the head quarters of the French was one hundred and twenty miles. The intermediate post, under the command of Joncaire, at Venango, was not much more than half way, but such was the inclemency of the weather and the difficulty of traveling that four days were spent before Washington and his companions reached that ancient Indian town.*

The commander of this advanced post, Captain Joncaire, had lived among the Indians nearly all his life, and he was now an old man. Taken prisoner in his youth by the Iroquois, he had been adopted into one of their tribes, and had grown up in familiarity with their language, habits and feelings. Returning to Canada, and resuming the usages of civilized life, he entered the military service and became the frequent agent of the government in its various transactions and intrigues with the Indians, and was sometimes their leader when they were employed by the French in warlike enterprises. He was witty, eloquent, and ingenious, and seldom failed in his diplomacy. In the recent proceedings west of

* Venango is now Franklin, the seat of justice for Franklin county, Pennsylvania.

the Alleghanies he had been conspicuous ever since the agents of the Ohio Company first undertook the exploration of that contested region.

When Washington, on arriving at Venango, rode to a house above which was displayed the French flag, and inquired of an officer whom he saw there where he might find the commandant, the person he addressed answered that he was himself Captain Joncaire, and had the command of the Ohio. Being informed of Washington's business, he said there was a general officer at Fort Le Bœuf, who would attend to it; and thereupon invited the party of the expedition to sup with him at his quarters.

Joncaire and his friends, says Washington, "treated us with the greatest complaisance. The wine, as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the restraint which at first appeared in their conversation. They told me it was their design to take possession of the Ohio, and, by God, they would do it: for that, although they were sensible the English could raise two men for their one, yet they knew their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent the success of any undertaking. They pretend to have an undoubted right to the river, from a discovery made by one La Salle, sixty years ago, and the rise of this expedition is to prevent our settling on the river, or the waters of it, as they heard of some families moving out in order thereto."

The Marquis de Duquesne, according to M. Pouchot, a contemporary French officer of rank, soon after arriving in Quebec had become the lover of a beautiful woman whose husband could be conveniently removed only by giving him profitable employments or contracts in connection with distant military operations. It is alleged that the amours of the governor general led to the building of forts, and to the purchase of extraordinary supplies of rich stuffs of silk and velvet, and costly Spanish wines, to be sent into the wilderness for the king's service. To each of the officers, according to this respectable chronicler, was allotted a bottle of wine every day, two gallons of brandy a month, and food in proportion. Washington, with his companions, Van Braam, Gist, and Davidson,

we may therefore suppose was entertained in the most generous manner by Captain Joncaire and his associates; but he appears not for a moment to have relaxed his watchful interest in their discourse, and before the drunken party broke up he had acquired much interesting and important intelligence concerning the resources, movements and intentions of the French, which he might have sought for in vain by any ordinary means of discovery.

The next day excessive and continued rain prevented traveling. "Captain Joncaire," says Washington, "sent for the half king, as he had just heard that he came with me. He affected to be much concerned that I did not make free to bring the chiefs in before. I excused it in the best manner of which I was capable, and told him I did not think their company agreeable, as I had heard him say a good deal in dispraise of Indians in general. But another motive prevented me from bringing them into his company: I knew that he was an interpreter, and a person of very great influence among the Indians, and had lately used all possible means to draw them over to his interest. Therefore I was desirous of giving him no opportunity that could be avoided. When they came in, there was great pleasure expressed at seeing them. He wondered how they could be so near without coming to visit him; made several trifling presents; and applied liquor so fast that they were soon rendered incapable of the business they came about, notwithstanding the caution which was given them."

The following forenoon Tanacharisson made his appearance in Washington's tent, quite sober, and doubtless humbled by a recollection of his weakness. He had however been persuaded that the management of Indian affairs was confided entirely to Monsieur Joncaire, and had made up his mind to deliver to him his speech. As Washington was desirous of knowing the issue of a proceeding which he perceived that he could not prevent, he agreed to remain until the next morning, but sent the horses and luggage a little way up the creek, with instructions to his servants to raft over and encamp. About ten o'clock in the evening the French and Indians met around the council fire, and Tanacharisson made a speech, similar

to that I have already quoted as addressed by him to the French general. He ended by offering to return the French their speech belt, but this Joncaire declined receiving, telling him to carry it forward to the officer in command at Le Bœuf.

It was not without extreme difficulty that Washington could prevail on the Indians to accompany him, as every stratagem that could be devised had been used to prevent their doing so. At noon on the seventh, however, they started for Le Bœuf, accompanied by a meddlesome French commissary named La Force, with three soldiers. Four days more of bleak and cold December weather, varied with heavy rains and snows, were spent in traveling "through many mires and swamps," which they "were obliged to pass to avoid crossing the creek, which was impassable, either by fording or rafting, the water was so high and rapid." They finally reached their destination* on the evening of the eleventh of December, being the forty-first day after the departure of Major Washington from Williamsburg.

* Fort Le Bœuf was on the ground now occupied by the village of Waterford, Erie county, Pennsylvania, thirteen miles from Presqu'île, now Erie.

CHAPTER IX.

FORT LE BŒUF—THE CHEVALIER LEGARDEUR DE ST. PIERRE—HIS RECEPTION OF MAJOR WASHINGTON—OCCURRENCES AT THE FORT—ATTEMPTS TO SEDUCE THE FRIENDLY INDIANS—WASHINGTON TAKES LEAVE OF THE FRENCH COMMANDER—A TRAMP IN THE SNOW—SEPARATION OF THE PARTY—MURDERING TOWN—A TREACHEROUS GUIDE—PERILOUS ADVENTURES—RAFTING ACROSS THE ALLEGHANY—VISIT TO QUEEN ALLIQUIPPA—PARTING WITH GIST—ARRIVAL AT WILLIAMSBURG—REPORT TO THE GOVERNOR—PUBLICATION OF JOURNAL.

THE fort at Le Bœuf was on a small island or peninsula in the creek of the same name, about thirteen miles from Lake Erie. It consisted of four buildings, arranged so as to form a hollow square, and was protected by bastions, made of palisades, twelve feet high, with openings for cannon and for small arms. Each of these bastions was large enough to mount eight six pounders. Inside of them were the lodgings of the officers, a chapel, store house, and guard house, and, outside, several barracks and stables, and a smith's shop.

The morning after his arrival Washington called at the gate, accompanied by M. Van Braam, to pay his respects and announce the object of his mission. The second officer received him and conducted him to the commandant, Legardeur de St. Pierre, a veteran knight of the military order of St. Louis, with a high reputation for courage and integrity, whose hard service in European wars was indicated by scars of sabre cuts and the loss of one of his eyes. He had arrived from Montreal but seven days before, and was unwilling to proceed to business until he could summon Captain Reparti, who was in charge of the fort on the lake. At two o'clock the captain arrived, and Washington submitted his credentials and the letter of Governor Dinwiddie, which were received in due form, after which the commandant with his officers, of whom a consider-

able number were present, retired to a private apartment for their examination and translation. When M. Reparti, who is described as understanding "a little English," had completed his version, Washington was invited to go in, with his interpreter, to peruse and correct it, and, having done so, they were politely dismissed until the following day.

The answer to the governor's letter was not delivered until the second evening afterwards, and in the meanwhile Washington was careful to observe and record every thing of interest connected with the place, and to obtain all the information possible respecting the fortifications and settlements of the French in that part of the country. The efforts commenced at Venango to alienate Tanacharisson and his brother chiefs from their relations with the English, were continued here, with great pertinacity. When Washington heard this he urged the Indians to surrender immediately their speech belts, as they had promised, that the French might be aware of their intentions and therefore cease to tamper with them. They accordingly pressed for an audience the same evening, and at length were admitted, privately, to an interview with M. de St. Pierre and one or two of his confidential subordinates. The half king reported the result. The chevalier declined receiving the proffered wampum, and made many fair promises of friendship, saying he wished to live in peace and trade amicably with the tribes of the Ohio, in proof of which he would at once send some goods for them to Logstown. Understanding, privately, that a military officer was to accompany the carriers of these goods, Washington was induced to suspect that it was designed to bring off all the straggling English traders they should meet, and the suspicion was made a certainty by the commandant, who, when asked by what authority he had made prisoners of several British subjects, replied that the country belonged to the French, that no Englishman had a right to trade in it, and that he had orders to capture every one who should attempt to deal with the Indians on the Ohio or its waters.

Governor Dinwiddie declared in his letter that the lands on the Ohio belonged to the crown of Great Britain. complained of the

intrusion of the French, demanded by what authority an armed force had crossed the lakes, and requested their speedy departure. In its conclusion he wrote, "I persuade myself you will receive and entertain Major Washington with the candor and politeness natural to your nation, and it will give me the greatest satisfaction if you can return him with an answer suitable to my wishes for a long and lasting peace between us."

On the fourteenth M. de St. Pierre delivered his reply, which was such as became a soldier, who was vested with no diplomatic powers. He should transmit the letter of the governor of Virginia to the governor of Canada, to whom, he observed, "it better belongs than to me to set forth the evidence and reality of the rights of the king, my master, upon the land situated along the Ohio, and to contest the pretensions of the king of Great Britain thereto. His answer shall be law to me.... As to the summons you send me to retire, I do not think myself obliged to obey it. Whatever may be your instructions, I am here by virtue of the orders of my general; and I entreat you, sir, not to doubt one moment that I am determined to conform myself to them with all the exactness and resolution which can be expected from the best officer.... I made it my particular care to receive Mr. Washington with a distinction suitable to your dignity, as well as to his own quality and great merit. I flatter myself that he will do me this justice before you, sir, and that he will signify to you, in the manner I do myself, the profound respect with which I am, sir," &c.

Although the contents of this letter were not communicated to Washington, his conversations with M. de St. Pierre and his officers, and the whole complexion of affairs on the frontier, left no doubt in his mind as to its nature, and he was anxious to start immediately upon his homeward journey, that no time might be lost in submitting it with his report to Governor Dinwiddie.

As the weather was stormy, with much snow, and the horses wanting proper stabling and provender, were every day losing strength, he had sent them back to Venango, resolving to go down with his interpreters and the sachems by water, in a canoe which

had been offered him for that purpose. But he found that expedients were still plied to detain the Indians. The friendship of Tanacharisson was of too much importance to be yielded without many efforts to retain it. "The commandant," he writes, "ordered a plentiful store of liquor and provisions to be put on board of our canoes, and appeared to be extremely complaisant, though he was exerting every artifice which he could think of to set our Indians at variance with us, to prevent their going until after our departure: presents, rewards, and every thing which could be suggested by him or his officers. I can not say that ever in my life I suffered so much anxiety as I did in this affair. I saw that every stratagem which the most fruitful brain could invent was practised to win the half king to their interest, and that leaving him there was giving them the opportunity they aimed at. I went to the half king and pressed him in the strongest terms to go; he told me the commandant would not discharge him till morning; I then went to the commandant and desired him to do their business, and complained of ill treatment; for, keeping them, as they were part of my company, was detaining me. This he promised not to do, but to forward my journey as much as he could. He protested that he did not keep them, but was ignorant of the cause of their stay, though I soon found it out: he had promised them a present of guns and other things if they would wait until morning. As I was very much pressed by the Indians to wait this day for them, I consented, on a promise that nothing should hinder them in the morning." On the sixteenth the French continued their intrigues, but without success. They were obliged to fulfil their promise in respect to the guns, but endeavored next to detain the chiefs with liquor, which at any other time would probably have prevailed; but Washington insisted with Tanacharisson so closely upon his word, that he resisted the temptation and set out for Venango.

They had a tedious and fatiguing passage down the creek. Several times there was danger that the canoe would be staved against the rocks, and the entire party were frequently compelled to get out and remain in the water half an hour or more, getting over the

shoals. At one place the ice had lodged, making the creek quite impassable, and Washington, Gist, Van Braam, and Davidson, were obliged to carry their canoe a quarter of a mile, across a neck of land, where they again launched it. Here they were rejoined by the Indians, who had been separated from them, and had been so fortunate as to kill three bears on the way. The Indians were accompanied by some Frenchmen, in a canoe with presents, and Gist alludes to them in his journal,* for the twenty-second, with characteristic feeling. "The creek began to be very low," he says, "and we were forced to get out, to keep our canoe from upsetting, several times—the water freezing to our clothes. We had the pleasure of seeing the French upset, and the brandy and wine floating in the creek, and we ran by them and left them to shift for themselves." That night they reached Venango, where they found their horses and men.

Washington was now compelled to part with the chiefs, one of whom had been injured in some way so that he could not travel. He was apprehensive of evil from the shrewd management of the experienced Captain Joncaire, and warned Tanacharisson against his machinations; but the sachem desired him not to be concerned: he knew the French too well for any thing to engage him in their favor.

The horses were so emaciated and jaded that it was doubtful whether they could ever cross the mountains. The provisions and other luggage were to be transported on their backs, and to lighten their burden as much as possible Washington, Gist, and the interpreters, determined to proceed on foot, confiding them to the direction of the servants. Washington put on an Indian walking dress, and continued with them three days, when, finding that there was no probability of their getting home in any reasonable time, that the beasts became less able to travel every day, that the cold increased very fast, and that the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow, continually freezing, he determined to proceed in

* Printed, with notes by Dr. Mease, in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, third series, vol. v.

advance, the nearest way, through the woods. Leaving the rest of the party, with the luggage, in charge of Van Braam, therefore, with money and directions to provide necessaries from place to place, and orders to go on as rapidly as he could, he tied a heavy watch coat close about him, and, with gun in hand, and a knapsack, containing provisions and his papers, on his shoulders, left the cavalcade, accompanied only by Mr. Gist, who was equipped in the same manner.

Abandoning the beaten path, they directed their way through the woods so as to cross the Alleghany near Shannopinstown, two or three miles above the intersection of that river with the Monongahela. Washington's own account of the hardships and dangers which succeeded is modest and subdued but extremely interesting. The narrative of Mr. Gist is in this part more ample, but perfectly consistent with that of his leader. "I was unwilling," writes the guide, "that he should undertake such a march, who had never been used to walking, before this time; but as he insisted on it, we set out, with our packs, like Indians, and travelled eighteen miles. That night we lodged at an Indian cabin, and the major was much fatigued. It was very cold: all the small streams were frozen, so that we could hardly get water to drink." At two o'clock the next morning they were again on foot, and pressed forward until they struck the southeast branch of Beaver creek, at a place called Murderingtown, the scene, probably, of some Indian massacre. "Here," proceeds Mr. Gist, "we met with an Indian, whom I thought I had seen at Joncaire's, at Venango, when on our journey up to the French fort. This fellow called me by my Indian name, and pretended to be glad to see me. He asked us several questions, as, how came we to travel on foot, when we left Venango, where we parted from our horses, and when they would be there. Major Washington insisted upon traveling on the nearest way to the forks of the Alleghany. We asked the Indian if he could go with us and show us the nearest way. He seemed very glad and ready to do so; upon which we set out, and he took the major's pack. We traveled quite briskly for eight or ten miles, when the major's feet

grew very sore, and he very weary, and the Indian steered too much northeastwardly. The major desired to encamp, upon which the Indian asked to carry his gun; but he refused that, and then the Indian grew churlish, and pressed us to keep on, telling us there were Ottawa Indians in these woods, and that they would scalp us if we lay out; but to go to his cabin and we would be safe. I thought very ill of the fellow, but did not care to let the major know I mistrusted him. But he soon mistrusted him as much as I. The Indian said he could hear a gun from his cabin, and steered us more northwardly. We grew uneasy, and then he said two whoops might be heard from his cabin. We went two miles farther. Then the major said he would stay at the next water, and we desired the Indian to stop at the next water; but before we came to water we came to a clear meadow. It was very light, and snow was on the ground. The Indian made a stop, and turned about. The major saw him point his gun toward us, and he fired. Said the major, 'Are you shot?' 'No,' said I; upon which the Indian ran forward to a big standing white oak, and began loading his gun, but we were soon with him. I would have killed him, but the major would not suffer me. We let him charge his gun. We found he put in a ball; then we took care of him. Either the major or I always stood by the guns. We made him make a fire for us by a little run, as if we intended to sleep there. I said to the major, 'As you will not have him killed, we must get him away, and then we must travel all night;' upon which I said to the Indian, 'I suppose you were lost, and fired your gun.' He said he knew the way to his cabin, and it was but a little way. 'Well,' said I, 'do you go home; and as we are much tired, we will follow your track in the morning.' He was glad to get away. I followed him, and listened until he was fairly out of the way, and then we went about half a mile, when we made a fire, set our compass, and fixed our course and traveled all night. In the morning we were on the head of Piney creek."

There is little reason to doubt that it was the intention of the savage to kill one or both of them. Washington, alluding to the

incident, writes: "We fell in with a party of French Indians, who had lain in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed. We took the fellow into custody, and kept him till nine o'clock at night, and then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night, without making any stop, that we might get the start so far as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day, since we were well assured they would follow our track as soon as it was light." They were not again seen or heard of, however, and soon after sunset the next evening the travelers came to the Alleghany river, where they thought themselves "safe enough to sleep." They had hoped to be able to cross over on the ice; but in this they were disappointed, as the river had been frozen only a few yards on each side, and great quantities of ice were driving down the current.

Travel worn, and exhausted with privation, cold, and excitement, they were compelled to wrap themselves in their blankets and lie down in the snow; and when morning came the prospect of being able to cross the river seemed almost desperate. "There was no way of getting over," Washington writes, "but on a raft, which we set about with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sunset. This was a whole day's work. We next got it launched, and went on board of it; then set off; but before we were half way over we were jammed in the ice in such a manner that we expected every moment our raft would sink and ourselves perish. I put out my setting pole to try and stop the raft, that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence against the pole, that it jerked me over, into ten feet water; but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get the raft to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft, and make to it."

When they reached the island it was nearly dark, but there was nothing possible but to wait, and in the intense cold, with their garments wet, they passed the night, contemplating a more hopeless morning than either of them had probably ever known. Mr. Gist's



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hands and feet were frozen, and the sufferings of both must have been extreme. The inclement weather however brought them more good than evil; they must have perished, had it been less severe, for want of means by which to leave the island, or by the rifles or tomahawks of the unfriendly Indians; but when the day dawned they perceived that the river was congealed so strongly as to bear their weight, and crossing over, safely, they were before night in comfortable quarters at Mr. Frazier's trading house, on the Monongahela, where they had stopped on their way west. Here they were detained two or three days, before they could procure horses on which to prosecute their journey.

The morning after their arrival, having heard that an Indian princess, called Queen Aliquippa, had expressed dissatisfaction at their failure to call upon her on their way to the French posts, they proceeded to her residence, where the Youghiogany falls into the Monongahela. Washington obtained her forgiveness by an apology for his previous inattention and by the present of a watch coat and a bottle of rum. "The latter," he says, "was thought much the best of the two."

On the first of January they left Frazier's, and the next day arrived at a place owned by Mr. Gist at Monongahela. On the sixth they met seventeen horses, laden with materials and stores sent out by the Ohio Company for a fortified trading post at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, and, soon after, several families going there to settle. They had previously learned that a band of Ottawas, a tribe in the interest of the French, had massacred a family of seven white persons, a few days before, on the banks of the Great Kanawha river. On the seventh they reached Will's creek, where they separated. Washington hastened on to Belvoir, stopped there one day to rest, and on the sixteenth, eleven weeks from the time of his departure, was at the seat of government, where he delivered to Governor Dinwiddie the letter of M. de St. Pierre, and a report of his mission. This report was published by order of the government, copied into most of the colonial newspapers, reprinted in London under the auspices

of the ministry, and from every one commanded for its author admiration and respect.

"Such," says Mr. Everett,* "was the journey undertaken by Washington, at a season of the year when the soldier goes into quarters, in a state of weather when the huntsman shrinks from the inclemency of the skies, amidst perils from which his escape was almost miraculous; and this, too, not by a penniless adventurer fighting his way through desperate risks to promotion and bread, but by a young man already known most advantageously in the community, who, by his own honorable industry and the bequest of a deceased brother, was already in possession of a fortune. In this, his first official step, taken at the age of twenty-one, he displayed a courage, resolution, prudence, disinterestedness, and fortitude, on a small scale, though at the risk of his life, which never afterwards failed to mark his conduct. He seemed to spring at once into public life, considerate, wary, and fearless; and that Providence, which destined him for other and higher duties, manifestly extended a protecting shield over his beloved head."

* *Orations and Speeches*, i. 588.

CHAPTER X

MEASURES INDUCED BY MAJOR WASHINGTON'S REPORT—VIRGINIA APPEALS TO THE OTHER COLONIES—CAPTAIN TRENT SENT TO THE OHIO—WASHINGTON STATIONED AT ALEXANDRIA—TEMPER OF THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES—SUPPLIES VOTED—WASHINGTON MADE A LIEUTENANT COLONEL—MUSE, A MAJOR, AND VAN BRAAM A CAPTAIN—MARCH TO THE FRONTIER—CAPTAIN TRENT'S CONDUCT—M. CONTRECEUR—CAPITULATION OF ENSIGN WARD—OPENING OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR—MESSAGE FROM TANACHARISSE—LETTERS TO THE GOVERNORS OF VIRGINIA, MARYLAND, AND PENNSYLVANIA.

THE result of Major Washington's expedition to the neighborhood of Lake Erie justified the darkest apprehensions of Governor Dinwiddie. It was no longer possible to doubt that an aggressive policy had been determined upon and commenced by the French government, and that it must be promptly and vigorously met by an appeal to arms, if Great Britain would retain her American possessions, or her colonies would save themselves from the horrors of border warfare and ultimate destruction. Anticipating the state of things contemplated by the ministry, when imposing it as a duty in case of an invasion of the king's dominions to repel it by force, the governor had already attempted to awaken the assembly to a sense of danger, but no supplies had been voted for military purposes. He now summoned a convention of the house of burgesses, sent agents to effect alliances with the southern Indian tribes, the Catawbas and Cherokees, and called upon the governors of the other colonies to make common cause with Virginia against the enemy. But the colonies were still isolated from each other, and easily found excuses for keeping as much as possible aloof from a controversy in which they were not immediately interested. Massachusetts, indeed, saw the French establishing themselves on her own eastern frontier, and holding Crown Point on the northwest, so that

she could well allege the need of all her resources at home. Besides, only the governor of Virginia had received such instructions as would justify even a defensive war against France.

Before the burgesses came together, Governor Dinwiddie, by advice of his council, ordered the enlistment of two companies, of one hundred men each, in the northern counties, and Major Washington was appointed to the chief command of them. The first recruits, principally traders and backwoodsmen, were placed under the orders of Captain Trent, who was well acquainted on the frontiers, and supposed to be capable of exercising a powerful influence over the Indians, through his brother in law, George Croghan. Trent was directed to take a position on the fork of the Ohio, before the French should come down the river from Le Bœuf and unite with the forces expected from the Mississippi, and to commence without delay the building of a fort there, in pursuance of the recommendation of Major Washington. Though enjoined to act only on the defensive, he was to drive away, kill, destroy, or seize as prisoners, all persons who might attempt to obstruct that work, or to interrupt the English settlements on the Ohio river and its tributaries.

Washington himself was stationed at Alexandria, to superintend the recruitment of the second company, and obtain and forward supplies for the projected fort. Lord Fairfax, who, as county lieutenant, had authority over the militia of his neighborhood, was active in promoting the business in which his young friend was engaged, but the few men who offered to enlist were for the most part idle, worthless, and destitute, though willing to clothe themselves decently if the government would advance a sufficient amount of pay for that purpose.

When the burgesses met, in February, and the governor laid before them his plan of operations, he found it would receive but a qualified and hesitating support. Some of them deprecated any action in the matter, on the ground that it was doubtful whether the king had really any just claim to the disputed territory. "You can well conceive," the governor wrote to a friend, "how I fired at

this: that an English legislature should presume to doubt the right of his majesty to the interior parts of this continent, the back of his dominions." At length, after a protracted debate, while professing an unwillingness to commit any acts of hostility against France, they agreed to borrow ten thousand pounds, to be appropriated "for the encouragement and protection of the settlers on the waters of the Mississippi;" and they took care, greatly to his excellency's irritation, since he held that by virtue of his office he should have the exclusive disposal of all money raised for public uses, to place the disbursement of this sum under the superintendence of their own committee. He complained that the burgesses were "in a republican way of thinking," but was obliged to confess that he was unable to bring them "to order."

The governor dissembled his ill feeling, and entered earnestly with the committee upon such measures as were warranted by these limited means. The two companies already enlisted were ordered to be increased to six, each of fifty men; and to induce a more respectable class of persons to enter the service, he issued a proclamation offering two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio for division among the troops, and releasing it from quitrents for fifteen years. One thousand acres, to be called the garrison lands, were to be set apart adjoining the proposed fort, for the soldiers doing duty there. The principal reasons assigned to the home administration for this grant were, that the soldiers would probably become permanent settlers, and that it was better to secure the lands by giving titles to a hundred thousand acres than to suffer the French to take undisputed possession of a hundred million acres. The king approved the proclamation, but the governor and assembly of Pennsylvania were very reasonably displeased at this generous disposition of territory which they asserted was within the limits of that province. Governor Dinwiddie adroitly replied to an expostulatory letter of Governor Hamilton on the subject by suggesting that the claims of Pennsylvania were at least doubtful, since a boundary line had not been agreed upon, that his grant did not necessarily imply future jurisdiction, and that if the pretensions

now set up should be maintained the quitrents might be paid to the proprietary instead of the crown. About the same time he received an encouraging letter from the earl of Holdernessee, authorizing him to call to his aid two companies of colonial troops, supported at the king's charge and under officers with royal commissions, one of which was stationed in New York and the other in South Carolina.

The entire force thus brought together was placed under the orders of Colonel Joshua Fry, a highly respectable English gentleman, supposed to be well acquainted with the western country, and Washington was made second in command, with the rank of lieutenant colonel. In a letter to a relation, who was a member of the governor's council, he had written, that he neither desired nor expected the first place in the expedition, "for," he added, "I must be impartial enough to confess, it is a charge too great for my youth and inexperience." The position he received would undoubtedly have been offered to him without any solicitation, as Governor Dinwiddie had conceived a very high opinion of his abilities and heroism.

Since the proclamation of bounties in lands the enlistment of privates had been less difficult, but there was still a want of officers, several gentlemen who had been appointed having declined their commissions. Washington found himself almost alone, at the head of one hundred and fifty "self-willed, ungovernable" recruits. His old instructor, Adjutant Muse, had been made a captain, and soon after a major, and the captaincy vacated by his promotion was, on Washington's recommendation, given to M. Van Braam.

Anxious to be usefully employed, in active service, as soon as possible, the young commander obtained permission to march with the two companies assembled at Alexandria, in advance of the other troops, to the frontier; and, starting on the second of April, he arrived on the twentieth at Will's creek, having been joined on the way by a detachment under Captain Adam Stephen. The roads were extremely bad, and the absence of any interest in the expedition on the part of the people was illustrated by the difficulties he encountered in securing wagons for the use of the quartermaster.

At Winchester it became necessary to enforce the militia law, which authorized impressments, though that law was not strictly applicable in this case, as it was doubtful whether the territory to be defended was within the limits of Virginia. Out of seventy-four wagons impressed there," Washington wrote to Governor Dinwiddie, "we got but ten, after waiting a week, and some of these so badly provided with teams that the soldiers were obliged to assist them up the hills, although it was known they had better teams at home. I doubt not that in some points I may have strained the law, but I hope, as my sole object was to expedite the march, I shall be supported in it, should my authority be questioned, which at present I do not apprehend." Colonel Fry, with the remainder of the regiment, and the artillery, was to follow by a less direct but more convenient route.

Before their arrival at Will's creek a vague rumor reached the little army of the capture of Captain Trent and his company on the Ohio. Captain Trent himself however was found quite safe at the creek, and all uncertainty as to the fate of the men was ended two days afterwards by their appearance, conducted by Ensign Ward, who in the absence of the captain and his lieutenant had become their first officer. Washington wrote to Governor Dinwiddie that the conduct of Trent had confirmed a common suspicion of "his great timidity." The lieutenant was Frazier, the Indian trader, and of him he said, that, "though not altogether blameless, he is much more excusable, for he would not accept of his commission until he had a promise from the captain that he should not be required to reside at the fort, or to visit it above once a week, or as he saw necessity."

M. Contrecoeur, an experienced and vigilant soldier, had succeeded M. de St. Pierre in command of the French forces at Fort Le Boeuf, and as soon as the spring opened had commenced preparations for carrying out the plans inferred by Washington from the conversation of his predecessor. Descending the Alleghany river, from Venango, at the head of from five hundred to a thousand men, with eighteen pieces of artillery, he halted within a short dis-

tance of the unfinished fort at the junction of the Alleghany with the Monongahela, and summoned Ensign Ward to surrender, allowing him an hour to consider the subject, and directing him to deliver an answer in writing at his camp. As the party commanded by the ensign amounted to but forty-one men, it was of course impossible to make any resistance; but before coming to a decision he consulted Tanacharisson, who advised him to inform M. Contrecoeur that he was only a subaltern, without authority to act in so important a matter, and to request him to await the arrival of his superior officer. He accordingly, accompanied by the half king, proceeded with this answer to the enemy's lines, but M. Contrecoeur declined to make any change in his demands, and it was therefore agreed that a capitulation should take place the next day, and that Ensign Ward should be permitted to retire with his men, carrying their working tools. These preliminaries being settled, M. Contrecoeur invited the ensign to sup with him, and treated him with much civility. The seizure of this post was regarded as the first overt act in the memorable war which for seven years raged in both Europe and America—memorable, in Europe, for the achievements of Frederick the Great, by which Prussia was raised to the first rank of nations, and for the splendid displays of political genius which enabled Pitt to infuse unprecedented vigor into the British councils; and in America, for the entire overthrow of the French dominion on this continent.

The French immediately began to complete and enlarge the works which they had taken, and in a month they were made, under the direction of M. de Mercier,* an accomplished engineer, of sufficient capacity to receive a garrison of a thousand men, and of sufficient

* The chevalier de Mercier, the architect of Fort Duquesne, was a captain in the artillery. Soon after the events here mentioned he was sent to France by the governor general with an account of the campaign on the Ohio. His opinion had great weight at Versailles, and in 1755 he returned with Vaudreuil and Dieskau to America. Too much confidence in his judgment led Dieskau to the measures which ended in his utter defeat by Lake George, on the eighth of September, 1755. In August, the following year, M. de Mercier directed with eminent ability the works with which M. de Montcalm besieged Oswego, and he is charged by M. Pouehot, a contemporary historian, with secreting for his own use a large share of the public property on the surrender of that place. The next season he was the messenger sent by M. de Vaudreuil to demand the keys of Fort William Henry.

strength to resist any force that was likely to be brought against them. In honor of the governor general of New France they received the name of Fort Duquesne.

Ensign Ward was accompanied to Will's creek by two Indian warriors, sent by Tanacharisson, to ascertain the intentions of Washington and the number of his men. They conveyed to him a message from the chief. "Come to our assistance as soon as you can," were his words; "come soon, or we are lost, and shall never meet again. I speak it in the grief of my heart."

The position of Washington was eminently critical and embarrassing. With but three small and undisciplined companies he occupied an advanced post on the frontier, beyond which there was no obstacle to prevent the approach of the powerful French force by which the country was invaded, and which was reported to be continually receiving accessions from the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence. Colonel Fry had not yet joined him, nor had he any means of ascertaining, with certainty, when that officer would assume the command. The entire responsibility of deciding and acting, at a moment when the utmost promptness and energy were necessary, to insure the subordination of his troops and the confidence and faithfulness of his Indian allies, therefore rested on himself. Under these circumstances, he sent express messengers to the governors of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, with letters explaining his weak and exposed situation and soliciting reinforcements. To Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania he wrote: "I have arrived thus far with a detachment of one hundred and fifty-nine men. Colonel Fry, with the remainder of the regiment and the artillery, is daily expected. In the meantime we shall advance slowly across the mountains, making the roads, as we march, fit for the carriage of the great guns; and design to proceed as far as the mouth of Red-stone creek, which enters the Monongahela about thirty-seven miles above the fort the French have taken, whence we have a water carriage down the river. There is a storehouse, built by the Ohio Company, at that place, which for the present may serve as a receptacle for our ammunition and provisions. Besides the French

under Monsieur Contrecoeur, we have credible information that another party are coming up the Ohio. We also have intelligence that six hundred Chippewa and Ottawa Indians are marching down Scioto creek to join them. I ought first to have begged pardon of your excellency for this liberty of writing, as I am not happy enough to be ranked among your acquaintance. It was the glowing zeal I owe my country that influenced me to impart these advices, and my inclination prompted me to do it to you, as I know you are solicitous for the public welfare, and warm in this interesting cause."

In his letter to Governor Dinwiddie Washington mentioned his communications to the chief magistrates of the other near provinces. "I considered that the assembly of Maryland was to sit in five days," he wrote, "that the Pennsylvania assembly is now sitting, and that, by giving timely notice, something might be done in favor of this expedition, which now requires all the force we can muster." Governor Dinwiddie himself had written to the governors of all the provinces, from New York to South Carolina, setting forth the condition of affairs, and asking for assistance.

The decision to advance into the wilderness, without waiting for Colonel Fry, was approved by a council of war, and sixty men were at once detached to commence the preparation of the proposed military road.

CHAPTER XI.

WASHINGTON LEAVES WILL'S CREEK—BUILDING A MILITARY ROAD—RUMORS OF THE FRENCH AND INDIANS—DISCONTENTS RESPECTING PAY—CORRESPONDENCE ON THIS SUBJECT—EXPLORATION OF THE YOUGHIOGANY—FAMINE—ALARMING MESSAGE FROM TANACHARISSON—MARCH TO THE GREAT MEADOWS—MORE RUMORS OF THE ENEMY—A NIGHT EXPEDITION—JOINED BY TANACHARISSON—WASHINGTON'S FIRST BATTLE—DEATH OF JUMONVILLE.

On the twenty-ninth of April Washington departed from Will's creek with about one hundred men. The volunteers of Captain Trent's company who had come in from the Ohio under Ensign Ward, were detached, with orders to await the arrival of Colonel Fry. By the terms of their enlistment they had considered themselves exempt from the rigor of martial law, and it was apprehended that the example of their insubordination would have an injurious effect upon the discipline of the other troops. The party of sixty men sent forward to work upon the road had made but little progress, and when it was joined by the main body, and all were engaged in the labor, two, three or four miles a day were all that could be accomplished. On the seventh of May they were at Little Meadows, but twenty miles from Will's creek, and here they were detained between two and three days in building a bridge. Accounts were continually received from traders, driven from the extreme frontier by increasing dangers, of the activity of the French and Indians. One of them reported that at Mr. Gist's new settlement, beyond Laurel Hill, he had seen the French emissary, La Force, who had joined Washington and his party and attempted to seduce from him his Indian attendants, a few months before, between Venango and Fort Le Boeuf. He was now prowling about the woods, with four soldiers at his heels, on a specious pretence of hunting after deserters,

but really to reconnoitre, and ascertain the force and movements of the English. The same trader brought intelligence that the French down the Ohio were sending presents and invitations to all the neighboring tribes, and that Tanacharisson, still faithful in his friendship, was coming to meet Washington at the head of fifty warriors.

On the seventeenth of May Ensign Ward returned to the camp, which was now on the banks of the Youghiogany, with a letter from Governor Dinwiddie, whom he had left at Winchester, where he was making arrangements for an amicable meeting with several chiefs. In his answer, written the next day, Washington made a spirited protest against the ill-judged economy of the committee of the house of burgesses in allowing the colonial officers a smaller compensation* than was received in the regular army. It was admitted that the officers dependent immediately on the royal treasury were obliged to furnish their own tables, but their superior pay enabled them to do so in a luxurious manner, while the provincials were compelled to do hard service on salt provisions. Washington sympathized with his companions in resenting this inferiority of wages. "Nothing," he wrote, "prevents them from throwing down their commissions but the approaching danger, which has too far engaged their honor for them to recede till other officers are sent in their room, or an alteration is made in their pay, during which time they will assist with their best endeavors voluntarily: that is, without receiving the gratuity allowed by the resolves of the committee." He had no thought of surrendering his own commission, however. "I have a constitution hardy enough to encounter and undergo the most severe trials, and, I flatter myself, resolution to face what any man dares," he remarked; "and I will with the greatest pleasure devote my services to the expedition, without any other reward than the satisfaction of serving my

* The pay of the colonial forces was as follows: to a colonel, fifteen shillings a day; to a lieutenant colonel, twelve shillings and sixpence; to a major, ten shillings; a captain, eight shillings; a lieutenant, four shillings; and an ensign, three shillings. The privates received eight pence per day, and a pistole bounty, and half a pint of rum was allowed each man. The uniform was a red coat and breeches.—See Dinwiddie's Letter, in *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, vi. 6

country ; but to be slaving dangerously for only the shadow of pay, through the woods, rocks, mountains—I would rather dig for a maintenance, provided I were reduced to the necessity, than serve upon such ignoble terms ; for I really do not see why the lives of his majesty's subjects in Virginia should be of less value than those of his subjects in other parts of his American dominions, especially when it is well known that we must undergo double their hardships." Although it was the indignity involved in the proposition of the government that induced this manifestation of feeling, he took care to set before the governor the absolute injustice of the pay which was offered. "Now," he wrote, "if we could be fortunate enough to drive the French from the Ohio, as far as your honor would please to have them sent, in any short time, our pay will not be sufficient to discharge our first expenses. I would not have you imagine from this that I have said all these things to have our pay increased, but to justify myself, and to show you that our complaints are not frivolous, but founded in strict reason." "The motives which have led me here," he added, "are pure and noble : I had no view of acquisition, but that of honor, by serving my king and country ;" and in conclusion : "Be the consequences what they will, I am determined not to leave the regiment, but to be among the last men who quit the Ohio, even if I serve as a private volunteer, which I greatly prefer to the establishment we are now upon." Serious distress and growing discontents were at the same time prevailing in consequence of a failure of provisions, caused by the neglect of the commissaries to fulfil their contracts.

The water in the Youghiogany was so high that it was impossible for the troops to cross that river, and the same cause secured them from any attack by the enemy. Assured by Indians and traders that he could descend this stream in boats, and that increasing difficulties would discourage his attempt to open a wagon road to Redstone creek, Washington, on the twentieth, confided the chief military command to a subordinate officer, and, embarking in a canoe, with a lieutenant, three privates, and an Indian guide, proceeded down the river nearly thirty miles, encountering shoals,

rapids, fallen trees, and other obstacles, until, having passed between two mountains, he came to a fall that rendered any further advance impracticable. He therefore returned.

On the twenty-third he received a message from Tanacharisson warning him to be on his guard, as a portion of the French army had been two days on the march toward him, determined to attack the first English they should meet. In the evening this account was confirmed by another, that the French were at a crossing of the Youghiogany about eighteen miles distant. He proceeded immediately to a place called the Great Meadows, where he cleared away the bushes, threw up a slight fortification, and prepared what he described as "a charming field for an encounter." Upon his arrival there several men were sent out on the wagon horses to reconnoitre, but they came back, on the twenty-sixth, without having seen anything of the enemy. The night after their departure an alarm was given, about two o'clock, and the soldiers were kept under arms until near sunrise, when it was found that six men had deserted. Their movements had probably attracted the attention of the sentinels.

Early on the twenty-seventh Mr. Gist came into the camp with intelligence that M. La Force had been at his place, thirteen miles away, the previous day at noon, at the head of fifty men, whose trail he had observed within five miles. Seventy-five men were detached under Captain Adam Stephen to find and bring them to an engagement if possible, and the best preparations which circumstances permitted were made for their reception at Great Meadows. At nine o'clock in the evening a messenger arrived from Tanacharisson, who was with a party of his warriors about six miles off, stating that he had seen the tracks of two Frenchmen, and that the whole force was near him.

Before an hour had elapsed Washington placed himself at the head of forty men, and set off to join his Indian allies. The night was extremely dark, the rain fell fast and heavily, and the path through the woods was so narrow and intricate as to be frequently missed, and found only with great difficulty, by groping among

bushes, and fallen trees, and rocks. The tents of the Indians were not reached until after day light.

A conversation was held with the half king and his chiefs, which resulted in their agreement to join without any delay in the search after the French. Tanacharisson, Monacatoocha, and a few others, accordingly proceeded with the English, and when they came to the place where footprints had been discovered, two of them were despatched to ascertain whither they led. They soon returned, with information that the enemy was in an obscure retreat, surrounded with rocks and trees, half a mile from the road. A plan of attack was quickly formed; approaching the hiding place of the French in two parties, the English and Indians nearly surrounded it; and when Washington, at the head of his men, marching in single file, came so near as to be seen, the French instantly seized their arms, put themselves in an attitude of defence, and firing commenced on both sides, though the guns and ammunition of the English were so wet that they were compelled to rely chiefly on the use of the bayonet. The engagement lasted about fifteen minutes, when the French surrendered. Ten of their number had been killed, one escaped to carry news of the disaster to M. Contrecoeur, and twenty-two were taken prisoners. Among the killed was M. Jumonville, and one of the prisoners was La Force. Of the English one was killed and two or three were wounded.*

* Horace Walpole, in his *Memoirs of George the Second*, says, "In the express which Major Washington despatched on his preceding little victory (the skirmish with Jumonville), he concluded with these words: 'I heard the bullets whistle, and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound.' On hearing this the king said, sensibly, 'He would not say so if he had been used to hear many.' However, this brave braggart learned to blush for his rhodomontade, and, desiring to serve General Braddock as his aid-de-camp, acquitted himself nobly."

Mr. Sparks, quoting the above paragraph, remarks that in Washington's despatch giving an account of the encounter with Jumonville's party there is "nothing about the *whistling of bullets*, nor is such a sentiment uttered in any of his letters which have been preserved;" and that "as the writer refers to no authority, it may be presumed that he had none but rumor, for either the saying of Washington or the more sensible reply of the king." But Mr. Irving has discovered Walpole's authority, in a letter from Washington to one of his brothers, which by some means found its way, not long after it was written, into the *London Magazine* for 1754. Before Walpole's work came out, however, the story had been printed by Gordon, who says in his *History* (ii. 203): "A gentleman, who had heard the reverend Mr. Davies relate that Colonel Washington had mentioned, 'he knew of no music so pleasing as the whistling of bullets,' being alone with him in conversation at Cambridge, asked him whether it was as he related. The general answered, 'If I said so, it was when I was young.'" The witty earl was mistaken in saying that Washington *desired* to serve Braddock as aid-de-camp; it was at Braddock's solicitation that he attended him in that capacity.

It is said that Washington, on giving the order to fire, set an example with his own musket, and Mr. Bancroft, referring to the scene, says, "That word of command kindled the world into a flame; it was the signal for the first great revolution; there, in the western forest, began the battle which was to banish from the soil and neighborhood of our republic the institutions of the middle age, and to inflict on them fatal wounds throughout the continent of Europe. In repelling France from the basin of the Ohio Washington broke the repose of mankind, and waked a struggle, which could admit only of a truce, until the ancient bulwarks of catholic legitimacy were thrown down."*

The elevation of Washington's character and the integrity of his conduct were all through his life so conspicuous as to save his reputation in a very remarkable degree from the assaults of calumny; but this affair of the death of M. Jumonville has from the beginning been scandalously misrepresented by many French and by some other writers, with a view to show that the first blood ever shed by Washington's orders was shed in violation of the laws and usages of war. Truth justifies no such conclusion.

The rencounter took place just after seven o'clock on the morning of the twenty-eighth of May. On the following day Washington wrote a particular account of it to Governor Dinwiddie, at Winchester, which he sent by the officer in command of the guard despatched at the same time with the prisoners. The most important of these were M. Drouillon, and the M. La Force whom he had previously known, and had described to the governor as "a bold, enterprising man, of great subtlety and cunning." They claimed to be set at liberty, on the absurd pretext that they had been captured while under the sacred protection of an embassy. It needed little penetration to discover that they were really spies, and far more justly entitled to the halter than to the leniency Washington exhibited in considering them prisoners of war.

It is true that war had not yet been formally declared by either Great Britain or France; yet Governor Dinwiddie, specially in-

* History of the United States, iv. 118

structed to do so by the English ministers, had protested against the occupation of the Ohio by the French, as an invasion of British territory; and, knowing this, the governor general of Canada, instead of referring the subject to his superiors and awaiting their further orders, had directed still other advances into the disputed region, and had already taken forcible possession of a fort which was being erected there by the English. Doubtless the instructions of M. Duquesne were as distinct and imperative as those given to Mr. Dinwiddie, and both governors were enjoined to appeal to the sword in support of the pretensions of their sovereigns. War therefore did actually exist by the action of the highest authorities recognised by either party. Besides, it was known that this detachment, so impudently called an embassy, had been stealthily wandering through the country for several days, endeavoring to estrange the Indians in the British interest, and gaining all the information they could as to the strength and purposes of the force sent from Virginia.

M. Contrecoeur, repeating what was told him by the Canadian soldier who escaped, wrote to M. Duquesne that on discovering the approach of Washington M. Jumonville instantly ordered the reading of a communication of which he was the bearer, and that he was shot down while his interpreter was performing this duty. Some of the prisoners afterward declared that the French called out to the English with the design to make known that their mission had a peaceful object. But evidently these are fictions. Neither the French who were taken, nor the English or Indians, observed any attempt to read a paper; and Washington, who was at the head of his men, and the first person seen by the French, wrote to Governor Dinwiddie that he believed it impossible that any such call should have been made without his hearing it, which was not the case, but on the contrary he "saw them run to their arms, and immediately commence firing."

On the person of Jumonville were found papers which fully justified the most unfavorable impression as to his purposes. From a letter of instructions it appeared that he was to inform himself of the roads, creeks, and other features of the country, as far as the

Potomac; to send back from time to time all the information he could obtain, and to give notice of the day on which he expected to serve an accompanying summons upon the commander of the English troops. This summons was a mere parody of the message conveyed by Washington to M. de St. Pierre: it warned the English to retreat beyond the Alleghanies, and threatened compulsory measures if it should not be obeyed. Jumonville probably did not intend to make any use of it, except in the event of his capture.

After suggesting that thirty-six men would have been a retinue for a princely ambassador, instead of one of so mean rank, Washington remarks: "Why did they, if their designs were open, stay so long within five miles of us, without delivering their message or acquainting me with it? Their waiting could be with no other design than to get detachments to enforce the summons as soon as it was given. They had no occasion to send out spies, for the name of an ambassador is sacred among all nations; but it was by the tracks of their spies that they were discovered, and that we got intelligence of them. They would not have retired two miles back without delivering the summons, and sought a skulking-place, but for some special reason."

In another letter to the governor, respecting the prisoners, he wrote: "I have still stronger presumption, indeed almost confirmation, that they were sent as spies.... I doubt not but they will endeavor to amuse you with many smooth stories, as they did me; but they were confuted in them all, and, by circumstances too plain to be denied, almost made ashamed of their assertions."

M. Thomas, a French poet of considerable reputation, and a member of the Academy, published on this subject in 1759 a tragic poem in four cantos, under the title of "Jumonville," in which he attempts to dignify his hero, to paint the circumstances of his death in the darkest colors, and to trace the subsequent misfortunes of the English to the retributive justice of Heaven.

The conduct of Washington has been vindicated by Mr. Sparks, elaborately and with marked ability, in notes to the first volume of his edition of Washington's Writings.

CHAPTER XII.

DANGEROUS SITUATION OF WASHINGTON—FORT NECESSITY—LETTER TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE—INDIAN ALLIES—COUNCIL OF WAR AT FORT DUQUESNE—DEATH OF COLONEL FRY—WASHINGTON BECOMES COMMANDER OF THE EXPEDITION—REINFORCEMENTS—COLONEL INNES—CAPTAIN MACKY—DIFFICULTIES CONCERNING RANK—PRAYERS IN THE CAMP—ADVANCE TO GIST'S SETTLEMENT—DISCOURAGING RUMORS—RETREAT TO FORT NECESSITY—DESSERTION BY THE INDIANS—THE FORT ATTACKED—CAPITULATION—VAN BRAAM AS AN INTERPRETER—VAN BRAAM AND STOBO HOSTAGES—RETURN OF THE TROOPS TO WILLIAMSBURG—THANKED BY THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES—WASHINGTON RESIGNS HIS COMMISSION.

ON returning to the encampment at Great Meadows, Washington perfectly understood the imminent danger to which he was exposed, of an attack from the main body of the French troops, consisting, it was believed, of nearly a thousand men, besides Indian allies, with continual additions of reinforcements. Whether the person who had escaped the previous day's encounter had reached Fort Duquesne or failed to do so, M. Contrecoeur could not long remain in ignorance of the catastrophe which had overtaken his corps of observation; and as the messengers sent by Jumonville on the twenty-seventh must have informed him of the weakness of the English, it was natural to suppose that he would at once adopt effective measures of retaliation.

The small stockade erected at Great Meadows, for the purpose of securing the provisions and horses, was enlarged, strengthened, nearly surrounded with entrenchments, and significantly named Fort Necessity. On the twenty-ninth Washington wrote to Colonel Fry, who was sick at Will's creek, that if assistance should not be received, he must either quit his ground, or fight very unequal numbers, and that he would choose the last alternative rather than

give up an inch of what he had gained. To Governor Dinwiddie he wrote the same day: "I shall expect every hour to be attacked, and by unequal numbers, which I must withstand, if there are five to one, for I fear the consequence will be that we shall lose the Indians if we suffer ourselves to be driven back.... I will not be surprised, let them come at what hour they will, and this is as much as I can promise; but my best endeavors shall not be wanting to effect more. I doubt not, if you hear I am beaten, you will hear at the same time that we have done our duty in fighting as long as there is a shadow of hope."

A few days spent in active preparation for anticipated dangers abated in a degree the excitement of the young commander, and on the third of June he addressed to the governor a letter* in which his circumstances and feelings are presented in an interesting manner.

"The half king," he writes, "with about twenty-five families, containing nearly eighty persons, including women and children, arrived here last night. He has given me some account of the Twigtwees,† Wyandots, and several other nations of Indians, which I have transmitted to your honor by an express, as you inquired circumstantially, in your last, and I was then unable to give any account at all of them. The French, early in the spring, sent a speech to the Wyandots, Twigtwees, and their allies, and desired them to take up the hatchet and start for the Ohio, and to cut off the inhabitants, with all the English, thereon. This, Big Kettle acquainted the half king with; and at the same time assured him of their good intentions of assisting the Six Nations and their brothers the Eng-

* This letter appears to have escaped the researches of Mr. Sparks, Mr. Irving, and other biographers.

† This account of the Twigtwees has not been discovered among the Washington mss. or the colonial papers of Virginia. Mr. Gist, who visited them in 1751, writes of them as follows: "The Twigtwees are a very numerous people, consisting of many different tribes under the same form of government. Each tribe has a particular chief, or king, one of whom is chosen indifferently out of any tribe to rule the whole nation, and is vested with greater authority than any of the others. They are accounted the most powerful nation to the westward of the English settlements, and much superior to the Six Nations, with whom they are now in amity. They formerly lived on the farther side of the Wabash, and were in the French interest. They have now revolted from them, and have left their former habitations for the sake of trading with the English." The French wrote the name *Tuigtuis*. Mr. Wynne is referred to by Mr. Sparks as believing the Twigtwees to have been the same as the Ottawas

lish against the French, and that they only waited to see us begin. I have enclosed the speech of the chiefs, to which was added another from the warriors, informing me that they were busy in counseling with the Chippewas, Ottawas, and others, and striving to bring all into the same mind with themselves. They desire the Six Nations, Virginians, and Pennsylvanians, not to doubt but that they shall accomplish their designs in this, and when they do, they will send word thereof.

“Monacatoocha was sent by the half king about five nights ago to Logstown, with four French scalps, two of which were to be sent to the Wyandots, and the other two to the Six Nations, telling them that the French had tricked them out of their lands, for which, with their brothers the English, who joined hand in hand, they had let them feel the weight of their hatchet, which was but trifling yet, as it only laid on thirty, for that they intended with their brothers to drive the French beyond the lakes. Monacatoocha has orders to draw all the Indians from the Ohio, and then repair to our camp.

“I proposed to the half king sending their women and children in to the inhabitants, for, as they must be supported by us, it may be done at less expense there than here; besides this, there may another good attend it: their children may imbibe the principles of love and friendship in a stronger degree, which, if taken when young, are generally more firm and lasting. He told me he would consider of it, and give answer when Monacatoocha arrived. I hope this will be agreeable to your honor, whom I wrote to before on this head, without receiving an answer. We find it very difficult procuring provisions for them, as they eat equally with our own men, which is unavoidable without turning them adrift entirely.

“Mr. Montour* would be of singular use to me here at this present, in conversing with the Indians, for I have no persons that I can put any dependence in. I make use of all the influence I can to engage them warmly on our side, and flatter myself that I am not unsuccessful, but for want of a better acquaintance with their cus-

* Montour was a Canadian, of Indian extraction, and employed in the Indian trade when engaged by the English as an interpreter. He was supposed to have much influence with the Iroquois.

toms I am often at a loss how to behave, and should be relieved from many anxious fears of offending them if Montour were here to assist me; and, as he is in the government's employment, I hope your honor will think with me that his services cannot be applied to so great advantage elsewhere as here upon this occasion.

"There were three French deserters (one an Englishman) met a few days ago at Loyal Henning, going to Virginia, by one Crawford, a man of veracity, who was assured by them that there were two Maryland traders confined in irons at the fort when Monsieur Jumonville was detached; and, at the same time that he departed for this, another party of fifty was sent down the Ohio to kill or take prisoners all the English they should meet with. They assure as that Jumonville had all chosen men fixed upon for this enterprise; they likewise confirm the report the prisoners gave, that eleven hundred men are now in the fort, and reinforcements expected.

"If the whole detachment of the French behave with no more resolution than this chosen party did, I flatter myself we shall have no great trouble in driving them to the devil or Montreal. Though I took forty men under my command when I marched out, yet the darkness of the night was so great that, by wandering a little from the main body, seven were lost, and but thirty-three engaged. There were also but seven Indians with arms, two of whom were boys: one, Dinwiddie, your honor's godson, who behaved well in action. There were five or six other Indians, who served to knock the poor unhappy wounded in the head and bereave them of their scalps. So that we had but forty men, with which force we tried and took thirty-two or thirty-three, besides others who may have escaped. One, we have certain account, did.

"We have just finished a small palisaded fort, in which, with my small numbers, I shall not fear the attack of five hundred men.

"There are three separate strings of wampum which the half king has desired me to send: one is from the Wyandot chiefs, to confirm what they said: another from the warriors, to confirm their speech; and the other (white) is from Monacatoocha; and since writing the above there have arrived two Indians from the Musk-

ingum, who inform me that the Wyandots, &c., are ready to strike so soon as they hear the Six Nations and English have."

Tanacharisson appeared to enter heartily into the purposes of Washington. With the scalps of the slain Frenchmen he sent black wampum and hatchets to his allies, assuring them that their brothers the English, had "now begun in earnest." The camp was thronged with Indians, among whom were Queen Aliquippa and her son, and many other chiefs, besides the half king and his retainers. Their services, however, were but an inadequate compensation for the trouble of managing them, and the cost of their support.

The suspicions of Washington as to the effect which intelligence of the recent engagement would produce at Fort Duquesne were entirely correct. A council of war was summoned as soon as the single fugitive from the scene of disaster had told his story, false in almost everything except that his companions had been surprised, killed, or captured. In this council the opinions of all the officers present were submitted in writing. Coulon de Villiers, a brother of Jumonville, fiery and brutal, and widely known, for the prowess he had displayed in border and savage warfare, as *Le Grand Villiers* was for prompt and vengeful action; but M. de Mercier advised moderation: in his opinion it was not expedient to do anything which could be construed into a violation of the letter of the treaty of Utrecht, though he and every member of the council must have known that the spirit of that treaty was outraged by even their presence in the valley of the Ohio. M. Contrecoeur appreciated the policy of preserving as far as possible the appearances of peace, and adopted M. de Mercier's views. It was decided therefore that M. de Villiers should be despatched with about six hundred men to meet the English, and that M. de Mercier should accompany him as second in command.

Washington had scarcely completed his last despatches to Governor Dinwiddie respecting the affair of Jumonville when he heard that Colonel Fry had died suddenly at Will's creek. By this event the chief command devolved on himself. Major Muse came in on the ninth of June with the recruits, by whom the little army at

Great Meadows was increased to about three hundred men. He was accompanied by Dr. James Craik, a surgeon, born and educated in Scotland, who from this period until the last moment of Washington's life was one of his most intimate and trusted friends; and by Montour, the Indian interpreter, whose presence enabled the commander with ease and effect to go through the ceremonial of presenting a belt of wampum which the governor had sent to Tanacharisson, with medals to all the chiefs, and various gifts of merchandise to the other friendly Indians. The death of Colonel Fry* rendered necessary a reorganization of the regiment, and he gave to Captain Adam Stephen, who had displayed unusual judgment and intrepidity, a major's commission, which he found in blank among the papers of the deceased officer, and recommended acting captain Van Braam and others for promotion.

Almost every hour brought some excitement or surprise. Soon after the arrival of this reinforcement word was received that a party of the enemy was approaching; it was understood that it amounted to ninety men; and Washington marched out at the head of one hundred and thirty of his best soldiers, "with the hope of procuring another present of French prisoners" for the governor, but "was as much disappointed as ever in his life" when he found that he had mistaken ninety for nine, and that these were deserters seeking protection.

On the tenth the independent company from South Carolina, consisting of one hundred, which had been for some time expected, arrived at the fort, and, about the same time, intelligence was received that Colonel Innes, of North Carolina, was approaching with a force of three hundred. Governor Dinwiddie had appointed this officer to the head of the expedition, but had confirmed Washington in the command of the Virginia regiment. The selection of Innes

* Joshua Fry was a native of England, and was educated at the university of Oxford. Soon after coming to Virginia he became professor of mathematics in the college of William and Mary, and, resigning this place, was elected a member of the house of burgesses, and otherwise employed in public services, chiefly as a surveyor of the boundaries of the colony, and as a negotiator with the Indians. In an obituary notice it is remarked of him that "he was of so clear a head, so mild a temper, and so good a heart, that he never failed to engage the love and esteem of all who knew or were concerned with him." He died on the thirty-first of May

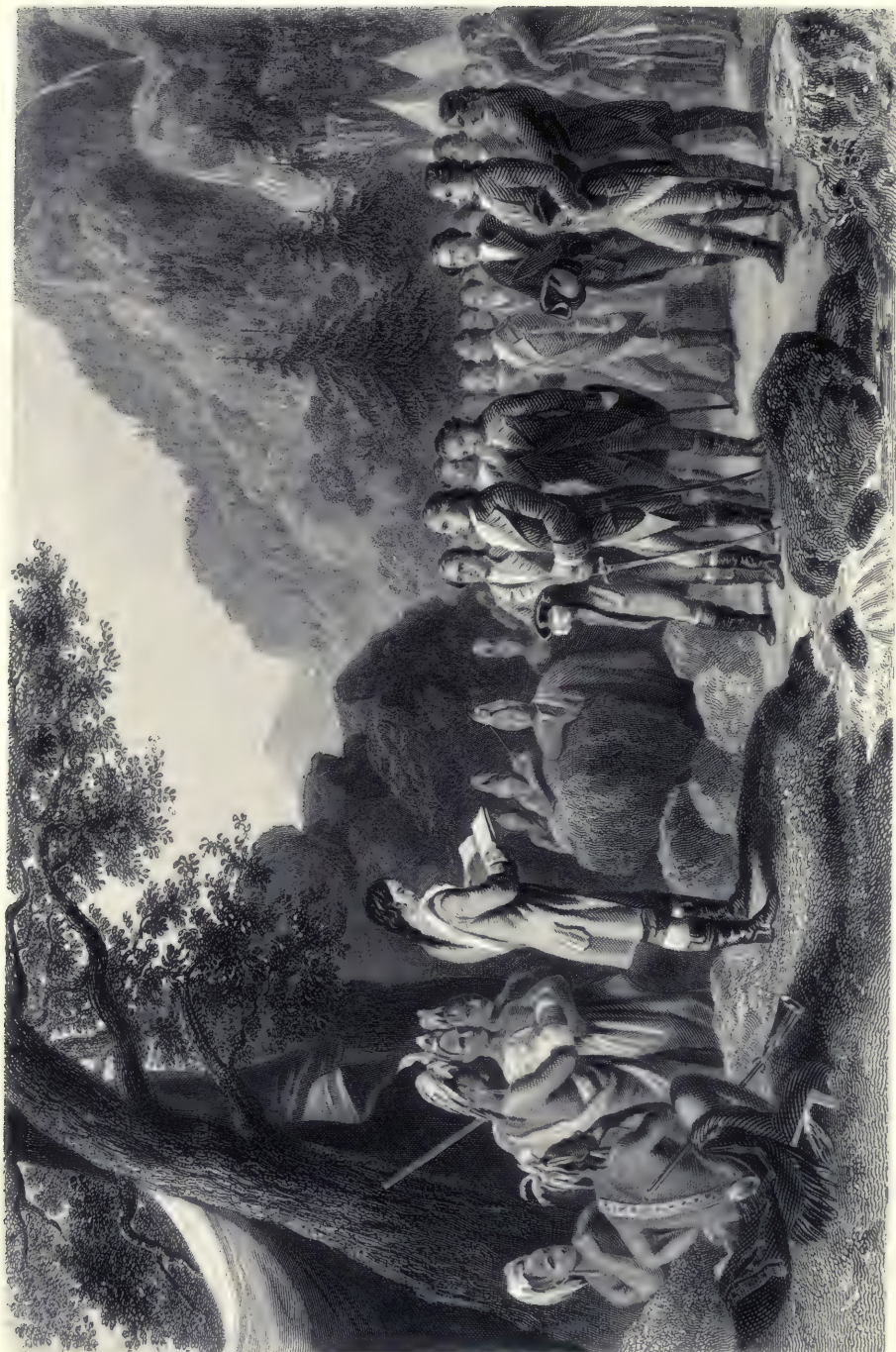
gave little satisfaction. He was a Scotchman, and it was thought the governor had evinced an undue partiality for a countryman. Besides, he was from another province, and so not entitled to the leadership of an enterprise undertaken and mainly prosecuted by Virginia. Washington, however, who knew his good reputation, and had agreeable recollections of him as one of the gentlemen who had served with his brother Lawrence in the West Indies, expressed the pleasure he felt that he was "likely to be under the orders of an experienced officer and man of sense." Neither Colonel Innes nor his troops, however, advanced beyond Winchester. The company summoned from New York landed at Alexandria, and set out for the interior, but did not reach the Virginia camp until it was too late for them to be of any advantage.

Washington had anticipated difficulties respecting rank and precedence with the captains of the independent companies. On other occasions gentlemen holding royal commissions had refused to be commanded by provincial officers, and on being advised of the approach of Captain Mackay he had therefore written to the governor on the subject. "I should have been particularly obliged," was his language, "if you had declared whether he was under my command or independent of it. I hope he will have more sense than to insist upon any unreasonable distinction, because he and his officers have commissions from his majesty. Let him consider that though we are greatly inferior in respect to advantages of profit, yet we have the same spirit to serve our gracious king as they have, and are as ready and willing to sacrifice our lives for our country's good. And here, once more, and for the last time, I must say that it will be a circumstance which will act upon some officers of this regiment above all measure, to be obliged to serve upon such different terms, when their lives, their fortunes, and their operations, are equally, and, I dare say, as effectually exposed as those of the others, who are happy enough to have the king's commissions." Captain Mackay was gentlemanly in his manners and of an amiable temper, so that in the discussions of this matter between him and Washington there were no exhibitions of warmth

or discourtesy, but he persisted in declaring that an officer holding rank from the king could receive no orders from one commissioned by a colonial governor; and he encamped separately, had a distinct patrol, and would not consent that Washington should select any rallying place for his men in case of alarm, or even to receive from him the countersign necessary for their common safety.

The question at issue very seriously affected the interests of the service, and Washington, always deeply sensitive upon points of honor, sent an express to the governor with a letter soliciting relief from his embarrassing situation. He had made it his particular study to receive Captain Mackay with all the respect and politeness due to his rank, or that he was capable of showing, and from appearances did not doubt that a friendly intimacy might grow up between himself and that gentleman if this matter should be satisfactorily adjusted. "I have been particularly careful," he wrote, "in discovering no feverish desire of commanding him, neither have I intermeddled with his company in the least, nor given any directions concerning it, except in general, as to the countersign, and place of meeting in case of an alarm, which he thinks he should not receive. I have testified to him in the most serious manner the pleasure I should take in consulting and advising with him upon all occasions..... Before orders will be observed, however, it must be known who is to command, and I am very confident you will see the absurdity and consider the effects of Captain Mackay's having the direction of the regiment, for it would certainly be the hardest thing in life if we are to do double and treble duty and neither be entitled to the pay nor the rank of soldiers."

That there might be no further altercation upon this subject, which could be settled, if settled at all, only by the authoritative interference of Governor Dinwiddie, and to remove the Virginia regiment from contagious examples of disobedience and idleness, Washington decided immediately to proceed towards Redstone creek, and to prepare a military road as he advanced. Accordingly he set out the next day from Fort Necessity, leaving Captain Mackay's company as a guard to that post. To clear and grade the



WASHINGTON READING PRAYERS IN BUSH CANYON.

way, so that it should present no unnecessary obstacles to the passage of artillery carriages, was a task of such difficulty that two weeks were spent in effecting a march through a narrow gorge of the mountains to Gist's settlement, a distance of but thirteen miles.

It must have been a picturesque and an impressive sight, to see by some streamlet, dashing through clefts of precipices, and under gigantic trees whose branches were bent with the rich green foliage of early summer, the troops, in their red uniforms, with arms glistening in the occasional rays of sunlight which penetrated the enduring shade, coming together at the morning drum beat, with the hereditary kings of the forest and their followers, with painted faces and strange and grotesque costumes, to hear the public prayers which Washington by the advice of his friend William Fairfax had instituted in the camp. As they had no chaplain it may be that he himself read the solemn words of devotion. Certainly he must have set a fit example of reverent attention to them.

Scouts were continually in advance, sometimes almost as far as Fort Duquesne, and their reports, with intelligence brought in by traders, deserters, and friendly Indians, of accessions to the French garrison and of a projected movement against the English by M. Contrecoeur, induced a halt at Gist's place, where a council of war decided that it was best to make a stand and await the coming of the enemy. Entrenchments were undertaken, two parties sent out under Captains Lewis and Polson were recalled, and an express despatched to the Great Meadows to summon Captain Mackay with his independent company. On the thirtieth, another council was held, at which the officers of the Virginia regiment and of the corps from South Carolina were present. They had now information from a trusty sachem who but two days before had been at the fort on the Ohio, that he had seen a considerable reinforcement arrive there from Canada, and heard that De Villiers would without delay march at the head of eight hundred French and four hundred Indians to attack the English. Others represented that the enemy was rapidly approaching, "as numerous as the pigeons in the woods." The troops were nearly destitute of provisions, the ground

they occupied had few advantages for defence, and it was known that by another defile than that by which they had passed through the mountains the French might reach the Great Meadows, cut off their supplies, starve them into a surrender, or fight them with a superiority of three to one. Under these discouraging circumstances it was without hesitation decided to retreat.

Preparations for retracing their steps were reluctantly but immediately commenced. There was a deficiency of horses, and Washington surrendered his to be laden with ammunition and other public stores, hiring some of the men for four pistoles to carry forward his personal luggage. This generous example was followed by the other officers. Nine swivels were drawn over the rough road by soldiers of the Virginia regiment, feeble with hunger and the sultry heat, without any assistance from the South Carolinians, who considered it beneath their position to perform services of this nature. They also refused to act as pioneers, or to take any part in the extraordinary duties which belonged to the occasion. The spectacle of their comfortable idleness had an unhappy influence upon the troops who had thus far borne all the burthen of the difficult campaign, and their submission to a proper discipline was only secured by Washington's inflexible will, and ready participation as far as possible in their toils and sufferings.

They reached the Great Meadows on the first of July, having been two days on their march. When leaving Gist's plantation it had not been the intention of Washington to stop at this place, but he found that the men were too much exhausted with fatigue and a want of food to proceed further. They had been eight days without bread, and the commissary's agent whom they met here had but a few bags of flour, not enough for a week, and for cooking or preserving beef, for which they had cattle, there was no salt. In the hope of being quickly joined by the New York companies, of whose landing at Alexandria they had heard, it was determined to reoccupy Fort Necessity, and to await the issue of a siege or a battle.

De Villiers arrived in sight of the works at Laurel Hill early on

the morning after they were abandoned, and concluding that the English had made good their retreat to the settlements, and that it was too late to pursue them, was about returning to Fort Duquesne, when informed by a deserter that Washington had halted at his former post, where his troops were in a starving condition. The fellow, as if ashamed of his part, added that he had been impelled to leave his companions by apprehensions that he would otherwise die of hunger. De Villiers ordered him into confinement, to be rewarded or hanged, as he should determine upon ascertaining whether his words were true or false.

Washington meanwhile was exerting his utmost energies in strengthening Fort Necessity, upon which Captain Mackay's company had done nothing during the three weeks of its occupation by them. The fort, which under the direction of Captain Robert Stobo, the acting engineer of the expedition, had grown from a small stockade into a breastwork of heavy logs, about one hundred feet square, with three bastions guarding its entrances, and ditches on two sides, was by the side of a narrow stream, in a level meadow two hundred and fifty yards wide, which was covered with long grass and low bushes. The nearest bluffs or hills were distant a hundred yards or more, so that its garrison could not be effectively assailed from them with musketry.

The second was passed in making such additional preparations as seemed practicable for defence. The South Carolinians were no longer expected to assist, and they manifested as little interest in the efforts which were being made by the Virginians as if they were to have no share in the approaching dangers. Washington himself was everywhere conspicuous, animating the common soldiers and inferior officers by words of sympathy and encouragement, and exciting their emulation by an active participation in their labors.

The Indians were quick to understand the vacillations of fortune. The camp had been thronged with emissaries from tribes secretly in the French interest, and though their representations had probably not induced Tanacharisson to consider favorably overtures

intended to attach him to the French, he was disheartened at the faint prospects of securing advantages for his people through any successes of the English. He was a patriot and a hero, in his way, and never pretended to any kindly regard for the English except as they seemed to him less dangerous neighbors than their adversaries. He was now dissatisfied at being subjected to military regulations, and wounded by a suspicion that his counsels had not had a proper influence; and foreseeing the result of the inevitable conflict, he excused himself by representing the necessity of placing his wife and children in a place of safety, and withdrew from the fort, accompanied by most of his warriors.*

As the day broke on the morning of the third, Washington, who had probably taken no rest during the night, was already at work, with his men, upon the fort, when a sentinel was brought in wounded, having been fired upon by an advanced party of the French while at his post. The garrison was instantly summoned to arms, and at nine o'clock information was received from returning scouts that the main body of the enemy was about four miles distant. Captain Mackay and his company occupied the trenches, which were nearly filled with mud and water, in consequence of a heavy rain that had commenced early in the day, and Washington arranged the Virginians on the cleared level ground outside the inclosure, to await the attack, which it was supposed would be by a vigorous assault,

* Very few of the Indians whose names are preserved in American history are entitled to a more respectful notice than Tanacharisson. He was honest, sagacious, and brave, and should not be judged with severity for abandoning Washington in this hour of peril. He considered himself the father of his people, and had steadily maintained that their interests were his rule of action. Charles Thompson, afterwards secretary of the Continental Congress, while usher to a quaker grammar school in Philadelphia, two years after these occurrences, wrote a small volume entitled, "An Inquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians," &c., in which he repeats some observations which the chief made to Conrad Weiser respecting this campaign. "The colonel," said Tanacharisson, "took upon him to command the Indians as his slaves, and would have them every day upon the scout, and to attack the enemy by themselves, but would by no means take advice from them. He lay in one place from one full moon to another without making any fortifications except that little thing on the Meadows; whereas, had he taken advice, and built such defences as I recommended, he might easily have beat off the French. But the French acted like cowards, and the English like fools." Washington and Tanacharisson never met again. The half king retreated into Pennsylvania, became melancholy, and his health rapidly declined. It was believed by his tribe that the French had bewitched him for killing Jumonville, who was said to have fallen by his hand. He died at the place of John Harris, an Indian trader, then called Harris's Ferry and now Harrisburgh, on the fourth of October, 1754.

as soon as the French emerged from the forest. But M. de Villiers preferred a different course; approaching as nearly as he could under the cover of trees that crowned a neighboring hill, he commenced a desultory discharge of musketry, without incurring any danger. It was however from so great a distance as to cause no injury, and suspecting that it was but a stratagem to draw him from his position, Washington ordered his men to reserve their fire until it should be certain that it would take effect. At length, as there were no indications that the French would adopt a bolder conduct, he retreated into the trenches and behind the breastworks, and instructed his men to fire at their discretion, as suitable opportunities should be presented.

The skies were covered with gloomy clouds, and all day the rain fell in torrents; yet an irregular fire was kept up by both sides until dark. The English were nearly exhausted, many of their guns were rendered unfit for use by the storm, and they had left but a few rounds of cartridges, and but a very small supply of provisions. At eight o'clock the French requested a parley, but as it might be only an artifice by which to procure the admission of a spy into the fort, Washington hesitated, until it was repeated, with the stipulation that an officer might be sent to them, under an engagement of his safety by M. de Villiers, when he despatched Captain Van Braam, the only person in his regiment who could speak French except M. de Peyroney, an ensign, who was so severely wounded as to be unfit for any service. Van Braam returned twice with inadmissible conditions of capitulation, but the third time brought terms which, as he translated them, were accepted.

According to this agreement, as it was understood by Washington and all his officers, the garrison was to leave the fort the following morning, with the honors of war, drums beating and colors flying, taking everything they possessed except their artillery, and to retire without molestation from the French or Indians to the inhabited parts of Virginia. As all their horses and cattle had been killed, and no means were left for transporting the heavy luggage, it was conceded that it might be left in some secret place, under a guard.

until wagons could be sent in which to carry it away. The prisoners taken in the skirmish with Jumonville were to be restored, and Captains Van Braam and Stobo were to remain with the French as hostages until they returned. And finally, the party capitulating were to attempt the building of no fortresses or other establishments on lands belonging to the king of France for one year.

These articles were read in English from the French manuscript, by the light of a flickering candle which it was difficult to protect from the drenching rain, among the wrecks of the battle, and in the presence of the dying and the dead. By the mistranslation of a word, through ignorance, carelessness, or intention, Washington was made to sign an article in which the death of Jumonville was called an assassination, and by another erroneous rendering, to pledge his honor not to be concerned for a stipulated period in any invasion of the country west of the mountains. Van Braam, who, as I have mentioned, was a Dutchman, not very familiar with either the French or the English language, may possibly have thought that his oral and unconsidered version of this document was correct, but it is more probable, notwithstanding his preceding and subsequent good conduct, considering the prevailing qualities of his character, that, being persuaded of the impossibility of obtaining better conditions from M. de Villiers, and that his commander would sooner die than agree to these, he consulted his own safety, and especially his appetite, by what has been called his "too great condescension" in this matter.*

* Washington did not become acquainted with the real import of the language used in the articles of capitulation until some time afterwards, and it was not until his attention was called to an account of these transactions published by M. de Villiers, that he took the trouble, in a letter to a friend, entirely to refute the calumnies to which the weakness or wickedness of Van Braam had exposed him. In this letter he says: "I can not help remarking on Villiers's account of the battle of and transactions at the Meadows, as it is very extraordinary, and not less erroneous than inconsistent. He says the French received the first fire. It is well known, that we received it at six hundred paces' distance. He also says, our fears obliged us to retreat in a most disorderly manner after the capitulation. How is this consistent with his other account? He acknowledges, that we sustained the attack warmly from ten in the morning until dark, and that he called first to parley, which strongly indicates that we were not totally absorbed in fear. If the gentleman in his account had adhered to the truth, he must have confessed that we looked upon his offer to parley as an artifice to get into and examine our trenches, and refused, on this account, until they desired an officer might be set to them, and gave their parole for his safe return. He might also, if he had been as great a lover of the truth as he was of vainglory, have said, that we absolutely refused their

In this action twelve men were killed and forty-three wounded of the Virginia regiment. The number of killed and wounded of Captain Mackay's company is not known. M. de Villiers states in his journal of these transactions, subsequently published, that the French loss was but three killed and seventeen dangerously wounded. It was however generally supposed that it was much greater.

Early on the morning of the fourth of July Washington led out the remains of his gallant regiment, in good order, but they had proceeded only a short distance when a considerable body of Indians began to annoy them and to plunder their luggage. Perceiving that the French did not or would not protect them, according to the terms of the capitulation, and that all their property which they could not carry on their shoulders would fall into the hands of the savages, he ordered it to be destroyed, as well as the public stores for which it had been agreed that he should send conveyances. At ten o'clock the melancholy march was resumed, the

first and second proposals, and would consent to capitulate on no other terms than such as we obtained. That we were wilfully or ignorantly deceived by our interpreter in regard to the word *assassination*, I do aver, and will to my dying moment; so will every officer that was present. The interpreter was a Dutchman, little acquainted with the English tongue, therefore might not advert to the tone and meaning of the word in English; but, whatever his motives were for so doing, certain it is, he called it the *death*, or the *loss*, of the *Sieur Jumonville*. So we received and so we understood it, until, to our great surprise and mortification, we found it otherwise in a literal translation.

"That we left our baggage and horses at the Meadows is certain; that there was not even a possibility to bring them away is equally certain, as we had every horse belonging to the camp killed or taken away during the action; so that it was impracticable to bring any thing off, that our shoulders were not able to bear; and to wait there was impossible, for we had scarce three days' provisions, and were seventy miles from a supply; yet, to say we came off precipitately is absolutely false; notwithstanding they did, contrary to articles, suffer their Indians to pillage our baggage, and commit all kinds of irregularity, we were with them until ten o'clock the next day; we destroyed our powder and other stores, nay, even our private baggage, to prevent its falling into their hands, as we could not bring it off. When we had got about a mile from the place of action, we missed two or three of the wounded, and sent a party back to bring them up; this is the party he speaks of. We brought them all safe off, and encamped within three miles of the Meadows. These are circumstances, I think, that make it evidently clear, that we were not very apprehensive of danger. The colors he speaks of as left were a large flag of immense size and weight; our regimental colors were brought off and are now in my possession. Their gasconade, and boasted clemency, must appear in the most ludicrous light to every considerate person, who reads Villiers's journal; such preparations for an attack, such vigor and intrepidity, as he pretends to have conducted his march with, such revenge as by his own account appeared in his attack, considered, it will hardly be thought that compassion was his motive for calling a parley. But to sum up the whole, Mr. Villiers pays himself no great compliment in saying, we were struck with a panic when matters were adjusted. We surely could not be afraid without cause, and if we had cause after capitulation, it was a reflection upon himself"

soldiers carrying not only their arms and personal effects, but also their wounded companions. In this way they were compelled to proceed, slowly and wearily, seventy miles, to Will's creek, where they found ample provisions for their comfort in the military magazines.

Leaving here both the Virginia regiment and the independent company from South Carolina, Washington, with Captain Mackay, proceeded to Williamsburgh, and in person communicated to Governor Dinwiddie the closing events of the campaign. He had the satisfaction of learning that his conduct and that of his troops was warmly approved by the governor, the council, and the public.

He soon after returned to Mount Vernon, and having passed a brief period in attending to his private affairs, visited his mother, at Fredericksburg, and rejoined his regiment, which had now arrived at Alexandria.

The house of burgesses assembled in the beginning of August, and the subject of the late operations against the French was immediately brought before it. The agreement between himself and M. de Villiers, of which Washington had received a duplicate copy, was printed, with a correct translation, and its objectionable features for the first time understood by him. His indignation, and that of his friends, was excited by what they believed to have been the culpable conduct of Van Braam in connection with it. The burgesses, to whom the facts were properly explained, recognized with great unanimity the honorable services of Washington and his officers, in resolutions of thanks for "their bravery and gallant defence of their country;" and voted from the public treasury three hundred pistoles—nearly eleven hundred dollars—to be distributed among the private soldiers engaged in the action. From these expressions of gratitude the names of Washington's early instructors in the military art, Major Muse and Captain Van Braam, were excluded: the first being charged with cowardice, and the last with treachery in erroneously rendering into English the articles of capitulation.

Governor Dinwiddie was not at all disheartened by the recent

misfortunes, but his ardor and ignorance of military affairs led him to propose new measures for the recovery of the disputed territory which were wholly impracticable. Soon after Washington had rejoined his regiment he received instructions to fill up his decimated companies with recruits, and march without delay to Will's creek, where Colonel Innes with the remnant of his North Carolina troops, the South Carolina company of Captain Mackay, and the two independent companies from New York, were building Fort Cumberland;* and at the same time he was informed of the governor's intention to order the combined forces immediately across the mountains to capture Fort Duquesne or erect another fort on the Ohio. On the eleventh of the month he addressed a letter to Mr. William Fairfax, who was a member of the governor's council, in which he represented with unanswerable ability the absurdity of this scheme. It was out of time, as, commenced at that season it would have to be prosecuted in the winter; his men had not been paid their wages for the last campaign, and were so destitute that scarcely one of them had shoes, stockings, or a hat; they had neither provisions nor military stores of any description sufficient to justify their taking the field; and not a shilling was furnished with which to obtain these necessities or secure new enlistments.

Washington had too just a sense of his duties as a soldier to permit a conviction of the difficulties of executing the governor's designs to prevent his obedience to superior authority, and he therefore attempted to carry into effect the orders sent to him. The house of burgesses having risen however without appropriating any funds for the prosecution of the war, the project for dispossessing the French of their conquests was abandoned.

The burgesses came together again in October, and though they had still various unsettled controversies with the governor, they voted twenty thousand pounds for the public service, and the appeals he had made to the home administration were soon afterwards answered by a grant of ten thousand pounds and a supply of arms.

* So called in honor of the Duke of Cumberland, at that time captain general of the British army.

The money received from England was entirely under his control, and he made use of it in enlarging the army to ten companies of one hundred men each, and other vigorous preparations for a new expedition against the French, to march early in the spring. In consequence of letters he had written to the ministers on the subject, orders were sent out, "for settling the rank of the officers of his majesty's forces when serving with the provincials in North America," in which it was directed "that all officers commissioned by the king or his general should take rank of all officers commissioned by the governors of the respective provinces; and further, that the general and field officers of the provincial troops should have no rank when serving with the general and other commissioned officers commissioned by the crown; but that all captains and other inferior officers of the royal troops should take rank over provincial officers of the same grade, having senior commissions." The effect was to reduce Washington from the rank of colonel to that of captain. So humiliating a degradation was not, of course, to be submitted to by a gentleman, and he indignantly resigned his commission and retired to private life.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONGRESS OF DELEGATES AT ALBANY—FRANKLIN'S PLAN OF UNION—IT IS REJECTED BY THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT AND THE COLONIAL ASSEMBLIES—MEETING WITH THE CHIEFS OF THE IROQUOIS—SPEECH OF HENDRIK—THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE AND HORATIO GATES—GOVERNOR SHARPE APPOINTED COMMANDER IN CHIEF—MAKES OVERTURES TO WASHINGTON TO REENTER THE SERVICE—WASHINGTON'S REPLY—GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S CONDUCT IN REGARD TO THE FRENCH PRISONERS—DROUILLON AND LA FORCE—CAPTAINS VAN BRAAM AND STOBO.

THE same fourth of July, 1754, on which Washington marched out of Fort Necessity, with the honors of war, Benjamin Franklin, at this time in the maturity of his genius, submitted to a congress of delegates from each of the colonies north of the Potomac, assembled at Albany, a plan of union. Union, since our principal source and assurance of strength, was then unknown among the provincial governments, and the successes of the French, threatening misfortune or ruin to all British America, had impressed the wisest of our public characters, in every direction, with a sense of its paramount necessity. The metropolis of the proposed confederation was to be Philadelphia, the most populous, growing and central city in the king's dominions this side of the sea. Franklin supposed it could be reached from the extremes of the country, New Hampshire or South Carolina, in fifteen or twenty days. A grand council of forty-eight members, consisting of not more than seven nor less than two from any colony, elected triennially, was to undertake the common defence at the common cost, apportion demands of men and money, direct the operations of the troops, and pass such laws as should be necessary for the general welfare. The chief executive officer, to be styled the president general, was to be appointed by the crown, and to have a veto upon all acts of the council, and,

with the concurrence of that body, the appointment of all the military officers, and the entire direction of Indian affairs. The council, in turn, was to nominate civil officers, for the confirmation of the president general. Nearly all the delegates from New England supported this plan, but it was disapproved by those from Connecticut, who were apprehensive of danger from the veto of the president. On the other side, James Delancy, of New York, opposed it on the ground that he would have reserved to the colonial governors a negative on all elections to the grand council. It was however popular with the people, and Franklin, as its author, received unusual compliments as he passed through New York on his way homeward. But when it came before the several assemblies, they all rejected it, as conferring too much power on the king. In London it found as little favor for the opposite reason; and so complete and judicious a system of government created surprise, and revived fears of American independence. It was suggested by the Board of Trade, that a convention of colonial governors and others be authorized to draw on the royal treasury for certain purposes, and that the sums thus obtained be repaid by taxes imposed by parliament. It became apparent that the colonies would not readily submit to this scheme of taxation, and nothing was done for the organization of their energies.

A delegation of the head men of the Iroquois met the provincial congress at Albany, to renew treaties, receive presents, and concert plans of combined activity. Hendrik, the great sachem of the Mohawks, expressed their feelings in one of his speeches. "We thank you," he said, "for renewing and brightening the covenant chain. We will take this belt to Onondaga, where our council fire always burns, and keep it so securely that neither the thunderbolt nor the lightning shall break it." And, contemplating the inefficiency of the English, as compared with their enemies, he added, in the temper displayed a few weeks previously by Tanacharisson, "You desired us to open our minds and hearts to you: Look at the French; they are near; they are fortifying everywhere; but, we are ashamed to say it, you are like women, without any fortifica

tions; it is but a step from Canada hither, and the French may easily come and turn you out of doors."

The want of forecast of which the Indian complained could scarcely be charged against the royal governors, who were generally willing to drain the colonies of their resources for the prosecution of the war, or any thing else that would please the home administration; but for one reason or another they nearly all agreed with Dinwiddie that the opposing assemblies were "obstinate, self-opinionated, a stubborn generation;" and that there was no means of managing this matter in a satisfactory way but "by an act of parliament to compel subjects here to obedience to his majesty's commands, and to protect their property from the insults of the French." Mr. Sparks very properly suggests, in answer to this, that the people who owned the property and lived on the spot were quite as well qualified to judge for themselves how far it needed protection.

No decided measures were adopted in England or America for regaining possession of the Ohio, or resisting new advances of the enemy, though it was known that Fort Duquesne was inadequately guarded, and that at other points they were ill prepared for defence. The Duke of Newcastle, the most powerful subject in the realm, "a statesman without capacity or the smallest tincture of human learning, a secretary who could not write, a financier who did not understand the multiplication table, and the treasurer of a vast empire who never could balance accounts with his own butler,"* was willing to obtain applause by proposing a successful system of operations, but his lack of wit prevented. He consulted several persons, in the hope that one or another of them would suggest an

* Smollet tells us that "he was generally laughed at, as an ape in politics, whose office and influence only served to render his folly the more notorious." Horace Walpole relates that when General Ligonier hinted to him the necessity of some defence for Annapolis, he replied, with his evasive, lisping hum, "Annapolis! Annapolis! Oh, yes! Annapolis must be defended; to be sure, Annapolis should be defended: where is Annapolis?" (George the Second, i. 344.) His knowledge of geography is illustrated by another anecdote, of an earlier date. At the beginning of the war he was once frightened by a story that thirty thousand French had left Acadia for Cape Breton. "Where did they find transports?" was asked. "Transports!" cried he, "they marched by land." "By land, to the island of Cape Breton?" "What! is Cape Breton an island? are you sure of that? Egad! I will go directly and tell the king that Cape Breton is an island!"

idea that he might turn to account as his own, but was disappointed. Horatio Gates, destined to act a conspicuous part in our history, had just returned from America, where he had acquired some reputation, and the minister sent for him. The young officer however understood his own position, and was deferential and incommunicative. He pleaded his inexperience, said he had seen nothing of the country except those parts of Nova Scotia in which his regiment had been quartered, and begged to be excused from advising in a matter so much above his abilities. He was too shrewd to submit a scheme of which the failure would be his ruin, or the success but an addition to the fame of his superiors. Mr. Hanbury, the London agent of the Ohio Company, it was thought might know something of America, and he was summoned. He does not appear to have affected any modesty, or to have evinced an unwillingness to give the government advantage of his wisdom. Early in November, upon his recommendation, Lieutenant Colonel Horatio Sharpe, who was governor of Maryland, received the king's commission as commander in chief of all the forces engaged against the French, with instructions to make his headquarters in Virginia. He immediately endeavored to induce Washington to re-enter the army. Colonel Fitzhugh, who during his own absence in visiting the military posts, or in executing his duties as governor, was to have the command, by his orders addressed the retired soldier a flattering letter on the subject. "I am confident," remarked this officer, "that the general has a very great regard for you, and will by every circumstance in his power make you very happy. For my part I shall be extremely fond of your continuing in the service, and would advise you by no means to quit it. In regard to the independent companies, they will in no shape interfere with you, as you will hold your post during their continuance here, and when the regiment is reduced will have a separate duty."

Washington replied in a manner which must have convinced the royal officers that his co-operation was to be secured only upon the most honorable conditions. After thanking Colonel Fitzhugh for the terms in which he had written to him, he added, "But I think

the disparity between the present offer of a company and my former rank too great to expect any real satisfaction or enjoyment in a corps where I once had or thought I had the right to command, even if his excellency had the power to suspend the orders received in the letter of the secretary of war, which, by the by, I am very far from thinking he has.... You make mention of my continuing in the service and retaining my colonel's commission. This idea has filled me with surprise, for if you think me capable of holding a commission that has neither rank nor emolument annexed to it, you must entertain a very contemptible opinion of my weakness.... I could enumerate many good reasons that forbid all thoughts of my returning, and which to you or any other person would, upon the strictest scrutiny, appear to be well founded.... I shall have the consolation of knowing that I have opened the way, when the smallness of our numbers exposed us to the attacks of a superior enemy; that I have hitherto stood the heat and brunt of the day, and escaped untouched in time of extreme danger; and that I have the thanks of my country for the service I have rendered it."

Washington had learned that Governor Dinwiddie had been guilty of duplicity in the proceedings which caused his resignation, and he added, "The information I have received shall not sleep in silence, that those peremptory orders from home, which you say could not be dispensed with, for reducing the regiment to independent companies, were generated and hatched at Will's creek. Ingenuous treatment and plain dealing I at least expected." The governor had requested such orders, and was confident of obtaining them, but they did not arrive until the following winter. Washington concluded his letter to Colonel Fitzhugh by saying: "It is to be hoped the project will answer; it shall meet with my acquiescence in every thing except personal services. I herewith inclose Governor Sharpe's letter, which I beg you will return to him, with my acknowledgments for the favor he intended me. Assure him, as you truly may, of my reluctance to quit the service, and of the pleasure I should have received in attending his fortunes. Inform him, also, that it was to obey the call of honor, and

the advice of my friends, that I declined it, and not to gratify any desire I had to leave the military line. My inclinations are strongly bent to arms."

He had other and quite sufficient reasons for leaving the army, besides those affecting his rank. One of these was the refusal of Governor Dinwiddie to give up the French prisoners taken in the skirmish with Jumonville, according to the conditions of the surrender of Fort Necessity. This subject had been ineffectually discussed by him in repeated remonstrances. The governor attempted an explanation of it, in a letter to the Board of Trade. "The French," he wrote, "after the capitulation entered into with Colonel Washington, took eight of our people, and exposed them for sale, and, missing thereof, sent them prisoners to Canada. On hearing of this, I detained the seventeen privates, the officer, and two cadets, as I am of opinion that after they were in my custody Washington could not engage for their being returned. I have ordered a flag of truce to be sent to the French, offering the return of their officer and the two cadets for the two hostages they have of ours." Of course, such an arrangement was declined; the contract had been specific and particular, and M. Contrecoeur was entirely justifiable in refusing to liberate Van Braam and Stobo until the English fulfilled their part of it.

The officer mentioned by the governor was M. Drouillon, described by Major Adam Stephen as "a pert fellow," and probably not regarded by any one as a very dangerous enemy. No proposition was made to set at liberty a more important prisoner. Washington had written from the Great Meadows: "La Force would, if released, I really think, do more to our disservice than fifty other men, as he is a person whose active spirit leads him into all parties, and has made him acquainted with all parts of the country; added to which, is a perfect use of the Indian tongue, and great influence with the Indians." When he visited Williamsburg, after resigning his commission, he found him in close confinement, though Drouillon and the cadets were allowed to go at large. The governor was inclined to keep him in idleness as long as possible, and did not

wish to understand the principles of honor and equity upon which Washington demanded his liberation.*

The course pursued by Governor Dinwiddie respecting the French prisoners, especially his treatment of La Force, naturally gave offence to M. Contrecoeur, and in retaliation he sent the hostages received from Washington to Quebec, to be imprisoned there, though not until Captain Stobo had found means to communicate some important information from Fort Duquesne as to the numbers, resources, and designs of the enemy.

Robert Stobo, now about twenty-eight years of age, was a native of Glasgow, and had settled in Virginia as a shopkeeper before the commencement of the war. His Scotch origin probably procured him a commission in Fry's regiment, which the Huguenot Maury says was officered with "raw, surly and tyrannical Scots, several of them mere boys from behind the counters of the factors."† Stobo, whatever the means or influences by which his place was acquired was not unworthy of it. On the twenty-eighth of July he induced an Indian to carry a letter, embracing the information above referred to, and accompanied by a plan of the fort, to the English camp. "There are two hundred men here," he wrote, "and two hundred are expected. The rest have gone off in detachments, to the amount of one thousand, besides Indians. None lodge in the fort but Contrecoeur and the guard, consisting of forty men and five officers: the rest lodge in bark cabins around it. The Indians have access day and night, and come and go when they please. If one hundred trusty Shawnees, Mingoes, and Delawares, were picked out, they might surprise the fort, lodging themselves under the palisades by day, and at night secure the guard with their tomahawks, shut the sally gate, and the fort is ours." Alluding to the danger in which Van Braam and himself might be involved, he

* Burke, in his history of Virginia, gives an interesting though a somewhat confused account of the detention of La Force. By almost incredible efforts he escaped from the prison at Williamsburg, and made his way several miles into the country, when his imperfect English betrayed him, and he was arrested and subjected to a more rigorous confinement. Mr. Lyman C. Draper conjectures that he was the same person who was active as "M. La Force, captain of the schooner *Iroquois*," on Lake Ontario, just before the surrender of Fort Niagara to the English, in 1759.

† *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, p. 404

added, "consider the good of the expedition, without regard to us; when we engaged to serve the country it was expected we were to do it with our lives. For my part, I would die a hundred deaths to have the pleasure of possessing the fort but one day. They are so vain of their success at the Meadows, it is worse than death to hear them." This letter fell into the hands of George Croghan, the Indian trader, by whom it was forwarded to the governor of Pennsylvania, so that it may not have reached its proper destination for several weeks. Being found by the French in Braddock's cabinet, the next year, it exasperated them against the author of it, and caused an increase of severity in his imprisonment.*

* Stobo and Van Braam were confined first at Quebec and afterwards at Montreal. By extraordinary exertions they escaped from prison, but soon after separated, and Van Braam, fainting with fatigue and hunger, and despairing of success, on perceiving from under the arch of a causeway, where he was concealed, the governor general passing in his carriage, came out and surrendered himself, and was remanded to his old quarters, where he remained until Montreal was captured by the British on the eighth of September, 1760. Early in the following November he returned to Williamsburg, Virginia, having been absent six years. Time and his sufferings appear to have softened prejudices or modified opinions in regard to his conduct at Fort Necessity, for he now obtained his share of the Virginia bounty lands, under an award made by Washington, as commissioner, and on the fourteenth of June, 1777, was made a major in the royal American sixtieth regiment of foot, then stationed in the West Indies.

The career of Stobo was more remarkable. After many perilous adventures he succeeded about the beginning of June, 1759, in reaching Louisburg, in the island of Cape Breton, where he was kindly received by General Wolfe, to whom he was able to give much important information relative to the French armament in Canada. He accompanied the English forces to the plains of Abraham, and in the beginning of the next December was again in Williamsburg, where the legislature, then in session, passed a resolution "that the sum of one thousand pounds be paid by the treasurer of this colony to Captain Robert Stobo, over and above the pay that is due to him from the time of his surrendering himself as a hostage to this day, as a reward for his zeal to his country, and a recompense for the great hardships he has endured during his confinement," &c. By another resolution the governor was desired to promote him in the public service, and by a third, Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Bland and Mr. Washington were appointed a committee to thank him and congratulate him on his safe return to Virginia. On the fifth of June, 1760, he was made a captain in Amherst's regiment, (the fifteenth foot,) and he is known to have held this position as late as 1765. In 1768 he was in England, and David Hume thus mentions him in a letter to Tobias Smollet, written on the twenty-first of September in that year: "I did not see your friend Captain Stobo till the day I left Cirencester, and only for a little time; but he seemed to be a man of good sense, and has surely had the most extraordinary adventures in the world. He has promised to call on me when he comes to London, and I shall always see him with pleasure." It has been stated that he was the original of Smollet's famous character of Lishmahago. He published *Memoirs of his Life*, but I have not been able to discover where or at what time he died.

CHAPTER XIV.

GOVERNOR SHARPE SUPERSEDED IN THE CHIEF COMMAND—THE BRADDOCK FAMILY—FANNY BRADDOCK—CAREER AND CHARACTER OF GENERAL EDWARD BRADDOCK—HE IS APPOINTED GENERALISSIMO OF THE BRITISH FORCES IN AMERICA—HIS LAST NIGHT IN LONDON—HIS ARRIVAL IN THE CHESAPEAKE—VISIT TO DINWIDDIE—MEETS SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR—OVERTURES TO WASHINGTON—CONGRESS OF GOVERNORS—PLANS OF OPERATIONS—WHO SHALL FILL THE MILITARY CHEST—WASHINGTON INTRODUCED TO THE GOVERNORS.

THE appointment of Governor Sharpe to the chief command of the army in America was a measure of temporary expediency. His friends would have persuaded the king to continue him in this position. They urged in his behalf his exceeding honesty, while compelled to admit that he was not possessed of much ability. "A little less honesty," replied his majesty, "and a little more ability, might upon the present occasion better serve our turn." The government, though still attempting to amuse the French with professions of peace, had decided vigorously to maintain all its pretensions on this continent, and with this view to send out at the head of an adequate force one of the bravest and most accomplished soldiers of the empire. Such a one, in the opinion of the Duke of Cumberland, captain general of the army, was Edward Braddock, and Horace Walpole, describing him as "desperate in his fortune, brutal in his behavior, and obstinate in his sentiments," agreed with the royal chief that "he was still intrepid and capable."

Major General Edward Braddock, the elder, of the Coldstream Guards, had died at Bath in 1725, leaving two daughters and one son, with incomes sufficient for the preservation of an elegant style of living. The son, then about thirty years of age, had been nine years a lieutenant in the Guards. One of the daughters died soon after, and the other, a brilliant and beautiful woman, sacrificed her

fortune to relieve the necessities of a man she loved, was abandoned by him, driven to the gaming table, and reduced to the condition of a governess in the family of a tradesman. Her melancholy history is related by Goldsmith, as that of "Sylvia S——," in his life of Richard Nash. It was closed by suicide. "Thus," says the amiable author, "ended a female wit, a toast, and a gamester, formed for the delight of society, fallen by imprudence into an object of pity." The conduct of her brother, who on hearing of the event exclaimed, "Poor Fanny! I always thought she would play till forced to tuck herself up," led Walpole to declare him "a very Iroquois in disposition." This heartlessness was characteristic.

Braddock was with his regiment in the celebrated battle of Fontenoy, in the summer of 1745, and in the following November was made its lieutenant colonel, the next year became a brigadier general, and in 1749 was again stationed in London, where he rapidly acquired new distinctions among profligate men of rank and fashion. "He once had a duel," writes Walpole, "with Colonel Glumley, who had been his great friend. As they were going to engage, Glumley, who had good humor and wit, said, 'Braddock, you are a poor dog! here, take my purse—if you kill me you will be forced to run away, and then you will not have a shilling to support you!' He refused the purse, insisted on the duel, was disarmed, and would not even ask for his life."* In 1753, anxious to leave England, on account of debts and other causes, he was stationed at Gibraltar; during his absence, on the twenty-ninth of May, 1754, was appointed a major general; and on the twenty-fourth of the ensuing September was ordered to proceed to Virginia, as commander in chief of all the British troops in North America. The night before he left London he called with two of his companions, Colonel Burton and Captain Orme, upon Anne Bellamy, the actress, with whom he had maintained for many years a peculiar relation. "Before we parted," she informs us in her memoirs, "the general told me he should never see me more, for he was going with a handful of men to conquer whole nations, and to do this

* Walpole's Correspondence, iii., 142

they must cut their way through unknown woods. He produced a map of the country, saying, at the same time, 'We are sent like sacrifices to the altar.'" She defends him from the charge of a want of feeling: "As we were walking in the Park one day," she says, "we heard a poor fellow was to be chastised, when I requested him to beg off the offender. Upon his application to the general officer, whose name was Dury, he asked Braddock how long since he had divested himself of brutality and the insolence of his manners; to which the other replied, 'You never knew me insolent to my inferiors; it is only to such rude men as yourself that I behave with the spirit which I think they deserve.'" It is an agreeable duty to soften as much as possible the repulsive portrait commonly drawn of him by his contemporaries. His name is more familiar in this country than that of any other British soldier of our colonial era. His bravery was unquestionable, and no one would regret a conviction that he had other virtues.

General Braddock sailed for America on the twenty-first of December, in the *Norwich*, convoyed by the *Centurion*, flag ship of Commodore Keppel, and arrived in Hampton Roads on the twentieth of February. He was soon followed by the rest of the squadron, with two regiments, each of five hundred men, one under Colonel Sir Peter Halket, and the other under Colonel Thomas Dunbar. Two more regiments, each of one thousand men, were to be raised in the colonies, at the king's cost, and commanded by Sir William Pepperell and Governor Shirley of Massachusetts. These, with the independent companies, the levies expected of the several governors, and such Indians as it was believed might be enlisted, it was thought would make up an effective force of not less than twelve thousand.

In the preceding October Lieutenant Colonel Sir John St. Clair had been sent out as deputy quartermaster general, and he had since been actively engaged in visiting military posts, exploring the scenes of anticipated operations, making contracts for supplies, and preparations generally for an expedition into the disputed territory.

General Braddock immediately proceeded to Williamsburg to confer with Governor Dinwiddie. He found Sir John St. Clair there awaiting his arrival, and they were soon joined by Commodore Keppel. The interviews which followed were in the main satisfactory, though the favorable reports of the governor and the quartermaster in regard to provisions and means of transportation, to be furnished by inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland, were not justified by subsequent occurrences. While at Williamsburg the general wrote to the governors of all the colonies, informing them of his commission, recommending a common fund for military purposes, and urging an earnest cooperation in the business which the king had undertaken for the benefit of his American subjects. In his communications to Shirley of Massachusetts, Delancey of New York, Morris of Pennsylvania, and Sharpe of Maryland, he requested them to meet him at Annapolis on the first of April, for consultation upon matters of great importance to the country, and for the settlement of a plan of operations against the French. On the twenty-sixth of March the general, with Governor Dinwiddie and Commodore Keppel, arrived at Alexandria, where the troops were encamped, and the next day issued his first general orders to the army in America.

Since resigning his commission Washington had been industriously occupied with agricultural pursuits, for which, as is well known, he had through all his life a strong predilection. The debarkation and temporary establishment at Alexandria of the regiments of Halket and Dunbar, superior in discipline and appointments to any soldiers he had hitherto seen, revived his military enthusiasm, and he did not attempt to conceal his regret at being unable without a sacrifice of self respect to share with them the duties and dangers of the approaching campaign. General Braddock, who was acquainted with his merits and services, could not disapprove of the feelings which had induced his retirement from the army, and properly appreciating the advantages to be derived from his abilities and experience, he directed Captain Orme, one of his aids, to propose an expedient by which the principal difficulties in the case would

be removed. "The general," this officer wrote to Washington on the second of March, "having been informed that you expressed some desire to make the campaign, but that you declined it upon some disagreeableness that you thought might arise from regulations of command, has ordered me to acquaint you that he will be very glad of your company in his family, by which all inconveniences of that kind will be obviated." He did not at once determine what course to pursue, but in reply to this note frankly stated that he was anxious to increase his acquaintance with the military art, and should be strongly influenced by the consideration that he might do so under a commander of Braddock's reputation. There was some further correspondence on the subject, and on the second of April he addressed to Orme the conditions upon which he would accept the invitation. "I find myself," he said, "much embarrassed with my affairs, having no person, in whom I can confide, to intrust the management of them with; notwithstanding, I am determined to do myself the honor of accompanying you, upon this proviso, that the general will permit my return as soon as the active part of the campaign is at an end, if desired, or, if there should be a space of inaction, long enough to admit of a visit to my home, that I may be indulged in coming to it." Captain Orme answered, "The general orders me to give you his compliments, and to assure you his wishes are to make it agreeable to yourself and consistent with your interests; and therefore he desires you will so settle your business at home as to join him at Will's creek, if more convenient to you; and whenever you find it necessary to return, he begs you will look upon yourself as entirely your own master, and judge what is proper to be done."

In a letter to his friend Mr. Robinson, speaker of the house of burgesses, Washington explained with his customary sincerity and modesty the reasons which induced him to accept a place in General Braddock's staff. Pecuniary advantage was impossible, as he was a volunteer, receiving neither compensation nor even his expenses, and compelled to neglect private affairs which demanded all his attention; and he looked for no promotion, as it was not in the power

of the commander to confer on him any welcome military distinction. In a degree he was doubtless fascinated by the circumstance and excitement of war, and he confessed an anxiety to study strategy, tactics, and the art of moving armies, under an approved master. Schooled in the wildernesses to the vicissitudes of the seasons, and the difficulties and perils of border and savage life, the education necessary for his great mission was incomplete till he should learn the refinements of discipline and conduct with such leaders as he was to meet as enemies; and dreams of this sort may have mingled with his ever earnest desire to become an accomplished soldier; but the controlling motive which led him to the field was, as he says, "the laudable one of serving his country—not the gratification of any ambitious or lucrative plans. My friends," he added, "may conceive that some advantageous offers have engaged my services, when, in reality, it is otherwise, for I expect to be a considerable loser in my private affairs by going. It is true, I have been importuned to make the campaign by General Braddock, as a member of his family, he conceiving, I suppose, that the small knowledge I have had an opportunity of acquiring, of the country and the Indians, is worthy of his notice, and may be useful to him in the progress of the expedition."

Before he complied with the general's invitation, his mother, having heard that he would probably return to the army, and again expose himself to the hardships and dangers of a campaign, hastened from Fredericksburg to Mount Vernon to dissuade him from any project of this kind. The feelings which had led her to prevent his entering the navy were still more powerful than all others in her heart. But he reasoned with her of duty, sterner in authority than affection, and obtained her reluctant acquiescence in his decision.

Braddock had been ill, but was recovered sufficiently to meet the governors whom he had summoned to a council at Annapolis. They went to Alexandria, where, on the fourteenth of April, he laid before them his instructions, his plans, and his expectations. Besides Dinwiddie, there were present Shirley, Delancey, Sharpe,

and Morris. Commodore Keppel also was admitted to their deliberations.

Upon consultation it was resolved that there should be three distinct expeditions. The first, against Fort Duquesne, for the expulsion of the French from the valley of the Ohio, was to be conducted by General Braddock in person, with his English regulars, the levies from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, and such Indians as might be induced to join him. After taking this stronghold the general in chief proposed to continue his advance to Niagara, reducing all the French establishments on his route. A garrison of not less than two hundred provincials was to be left at Fort Duquesne, at the cost of the nearest colonies; and as the enemy, should they retreat on his approach, would probably destroy as much as they could of their defences, any restorations or additions he might think necessary were to be executed by the same interested parties, who were also to furnish the post with artillery and provisions. Should he decide to build a fort upon the Erie, and to order one or more vessels to be constructed for the protection of that lake, the expense attending both these measures was likewise to be borne by the above named governments. He anticipated a series of conquests as easy as they would be considerable, and already felicitated himself upon the prospect of spending a merry Christmas with Governor Morris, in Philadelphia. The second expedition was to march against Niagara, leaving reinforcements on the way at Oswego, a post of the greatest importance for facilitating the proposed attack on Niagara, and securing the retreat of the troops to be employed on that service. This was to be under the direction of Governor Shirley, who had recently been appointed a major general. He was to improve the fort at Oswego, and build and equip two ships there, each of sixty tons, for the command of Lake Ontario. The third was for the reduction of Crown Point, on the Champlain, and was to be led by Colonel William Johnson. It was to consist of the irregulars promised by New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, amounting to four thousand and four hundred men, besides Indians.

At the same time Lieutenant Colonel Monckton was instructed to cooperate with Colonel Lawrence, governor of that province, in measures for driving out the French from Nova Scotia.

Colonel Johnson, who had resided more than twenty years near the Mohawk river, in the province of New York, where he had acquired not only a large estate, but, it was believed, an unprecedented influence with the Indian tribes of that part of the country, was offered a diplomatic agency to the Six Nations, but at first declined it, as promises he had been authorized to make these Indians in 1746 had not yet been fulfilled, so that he was placed under the disagreeable necessity of deceiving them, and the French had made use of this fact very much to the disadvantage of the English. The general conviction of his especial fitness for the duties proposed, and the extraordinary powers with which it was agreed to invest him, overcame his objections, however, and he was commissioned as sole manager and director of Indian affairs, and intrusted with ample funds for the purchase of presents, or to be used according to his discretion in securing the friendship of the Iroquois and their allies.*

It was suggested to General Braddock that New York should be made the centre of operations, as from that colony there was easy access by water to the heart of the French possessions in Canada;

* William Johnson was a native of Ireland, and was born in 1715. His uncle, Vice Admiral Sir Peter Warren, who acquired distinction at the capture of Louisburg, and by the defeat of the French squadron sent to recover that post, had married Susan, eldest sister of Governor James Delancey, of New York, and had become possessed of very large estates in the valley of the Mohawk. Johnson, when about nineteen years of age, in consequence of the unfortunate ending of a love affair, wished to leave Ireland, and his uncle sent for him to take charge of his wild lands in this country. He settled first at the mouth of the Schoharie, but after learning the language of the Indians, and carrying on a lucrative trade with them several years, he built the two mansions in the Mohawk valley known as Johnson Castle and Johnson Hall, both of which were fortified, and surrounded with cabins for the accommodation of the Indians. He supplied the place of his former love by a Dutch damsel, who bore him several children, and was married by him when on her deathbed. A subsequent favorite was a sister of Brant, the celebrated Mohawk chief. He held the place of commissioner for Indian affairs in New York from 1746 to 1751, and when the chiefs of the Six Nations met the Congress at Albany, in 1754, they applied for his reappointment. No other white man had ever acquired as great an influence among them. Soon after the council at Alexandria he was made a major general, and his victory over Dieskau, at Lake George, procured him a baronetcy and a gift of five thousand pounds from the king. He died suddenly—some thought by suicide—on the eleventh of July, 1774. His mind was coarse, but quick and vigorous, and he was not very scrupulous of the rights of others. No biography of him has been written, but valuable materials for one have been published by Dr. O'Callaghan in the *Documentary History of New York*.

but he was not at liberty to depart from his instructions, in which the recent fortifications of the enemy in the valley of the Ohio were named as the objects to which he was to direct his personal attention. The Pennsylvanians held that even for this purpose the selection of the point from which the army was to march was unfortunate, as Virginia could furnish neither forage, provisions, wagons, nor cattle, in all of which Pennsylvania abounded, but it was too late for any changes of this nature, even if consistent with the orders received from the captain general.

But the subject first presented and most earnestly commended to the consideration of the governors was that of colonial revenue. His instructions commanded him to insist that a fund be established for the benefit of all the colonies collectively, and as Sir Thomas Robinson had explained to them in advance the views of the administration on this question his anger was excited that no such fund was already established. The governors present recapitulated their controversies with their assemblies, and replied that nothing of this nature could be accomplished here but by the direct interposition of parliament. "Having found it impracticable to obtain in their respective governments the proportions expected by his majesty toward defraying the expense of his service in North America, they were unanimously of opinion that it should be proposed to his majesty's ministers to find out some method of compelling them to give it, and of assessing the several governments, in proportion to their respective abilities, their shares of the whole money already furnished, and which it shall be thought proper for them further to furnish, towards the general expense of his service."* The king's agents were the king's friends, in all controversies of this description. The opinions of the governors were sent home by the general with a declaration of his own conviction of their justice. But these opinions had little weight with the inhabitants of the country, and were entitled to little with the crown. "The people of the colonies," Franklin had written to Shirley, "are better

* Minutes of the Council at Alexandria, as published in the Documentary History of New York, ii. 379.

judges of the necessary preparations for defence, and of their own abilities to bear them. Governors often come to the colonies merely to make fortunes, with which they intend to return to Britain; are not always men of the best abilities or integrity; and have no natural connection with us, that should make them heartily concerned for our welfare." Besides, it was held in that day, against the pretence that England was graciously expending her treasure here exclusively for our benefit, "that these colonies were an object of the highest importance to the mother country, and already the chief basis of its trade and independence;" and "that it was more for the interest of the nation to carry on a war with the French, in America, than in any other part of the world, since all the money circulated in the colonies returned in the end to Great Britain."* Franklin, in a paper which was reprinted in London in 1755, had drawn attention to the rapid increase of population in this country. His estimates were confirmed by Shirley, in a letter to Sir Thomas Robinson. Every twenty years the number of the inhabitants was doubled, and as the demand for British manufactures, with a corresponding employment of shipping, increased with still greater rapidity, the reasonableness of the demand that the colonies should pay all the expenses of the war was not very apparent.

General Braddock wrote to Lord Halifax, "I cannot sufficiently express my indignation against the provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland, whose interests being alike concerned in this expedition, and much more so than any others on this continent, refuse to contribute anything towards the project." But admitting the equity of the claim on these colonies, their conduct is vindicated in what Franklin says of Pennsylvania, which is equally applicable to the case of Maryland. "The proprietaries, our hereditary governors," he tells us, "when any expense was to be incurred for the defence of their province, with incredible meanness instructed their deputies to pass no act for levying the necessary taxes unless their vast estates were in the same act expressly exonerated;

* Bradford's *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies*, for November, 1757.

and they had even taken bonds of their deputies to observe such instructions."

Although the colonies of Virginia, New York and Massachusetts, with some others, had voted liberal appropriations of money for carrying on the war, and New England generally had surpassed the expectations of the ministers in supplies of munitions and men, this question of revenue was not to be finally decided until the revolution, twenty years after; and the congress of governors at Alexandria could only recommend to the commander in chief that he should make use of his credit with the home government for current expenses lest the expedition should come to a stand.*

Washington was introduced to the assembled governors, and the manner in which he was treated by them was a flattering assurance of the consideration in which his character was already held throughout the country. A son of Shirley had accompanied Braddock from England, as his secretary, and with him the young soldier had perhaps already become intimate, so that his acquaintance with the father was more familiar than that he formed with the others. Certainly, he was "especially well received" by that distinguished person, whose abilities and demeanor "perfectly charmed" him. "I think," he wrote, "his every word and action discover in him the gentleman and the politician." The meaning of this last word has changed in the hundred years since it was thus used by Washington.

* Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, vi. 366.

CHAPTER XV.

DELAYS OF THE ARMY—DEPARTURE FROM ALEXANDRIA—WASHINGTON ANNOUNCED AS AID DE CAMP—THE GENERAL IS ENRAGED—SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR ACTS THE LION RAMPANT—ALARM OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ASSEMBLY—FRANKLIN VISITS THE CAMP—HIS INTERVIEWS WITH BRADDOCK—PROVIDES FOR HIM HORSES AND WAGONS—BECOMES ACQUAINTED WITH WASHINGTON—THE MARCH TO WILL'S CREEK—THE MUSTER AT FORT CUMBERLAND—GATES, MORGAN, ETC.—COLONEL GAGE—INDIANS AND BACKWOODSMEN—SCENES IN THE CAMP.

EVERY day brought to General Braddock some new disappointment. He had written to the Duke of Newcastle from Williamsburg on the first of March that he should be beyond the Alleghanies by the end of April, and his sanguine expectations were not changed when a month afterwards he advised the ministers to look for intelligence of his successes in June. It was not until the twentieth of April, however, that he left Alexandria, and he had proceeded only to Fredericktown in Maryland when compelled to halt for means of transportation. Sir John St. Clair had reported to him arrangements for supplying twenty-five hundred horses and two hundred wagons, but only one hundred horses and fifteen wagons had been furnished, and there was no prospect of any more. Washington, who had been detained by private business at Mount Vernon, joined him here, and on the tenth of June was announced in the orders of the day as an aid de camp to the commander in chief. He found him in the midst of his anger, and was not prepared to regard it as altogether unreasonable, though he combated the general's opinion that the great body of the people were as much at fault as the irresponsible contractors who had deceived the commissary. It is true nevertheless that the inhabitants of the country manifested very little interest in the expedition. They suspected that Great Britain and France had chosen for considera-

tions in which they were not deeply concerned to carry on a war in America, and were disposed to be as passive as circumstances would permit.

Edward Shippen, afterwards chief justice of Pennsylvania, mentions in a letter to his father* that Governor Morris had laid before the assembly of that province a communication from General Braddock in which he stated that he should "take due care to burthen those colonies most that showed least loyalty to his majesty; and that he was determined to obtain by unpleasant methods what it was their duty to contribute with the utmost cheerfulness. The assembly," continues Shippen, "know not how to stomach this military address, but it is thought it will frighten them into some reasonable measures, as it must be a vain thing to contend with a general at the head of an army, though he should act an arbitrary part, especially as in all probability he will be supported in everything at home." Subsequently the members of a commission sent to Will's creek, to attend to the construction of a military road, wrote to Governor Morris some details of an interview they had had there with Sir John St. Clair. "He was extremely warm and angry at our province," they observed, "and stormed like a lion rampant. He said the want of this road and the provisions promised by the Pennsylvanians had retarded the expedition, and might cost them their lives, because of the fresh numbers of French which might be poured into the country; that instead of marching to the Ohio he would in nine days march his troops into Cumberland county, to cut roads, and press wagons and horses; that he would not allow a soldier to handle an axe, but would by the sword compel the people to do it, and take every man that refused to the Ohio;.... that if the French defeated them in consequence of the delays of this province, he would with his drawn sword pass through it, and treat the inhabitants as traitors to his master; that he would write to England by a man of war, revoke Mr. Penn's proprietaryship, and represent Pennsylvania as a disaffected province; that he would

* Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania, &c., (edited by Thomas Balch, Esq., and privately printed :) p. 35.

not hesitate to impress our assembly, for his hands were not tied, and that we should find."

The assembly, apprehending from these and other communications on the subject, that the general had received violent prejudices against them, as averse to the service, requested Franklin to wait upon him, not as from them, but as postmaster general, with the pretended object of settling, at their expense, the mode of conducting his correspondence with the provincial governors. In his memoirs Franklin informs us that he accepted the mission, and proceeded with his son to the camp at Fredericktown, where they found the general impatiently waiting the return of persons he had sent into the back parts of Maryland and Virginia to collect wagons. "I stayed with him," he writes, "several days, dined with him daily, and had full opportunities of removing his prejudices by information of what the assembly had before his arrival actually done, and were still doing, to facilitate his operations."

The quiet humor, strong sense, and practicalness of Franklin pleased the general, but it was impossible even for this eloquent and shrewd talker to disturb his mind with a doubt of success. One day Braddock gave him some account of his intended progress. "After taking Fort Duquesne," said he, "I am to proceed to Niagara, and having taken that, to Frontenac, if the season will allow time; and I suppose it will, for Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four days—and then I can see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara." Franklin having revolved in his mind the long line the army must make in their march by a very narrow road, to be cut for them through the woods and bushes, and also what he had heard of a former defeat of fifteen hundred French who invaded the Illinois country, had conceived some doubts and some fears for the event of the campaign; but he ventured only to say, "To be sure, sir, if you arrive well before Duquesne with these fine troops, so well provided with artillery, the fort, though completely fortified, and assisted with a very strong garrison, can probably make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction to your march, is from the ambuscades of the Indians

who, by constant practice, are dexterous in laying and executing them; and the slender line, nearly four miles long, which your army must make, may expose it to be attacked by surprise on its flanks, and to be cut like thread into several pieces, which, from their distance, cannot come up in time to support each other." The general smiled at his ignorance, and replied, "These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to raw American militia, but upon the king's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossible they should make an impression." The philosopher tells us he was conscious of the impropriety in his disputing with a military man in matters of his profession, and said no more.

When he was about to depart the returns of wagons to be obtained were brought in, by which it appeared that they amounted only to twenty-five, and not all these were in serviceable condition. The general and all the officers were surprised, declared the expedition was then at an end, being impossible, and exclaimed against the ministers for ignorantly sending them into a country destitute of the means even of carrying their stores and baggage, not less than one hundred and fifty wagons being necessary.

Franklin happened to say he thought it was a pity they had not landed in Pennsylvania, as in that country almost every farmer had his wagon. Braddock eagerly laid hold of his words and said, "Then you, sir, who are a man of interest there, can probably procure them for us, and I beg you will undertake it." He asked what terms were to be offered the owners of the wagons, and was desired to put on paper such as to him appeared necessary. He did so, they were agreed to, and a commission and instructions immediately prepared.

Colonel Dunbar, while Franklin was supping with the officers of his regiment, one evening, expressed to him some anxiety in regard to his subalterns, whose purses, never very well filled, were now completely drained by the exorbitant prices exacted for every sort of domestic stores needed for a long march through the wilderness. He said nothing of his intention, but the next morning wrote to a committee of the Pennsylvania assembly, who had still in hand

some part of an appropriation for military purposes, warmly recommending the condition of these officers to their consideration, and proposing that a present should be sent them of necessaries and refreshments.

By characteristically adroit means, which are detailed in his autobiography, he succeeded in obtaining from the counties of Lancaster, York, and Cumberland, the one hundred and fifty wagons, with four horses to each wagon, and fifteen hundred saddle or pack horses, needed for the expedition; and the committee of the assembly did not hesitate to forward to the camp as soon as possible the generous supplies he requested for the comfort of the inferior officers of Dunbar's and Halket's regiments. In the opinion of the army Franklin almost redeemed the character of the American people. He and Washington met at Fredericktown for the first time; and these two were the only natives of the country for whom Braddock had a word of praise in his despatches.*

Soon after Franklin left the camp at Fredericktown the army marched in divisions by various routes for Fort Cumberland at Will's Creek. Colonel Dunbar's regiment was in advance, and at noon, on the tenth of May, when within a few miles of its destination, was overtaken by the general. He preserved on all occasions as much as circumstances permitted of the state belonging to his rank in Europe, and now rode in a chariot which he had purchased of Governor Sharpe, with his staff accompanying him, and his guard of light horse galloping before and in the rear. A little after one o'clock he reached Will's creek, and was saluted with seventeen guns from the fort.

* General Braddock writes of the principal service here rendered by Franklin, "It is almost the only instance of address and integrity which I have seen in all these provinces." For the provisions, &c., sent to the subalterns, both Colonel Dunbar and Sir Peter Halket wrote that "the gentlemen whom the committee have been so good as to think of in so genteel a manner return their hearty thanks." Mr. Sparks states that, "when Franklin returned to Philadelphia, the house of assembly was in session, and unanimously passed a vote of thanks 'to Benjamin Franklin, a member of this house, for the great services done to the king's forces, and to this province, in his late journey through Maryland and our back counties.' It should be added, also," Mr. Sparks continues, "that no profit on his own account was either expected or received. On the contrary, after General Braddock's death, the owners of the wagons and horses came upon Franklin for their pay, amounting in all to nearly twenty thousand pounds; and he was much embarrassed with these claims, till they were finally allowed and settled by General Shirley, who succeeded Braddock in the command."

The next day notice was given that the general would hold a levee at his tent every morning between ten and eleven; and, on the twelfth, the Indians who had been awaiting his arrival—one of whom was Monacatoocha, the successor of Tanacharisson—were received with military honors, and such formalities and displays as it was thought would impress them most strongly with a sense of English power and magnificence. At the end of the interview, in which Braddock addressed them through an interpreter some flatteries and promises, there was a discharge of all the artillery, and in the evening, at their own camp, about two miles distant, a feast was provided, by his direction, and they had a war dance, which was seen by a few of the foreign officers with as much wonder as the Indians had felt at the martial exhibition in the afternoon.

The force assembled at Will's creek amounted to more than two thousand effective men. The regiments of Halket and Dunbar, embracing together when they landed about one thousand, had been increased to fourteen hundred by picked additions from the provincial levies, and besides these there were the two independent companies from New York, five companies of rangers and two of carpenters or pioneers from Virginia, one company of rangers from Maryland, one company of rangers from North Carolina, one company from South Carolina, and thirty seamen, under a lieutenant of the navy, furnished by Admiral Keppel, having four pieces of cannon, which they were to assist in dragging over the mountains. The colonial troops were regarded by the regulars as of little importance. "They performed their evolutions and firings as well as could be expected," Captain Orme* wrote in his journal, "but their languid, spiritless, and unsoldierlike appearance, considered with the lowness

* Robert Orme, of Devonshire, author of the "Journal" from which are derived a large proportion of the particulars now known of Braddock's Expedition, became a lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards on the twenty-fourth of April, 1754. He was on very intimate terms with Braddock, and before coming to this country had "made some noise in London by an affair of gallantry." Here he produced a very favorable impression on all with whom he came in contact. Soon after the affair near Fort Duquesne, in which he was wounded, he returned to England, and in October, 1756, resigned his commission, and married Audrey Townshend, only daughter of Lord Townshend, and sister of Lieutenant Colonel Roger Townshend, who fell at Ticonderoga in 1759, as well as of George, afterwards first Marquis Townshend, who succeeded General Wolfe on the capture of Quebec. — Winthrop Sargent's *History of Braddock's Expedition*, p. 283.

and ignorance of most of their officers, gave little hope of their future good behavior." Among these officers were Adam Stephen, the Chevalier de Peyroney, William Polson, and several others, who had fought by the side of Washington at Fort Necessity. Hugh Mercer, a Scotchman, who had been with the pretender, Charles Edward, at the battle of Culloden, and who subsequently, with Stephen, served under Washington as a brigadier general, in the revolution, was a surgeon. One of the wagoners was Daniel Morgan, a native of New Jersey, who after working two years as a day laborer in Virginia had been able with his accumulated earnings to buy a team, with which he attached himself to a troop raised in that province. A difficulty occurred between his commander and a brutal athlete who accompanied the army, and it was agreed that they should settle it by personal combat. The captain stepped out to meet his antagonist, when Morgan came up and said, "You must not fight that man." "Why not?" "Because, you are our captain, and if the fellow were to whip you we should all be disgraced; but I will fight him, and if he whips me it will not hurt the credit of the company." The officer remonstrated, but feeling the impropriety of placing himself on a level with such a creature, at last consented to the arrangement, and young Morgan, then only nineteen, gave the muscular and well trained pugilist so severe a beating that he could not rise from the ground. Though rude, he was as sagacious and manly as he was brave, and by such acts he acquired, at this early period, a reputation which assured his future greatness. Thomas Gage, afterwards commander in chief of the British forces in America, and the last royal governor of Massachusetts, was a lieutenant colonel in Halket's regiment, and Horatio Gates, who became a major general in the revolution, was captain of one of the independent companies from New York.

Braddock's expectations in regard to the Indians were disappointed. The French, since the surrender of Fort Necessity, had labored assiduously and successfully to alienate them from the English; but a small number of fighting men were at any time in the camp, and these were discontented, and soon withdrew. Mona

catoocha offered the common excuse for such conduct: "the great general," he said, "looked upon us as dogs, and would never hear anything that was said to him; we often endeavored to advise him and to tell him the danger he was in with his soldiers; but he never appeared pleased with us; and that was the reason a great many of our warriors left him, and would not be under him." Another cause of trouble was that the British officers "were scandalously fond of their women." Monacatoocha, and eight of his followers, were all who continued at Fort Cumberland until the march was recommenced.

Braddock appears to have been little inclined to connect with the army any parties who would not submit themselves entirely to military regulations. He was a soldier of the schools, a man of routine, a martinet, and from education and age incapable of adapting himself to the novel exigencies of American warfare. He therefore treated the offers of service which were made by backwoodsmen, willing to fight only in their own way, with the same indifference which had wounded the pride of the Indians. A well known character, called Captain Jack, the Wild Hunter of the Juniata,* proposed upon easy conditions to furnish scouts. Settling many years previously on the extreme frontier, he had returned one evening, from a hunt, to look upon the ashes of his home and the charred bodies of his murdered wife and children. From that hour he was controlled by an insatiable thirst for revenge, and the Indians of western Pennsylvania dreaded him more than any other enemy. He led his band into the camp armed and equipped with rifles, knives, hunting shirts, leggings, and moccasins, and having asked an interview with the general, requested that they should be employed as a reconnoitering party to start the savages from their ambuscades. Braddock answered that there was time enough for such arrangements, and that he had experienced troops on whom

* In Mr. Winthrop Sargent's History of Braddock's Expedition, and in Hazard's Pennsylvania Register, there are some interesting particulars of this person's history. "On one occasion, near the Juniata, in the middle of a dark night, a family were suddenly awaked from sleep by the report of a gun; they jumped from their beds, and by the glimmering light from the chimney saw an Indian fall in the pangs of death. The open door exposed to view the wild hunter. 'I have saved your lives,' he cried, then turned, and was buried in the gloom."

he could rely for all purposes. The Indian hater was offended at a reception so forbidding, and on retiring from the commander's tent led his associates back into the forests.

The character and condition of the army at this period was sketched by Mr. Shirley, the general's secretary, in a letter to Governor Morris. He writes, "We have a general most judiciously chosen for being disqualified for the service he is employed in, in almost every particular," and thinks it a great error to suppose the good qualities of inferior officers can make up for the deficiencies of a commander in chief. "The mainspring," he continues, "must be the mover; others, in many cases, can do no more than follow and correct a little its motions. As to them, I do not think we have much to boast; some are ignorant and insolent; some capable, but rather aiming to show their abilities than to make a proper use of them. I have a very great love for my friend Orme, and think it uncommonly fortunate for our leader that he is under the influence of so honest and competent a man, but I wish, for the sake of the public, he had a little more experience of business, especially in America. As for myself, I came out of England expecting that I might be taught the business of a military secretary; but I am already convinced of my mistake. I would willingly, however, think my time may not be quite lost to me. You will think me out of humor. I own I am so. I am greatly disgusted at seeing an expedition so ill concerted originally in England, and so ill appointed, so improperly conducted in America, and so much fatigue and expense incurred for a purpose which, even if attended with success, might better have been left alone. I speak with regard to our peculiar share of it.... I am likewise further chagrined at seeing the prospect of affairs in America, which, when we were at Alexandria, I looked upon as great and promising, through delays and disappointments which might have been prevented, grown cloudy, and in danger of ending in little or nothing."*

Before the march from Fredericktown Washington had been sent to Williamsburg to obtain four thousand pounds for the military

* Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, vi., 404.

chest. The commission was executed in a satisfactory manner, and on the thirtieth of May he rejoined the army at Will's creek. The general was still complaining of breaches of contract, and denounced the country as destitute of honor. "On this head," writes Washington, "we have frequent disputes, which are maintained with warmth on both sides, especially on his, as he is incapable of arguing without it, or giving up any point he asserts, be it ever so incompatible with reason or common sense." The horses and wagons hired by Franklin began now, however, to come in every day, with liberal supplies of forage and provisions, and he grew amiable. At his table, which was served by two excellent cooks whom he had brought from England, he maintained the generous hospitality which became his rank. Here Washington met the distinguished persons who visited the camp, and had pleasant intercourse with his friends Shirley and Orme. The other aid, Roger Morris, he does not often mention, and it is probable that he was less intimate with him. Some philosophers might suggest that he was separated by a natural repulsion from one who was three years after to be his successful rival for the heart of the great heiress, Mary Philipse, of New York.

CHAPTER XVI.

LOITERING—NEWS OF REINFORCEMENTS OF THE FRENCH—MARCH FROM WILL'S CREEK—SUPERFLUOUS CAMP EQUIPAGE—SAVAGE MOUNTAIN AND THE SHADES OF DEATH—COUNCIL AT THE LITTLE MEADOWS—IT ADOPTS SUGGESTIONS BY WASHINGTON—DIVISION OF THE ARMY—ILLNESS OF WASHINGTON—HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE OTHER AIDS DE CAMP—HALTS AT FORT NECESSITY—REJOINS THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF—INCIDENTS OF THE MARCH—TRACES OF THE ENEMY—INDIAN MURDERS—FUNERAL OF THE SON OF MONACATOOCHA—CHRISTOPHER GIST—CAMP ON THE MONONGAHELA.

TWENTY-SEVEN days had been passed in the march of the army from Alexandria to Will's creek. Here it was detained three weeks. This loitering and delay were fatal. On the sixth of June intelligence was received that a party of three hundred Frenchmen had passed Oswego on their way to Fort Duquesne, and that another and larger detachment was expected to follow every moment. There were other accounts of the departure of five hundred men from Canada for the same destination. "We have reason to believe," Washington wrote to William Fairfax, "that we shall have more to do than to go up the hills and come down."

From Will's creek to the Ohio is about one hundred and thirty miles. On the thirtieth of May six hundred men under Sir John St. Clair and Major Chapman were sent forward to open the roads and convey provisions to the Little Meadows. Sir Peter Halket followed with his regiment on the seventh of June, Lieutenant Colonel Burton with the independent companies and rangers on the eighth, and Colonel Dunbar with his brigade on the tenth. The same day, after seeing the last company on the march, General Braddock set out with his staff and body guard. Fort Cumberland, with the hospital, filled with invalids, was left under the care of Colonel Innes.

The advance over the rough road, with wagons loaded with unnecessary luggage and camp equipage as well as with munitions and supplies, was difficult and slow. Remembering his own experience in crossing the mountains, with men divested of everything not indispensable, Washington had anticipated that the movement of the train would be "tedious, very tedious indeed." On the twelfth the general appears to have arrived at a similar conclusion, and, calling together his officers, he informed them that it would be impossible to continue the march without some change in this respect, "which he was persuaded they would readily assist in, as they had hitherto evinced the greatest spirit and inclination for the service." He recommended their sending back to the fort all such property as was not absolutely necessary; gave assurances that if any of them having horses in good condition would spare them for the public benefit he would see that such evidence of their regard for it was not forgotten, and set an example, with his family, by contributing twenty, which had such an influence that many of the officers gave up their own tents, and made use of those of the soldiers, for the rest of the way, and nearly a hundred of the best animals in the camp were yielded for the common advantage. But there was still a great deal of superfluous furniture of various sorts retained, by gentlemen whose European training had failed to prepare them for the self denials demanded in this wilderness warfare, and in a letter written on the fourteenth Washington expressed fears that the number of wagons would prove an insurmountable obstacle to the success of the expedition. They formed a line three or four miles long, with soldiers so dispersed for their defence that any attack would have thrown them into confusion. Passing the great Savage Mountain, and the gloomy pine forest known as the Shades of Death, they reached the Little Meadows, but twenty-four miles from Will's creek, at the end of ten days. Here there was a second council, at which the general appealed to the officers for a still further retrenchment of their effects, and Washington, to encourage the rest, gave up his best horse, which he tells us he never heard of afterwards, and reserved no more clothing than half

enough to fill his portmanteau. Before the council assembled "the general," writes Washington to his brother, "asked my private opinion concerning the expedition. I urged him in the warmest terms I was able to use, to push forward, even if he did it with a small but chosen band, with such artillery and light stores as were necessary, leaving the heavy guns, baggage, and the like, with the rear division of the army, to follow by slow and easy marches, which they might do with safety while we were advanced in front." He vindicated this advice by referring to information in their possession of the weakness of the garrison at Fort Duquesne, and of reinforcements hourly expected for its support. These reinforcements could not in his opinion pass from the Erie to the Ohio, with a necessary quantity of provisions and other supplies, until the excessive drought then prevailing should be ended by such a fall of rain as would render possible their transportation down the river Le Bœuf. By a quick movement, therefore, it was probable that the fort might be reached, with enough troops to carry it, before the arrival of the aid sent from Canada; but if this policy should not be adopted, such were the delays attending the advance of the whole army, that rains sufficient to make the river navigable might reasonably be anticipated, and the entire force of the enemy would be collected for their reception: a circumstance likely to invest the undertaking with extreme difficulties or quite prevent its success. The proposed blow, to be effective, must be struck at once.

The suggestions of the young aid de camp accorded with the temper of the commander in chief and were approved by the council, and immediate measures were taken for carrying them into execution. On the eighteenth a strong body of pioneers was sent forward to prepare the roads, and on the nineteenth the general marched with the first division, consisting of twelve hundred men, besides officers, selected from the different companies, and furnished with eight pieces of artillery, provisions for thirty-five days, on pack-horses, and less than thirty carriages, including those which contained the ammunition, all with strong teams. The second division, with the remaining stores, munitions, and equipage, was to follow

under Colonel Dunbar. Washington contemplated with "infinite delight" the prospect of a forced and rapid march, but this prospect was soon clouded, and his hopes "brought very low indeed," when he found that instead of pushing on vigorously, without regarding a little rough road, there were halts to level every molehill and erect bridges over every brook, so that four days were spent in getting to the Youghiogany, a distance of only twelve miles.

Since the fourteenth Washington had suffered from a violent fever and pain in the head, which continued without intermission until the twenty-third, when he was relieved by the general's ordering the physician to give him James's powders, which he describes as "one of the most excellent medicines in the world," with some reason, as it induced immediate ease, and in four days assured his convalescence. His illness had been so severe that he could not support himself in the saddle, and the jolting of the covered wagon to which he was removed was soon found to be unendurable. He was therefore, by the advice of Dr. Craik, and the imperative orders of General Braddock, left at the Youghiogany, with the doctor and a servant, a guard, and some necessaries, to await the approach of Colonel Dunbar's detachment, which was two days in the rear: the general pledging his word of honor in the most solemn manner that he should be brought forward before the advanced division reached the Ohio. Colonel Dunbar came up on the twenty-second, and he proceeded with his division, by slow stages, and not without considerable pain from frequent shocks received by the vehicle in passing over the rugged road. On the twenty-fourth Captain Morris wrote to him that there would be a halt of two or three days at the Great Meadows, and added, "It is the desire of every individual in the family, and the general's positive command to you, not to stir but by the advice of the person under whose care you are, till you are better, which we all hope will be very soon." On the thirtieth Washington wrote to his friend Orme, "My fevers are very moderate, and, I hope, near terminating. Then I shall have nothing to encounter but my weakness, which is excessive, and the difficulty of getting to you, arising therefrom; but this I

would not miss doing before you arrive at Fort Duquesne for five hundred pounds." The next day, the first of July, he received from Orme an account of the incidents of the march, with intimations that the army was in excellent spirits, and that the French were evidently very much alarmed. On the second, Colonel Dunbar's division was at the Great Meadows, where he saw what M. de Villiers had suffered to remain of Fort Necessity, and on the third he set out in a covered wagon, accompanied by Dr. Craik, and with an escort of one hundred men, guarding also a supply of provisions, to rejoin the commander in chief, which he succeeded in accomplishing on the eighth, at the junction of the Youghiogany with the Monongahela—having been detained in the rear nearly two weeks.

The march of the advanced division of the army meanwhile had been impeded by numerous obstacles. On one occasion the company of sailors were compelled to lower the wagons from a precipitous hill, with ropes; and the horses, feeding on wild grass, or browsing among the shrubs, for want of forage, became too weak to drag them, unless very slowly, over even the best parts of the road.

The day following that on which Washington and Dr. Craik had been left by the Youghiogany, a camp was discovered apparently just abandoned by a party of nearly two hundred Indians and Frenchmen, and the neighboring trees, stripped of their bark, were found covered with threats, bravadoes, and scurrilous taunts. From various causes there were continual fears of ambuscades. One morning three men who had ventured beyond the sentinels were shot, and their scalps, two days afterwards, were found painted with signs of triumph on the trunks of trees, where many Frenchmen had inscribed their names with insolent expressions.

The single spies and small detachments of the enemy prowling through the woods were so numerous and so adroit in eluding efforts for their discovery that the few Indians who had been retained in the army by a prodigal use of presents, became unwilling to act as scouts. Monacatoocha and his son, wandering one day a short distance from the line of march, were surrounded and cap-

tured. The son escaped, informed the warriors of the half king of his misfortune, and they hastened to rescue or revenge him. The French had threatened to kill him, but their savage allies, connected with the chief by some tie of kindred or friendship, declared that if the design were persisted in they would join the English. It was therefore agreed to leave him tied to a tree, and in this condition he was discovered by his followers.

After the capture of Monacatoocha the few Indians attached to the expedition seemed very unwilling to act as scouts, but on the fourth of July two of them consented to reconnoitre in the direction of the fort, and, without knowing that he would do so, shortly after their departure Christopher Gist, who had been with Washington the previous year, and who now acted as guide to General Braddock, set off on a similar errand. The Indians returned after an absence of two days, bringing the scalp of a French officer whom they declared they had killed while he was shooting within half a mile of his quarters. They said they had seen very few footprints, very few men, and no additional fortifications; from all which it was inferred that not many of the enemy were out upon observation. Mr. Gist came in a few hours later in the same day, and his report corresponded very nearly with that of the Indians. He had however perceived smoke in a valley between the camp and the fort, and while endeavoring in the night to get a closer view of the latter, had been discovered, pursued, and in imminent danger of being made a prisoner.

On the sixth, after a march of less than seven miles, three or four men loitering in the rear were shot and scalped. They were so near that the general heard the sound of muskets, and sent back a company of grenadiers to ascertain what had happened. Some friendly Indians were soon after seen in advance, and though they gave the proper countersign—holding up boughs and grounding arms—in the excitement of the moment they were believed to be enemies, and fired upon. One of them, a son of Monacatoocha, was killed. As soon as the mistake was known the body of the young chief was brought to the general, who immediately ordered

the army to halt and encamp; and sending for the father and his friends, he expressed to them his regret on account of the melancholy occurrence, gave them presents of expiation, and, as soon as proper arrangements could be made, caused the heir of the half king to be buried with military honors. The funeral was attended by the officers, and a volley was fired over the grave. The tact thus displayed by Braddock had more than its anticipated effect. It was apprehended that this misfortune would quite alienate the remaining Indians, but these exhibitions of sympathy and respect were so gratifying that they became more than ever attached to the English.

On the seventh and eighth the advanced division of the army proceeded twenty miles, and encamped the last of these days not far from the Monongahela river, and in the neighborhood of Frazier's trading house and the village of Queen Aliquippa. Here, as has been stated, Washington rejoined the staff, after an extremely fatiguing journey. He was cordially received by his friends, but had little time for idle gratulations. Exhausted as he was, by illness and weariness, he entered without delay upon inquiries and discussions respecting the plan of operations which had been adopted before his arrival. Generally the officers and the troops were elated with the assurance of an easy triumph over the French, but Sir Peter Halket is said to have evinced doubt and anxiety on the subject, and his feelings were perhaps shared by Secretary Shirley.* Sir John St. Clair suggested that a detachment should attempt to invest the fort that night, but so many objections were urged that the project was not submitted to the general. Had it been executed, however, it would probably have prevented the next day's catastrophe. A party of Indians, who had abandoned the expedition some time previously, in consequence of the slight consideration with which they were treated, during the evening came into the camp and renewed the offer of their services. Washington undertook to negotiate between them and Braddock. He urged their

* Winthrop Sargent on the Expedition against Fort Duquesne, p. 214. *History of the War*, by Entick, i. 145.

knowledge of the ground, their skill in forest warfare, and their value as guards and scouts. But the general peremptorily refused to have anything to do with them. He declared the disdain he felt for such allies, and his confidence in well trained and veteran soldiers, under all circumstances, dismissing the overture in a manner as ungracious as it was determined.* All ambuscades would have been harmless if a dozen Indians had preceded the army after it crossed the Monongahela.

In the French fortress there had been alarm, daily increasing, and the commandant was near deciding upon a retreat. Accounts received from his scouts had greatly exaggerated the strength of the English, and he cherished no hope of successfully resisting it. In a council of war, however, he heard, from his most experienced and able officers, a diversity of opinions, and finally resolved to maintain his position as long as possible, and if compelled to surrender, to do so upon honorable terms.

* Sparks's Washington, i. 70.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE NINTH OF JULY—ANTICIPATIONS OF VICTORY—FRANKLIN IN DOUBT ON THE SUBJECT—THE ARMY IN CAMP—MOVEMENT OF THE ADVANCE—THE MAIN BODY IN ORDER OF MARCH—WASHINGTON'S DESCRIPTION OF IT—AN AMBUSCADE—PANIC OF THE REGULARS—BRAVERY OF THE PROVINCIALS—UNPARALLELED COURAGE—BRADDOCK BEHAVES LIKE A HERO—NOBLE CONDUCT OF WASHINGTON—HE IS PRESERVED BY PROVIDENCE—THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF MORTALLY WOUNDED—ENTIRE ROUT OF THE ARMY—THE RETREAT—BRADDOCK'S DEATH AND BURIAL—COWARDICE AND FLIGHT OF DUNBAR—WASHINGTON'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS—THE POWER OF ENGLAND IN AMERICA BROKEN—PROPHECY OF THE REV. SAMUEL DAVIES.

THE ninth of July, 1755, was one of the most important days in American history, and one of the most interesting in the life of Washington. It was expected with hope, but no proud anticipations were equal to the great results with which it was crowned by an allwise and beneficent though mysterious Providence.

Beyond the camp, in which Washington, and his companions in previous expeditions, observed the temper and conduct of the commander in chief with such apprehensions as were justified by their own experience, scarcely a doubt was entertained in all British America of the easy and complete success of the attempt to drive the French from the valley of the Ohio. In Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, intelligence from Fort Duquesne was looked for, not with anxiety respecting the result, but only as a signal for public rejoicings. In the former city the doctors Bond, two gentlemen of leading influence in society, called on Benjamin Franklin with a subscription paper for raising money to defray the expense of a grand display of fireworks, to be made on receiving news of General Braddock's victory. The printer looked grave, and said it would in his opinion be time enough to prepare the rejoicing when

they knew they should have occasion to rejoice. His visitors seemed to be surprised that he did not at once comply with their proposal. "Why, the devil!" said one of them, "you surely don't suppose that the fort will not be taken?" "I don't know that it will not be taken," he answered, with characteristic caution, "but I know that the events of war are subject to great uncertainty." He gave them reasons for having some doubts in the case, and the subscription was dropped.*

The English camp was a little below the place where the Youghiogany falls into the Monongahela, and fifteen miles from the fort, at the confluence of the latter river with the Alleghany. Both the fort and the camp were within these arms of the Ohio. A portion of the road between them was narrow, with the river on one side and a steep mountain on the other, and in so bad a condition as to be impassable for carriages. It had therefore been determined to cross the Monongahela by a shallow ford near the camp, proceed along its west bank about five miles, and recross it by another ford, between which and the fort there were no considerable obstructions.

Before daylight Lieutenant Colonel Gage marched with two companies of grenadiers, two companies of infantry, and Captain Gates's independent company, containing together three hundred and fifty men, with directions to halt beyond the second ford, which they were to guard until it should be passed by the main body; at four o'clock he was followed by Sir John St. Clair with a working party of two hundred and fifty men, to prepare the roads for the artillery and baggage wagons; and at eight the general, accompanied by his aids, Orme, Morris, and Washington—the latter still so ill that it was with difficulty he kept his place in the saddle—set out with the remainder of the army, which, on gaining the west side of the river, formed in proper marching order. It was a delightful summer morning. The troops, though enfeebled by toil and unwholesome food, were in excellent spirits, and confident of an approaching triumph. Dressed in their showy and brilliant uniforms,

* Franklin's Works, i., 194.

with their burnished arms gleaming in the bright sun, they moved in regular columns, to the sound of martial music, between the placid river and the deep overshadowing forest. Washington was often heard to say in after years that they presented at this hour the most beautiful spectacle he had ever seen. About ten the general received from Gage a despatch in which it was stated that he had repassed the Monongahela, without interruption, and posted himself as commanded.

By two o'clock the several parts of the army were reunited on the east side of the river, and the line of march was again formed, Gage and St. Clair being in advance, with guides and flanking parties, and the general following with the artillery and baggage and the rest of the forces. Suddenly a heavy fire, with a wild and terrible Indian war cry, was heard in front. Advised by his scouts of Braddock's progress, M. Contrecoeur, who was still in charge of Fort Duquesne, had decided in council the previous evening his plan of operations. Captain Beaujeu, an enterprising and fearless officer, had proposed an ambuscade, and been intrusted with its execution. With two hundred and thirty French and Canadians, and between six and seven hundred Indians, he intended to dispute the passage of the second ford, but arrived too late, and posted himself in an open wood, filled with prostrate trees, bushes, and high grass, near the border of an undulating plateau, above the river. His attack was furious, and as unexpected as lightning from a cloudless sky. It was received by the forward companies of the detachment under Gage, who, instead of supporting them, sent to the general for orders, and by his indecision made certain the disasters of the afternoon. The onset was met courageously, but the enemy poured a murderous fire from places in which they were perfectly concealed, and Gage's men returned it almost at random, and with very little effect. They were thrown into a panic by the strangeness of their situation. Gage attempted to rally them for a charge with the bayonet; but no foe was to be seen, while bullets flew among them like tempest driven hail, and all commands were unheeded. He was soon wounded, and they retreated in dismay, until stopped by a rein-

forcement of eight hundred men under Lieutenant Colonel Burton, which the general had promptly ordered to their assistance. These caught the alarm, and the two regiments were mixed in inextricable confusion, among the trees and tangled underbrush, through which only practised woodsmen could easily find a way.

The general had despatched an aid de camp for particular information, but without awaiting his return, started himself, and now came up to share the danger and animate the troops. The artillery, advancing along the road, began to play with energy, and though it did little execution upon the hidden enemy, the Indians for a moment suspended their fire; the French leader, De Beaujeu, was killed; the English raised shouts of victory; but Dumas, who succeeded De Beaujeu, infused new life into his followers, and the tide turned again. Sending the savages to assail their flanks, while with his French and Canadians he kept up the attack in front, they continued between two and three hours with the utmost ardor yet with the coolest judgment, from behind large trees and from the edge of a ravine, to shoot down the terror stricken English.

The provincial companies alone seemed to retain their senses. Scattering themselves through the forest, they fought according to the Indian manner, each governed by his own opportunity and discretion. The general would not suffer the regulars to follow their example.* He endeavored to form them into platoons and columns, but merely succeeded in grouping them so that the French and Indian marksmen were able without difficulty to effect their destruction. They kept up an irregular and aimless fire, but their friends suffered from it more than their enemies. Under the circumstances there was but one means of success; this was a quick and determined charge with the bayonet by all the infantry, which would have started the foe from their cover, and reversed the advantages; but it was not attempted.

* "The enemy kept behind trees and logs of wood, and cut down our troops as fast as they could advance. The soldiers then insisted much to be allowed to take to the trees, which the general denied, and stormed much, calling them cowards; and even went so far as to strike them with his own sword for attempting the trees."—Letter of Major James Burd to Governor Morris: Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, vi., 501.

Braddock's errors as a general were of the judgment only, and fruits of his education. Washington had strongly advised him on his arrival in the camp, the previous evening, to keep scouts and guards in advance and on the wings of his army, who would have saved him from this surprise, and all its consequences; but he had a contempt for Indian warfare and an absurd confidence in the prowess of veteran soldiers. In these hours of carnage he proved the injustice of a taunting jest which his delays had caused to be current in London, that he "was not at all impatient to be scalped." His bravery and undauntedness were never surpassed. His secretary, acting as an aid, fell dead by his side; Morris and Orme were wounded and borne to the rear; Sir Peter Halket and other field officers were killed; three fourths of his guard of cavalry were slain before his eyes; and five horses were disabled under him; but still he persevered in desperate efforts to win the day. All the officers, so far as we know, exhibited the most admirable gallantry; but the troops were ungovernable; their faculties were palsied by fear and horror. To Washington, early in the engagement, was left the whole duty of distributing the general's orders. As if unconscious of his illness, or of the perils with which he was surrounded, he rode from place to place in the thickest of the fight. Two horses were killed under him, and four bullets passed through his coat; but, to the astonishment of all, he escaped unhurt, though every other officer on horseback was either killed or wounded. "I expected every moment," said his friend Dr. Craik, "to see him fall. Nothing but the superintending care of Providence could have saved him from the fate of all around him." An Indian chief, whose attention was arrested by his daring and activity, fired at him several times, and directed his warriors to do so, but saw with wonder that none of their balls took effect. Persuaded that he was under the protection of some potent Manitou he ceased to make him a target for their skill. "Death," Washington himself wrote to his brother, "was levelling my companions, on every side of me; but, by the all powerful dispensations of Providence, I have been protected."

It was near five o'clock when Lieutenant Colonel Burton, having assembled about one hundred men who retained sufficient repose and courage for another effort, was commanded by General Braddock to take possession of an eminence, on the right, from which the enemy had directed a constant and galling fire. This was the last attempt to continue the battle, and was unsuccessful. Burton was disabled, and his men came back in disorder. At this moment the general was mortally wounded, by a ball which passed through his right arm into his side, and, as he fell from his horse, was caught by Captain Stewart, of his guards, who, assisted by a member of his company, and a servant, placed him in a wagon that they might bring him off the ground. This was against his will. Seeing the completeness of his overthrow, and his unavoidable disgrace, he would have died there. He had already ordered a retreat, but it was too late to retreat with any regularity. The British troops, "by one common consent," writes Orme, "left the field, running off with the greatest precipitation. The officers used all possible endeavors to stop the men, and to prevail upon them to rally, but a great number of them threw away their arms, and even their clothes to escape the faster." The provincials were the last to turn from the scene. "The Virginia companies," Washington wrote to Governor Dinwiddie, "behaved like men, and died like soldiers; for, I believe, of three companies on the ground, scarce thirty men were left alive. Captain Peyronney, and all his officers, down to a corporal, were killed. Captain Polson had almost as hard a fate, for only one of his escaped. In short, the dastardly conduct of the regular troops, so called, exposed those who were inclined to do their duty to almost certain death; and, at length, in spite of every effort to the contrary, they broke, and ran as sheep before hounds, leaving the artillery, ammunition, baggage, provisions, and, in short, everything, a prey to the enemy; and when we endeavored to rally them, in hopes of regaining the ground and what we had left upon it, it was with as little success as if we had attempted to stop the wild bears of the mountains."

Until now very few of the enemy had been seen. Some of the

officers declared that during the entire engagement they did not see a Frenchman or an Indian. But when the guns of the English were all silenced, and the rout became complete, they left their hiding places and gave themselves up to pillage, and so were prevented from following the fugitives, though a few continued the pursuit to the river.

About a quarter of a mile beyond the ford there was a halt. Less than a hundred men, of the army which at one o'clock had passed that way so exultingly, could now be collected around their dying leader. It was hoped that an advantageous position here might be held until reinforcements should be summoned from Fort Cumberland. But before the end of an hour nearly all these men resumed their flight, leaving the general, and his surviving officers, many of whom were also wounded, to continue their retreat in the best manner they could devise.

A consultation was held, which resulted in the general's despatching Washington to Colonel Dunbar, with orders to send hospital stores, provisions, and wagons for the wounded, under a guard of two companies of grenadiers, to meet him at Gist's plantation, or nearer if possible. The general was in extreme pain, which was increased by the manner in which he had thus far been conveyed, and after Dr. Craik had dressed his wounds, he would have mounted his horse, but was unable to do so, and was carried by the soldiers, closely attended by the surgeon, and Captain Stewart, who left him scarcely a moment during the march. His aids, Orme and Morris, were placed on litters, borne by horses. When they had proceeded a few miles they were joined by Lieutenant Colonel Gage, who had succeeded in rallying nearly eighty men. The melancholy company kept on their march all night. The general spoke only once, and then but ejaculated, "Who would have thought it!" The next day he was equally silent, merely saying, as if not quite despairing of life, "We shall know better how to deal with them another time!" In the evening they reached Gist's place, where they were met by Washington, with supplies. Here, for the first time, they rested. On the morning of the eleventh they went on to Dunbar's camp,



BURIAL OF GENERAL BRADDOCK.

which was pervaded by a panic almost as great as that which had prevailed in the battle. The trembling fugitives who had arrived from the scene of the disaster could not easily have exaggerated its horrors, but it ill became the tried veterans to whom these were recited to think of flying. Dunbar, however, did not for a moment consider the propriety of making a stand. He destroyed the remaining artillery, and burned the heavy baggage, to the value of a hundred thousand pounds, pretending that he was ordered to do so by the almost or quite unconscious commander in chief. The meanest soldier in the provincial ranks must have observed this proceeding with mingled astonishment and contempt.

On Sunday, the thirteenth, the retreat was resumed, and soon after eight o'clock, when the army was within a mile of the Great Meadows, General Braddock expired. The following morning he was buried, in the middle of the road, to prevent the discovery of his body by the Indians, and the wagons in the train were drawn over the place to obliterate all signs of the disturbance of the ground.* The chaplain having been wounded, Washington read the funeral service, from the Book of Common Prayer.† On the seventeenth the troops arrived at Fort Cumberland, where Colonel Innes, the commandant, had two or three days before received a vague but sufficiently alarming account of the massacre.

There were about thirteen hundred men, British and colonial, in the action, of whom seven hundred and fourteen were either killed or wounded. Of these at least one half were supposed to be killed. There were eighty-six officers, of whom twenty-six were killed and thirty-seven wounded. The military chest fell into the hands of the enemy, with Braddock's papers, including his instructions, and letters to and from the ministers after his arrival in Virginia; and Washington lost a private journal, and his official correspondence

* General Morgan gives these particulars. He was not in the battle, but with Dunbar, and remained with him until they reached Fort Cumberland.—*Life of General Daniel Morgan*, by James Graham, p. 26. Braddock's grave, according to Mr. Baneroft, (*History*, iv. 192,) may still be seen, near the national road, about a mile west of Fort Necessity.

† Mr. Irving's *Life of Washington* is the only work in which I have seen this statement. As the chaplain was disabled, and Washington was now the only active member of the general's family, it is not improbable.

during the campaign of the preceding year.* Of the French and their allies only three officers and thirty privates were killed, and but as many more were wounded. Before the sun had set on the field of carnage Contrecoeur was surprised by signals of triumph from the Indians returning to Fort Duquesne. Dressed in the uniforms of the slain English, and stained with blood from their burthens of scalps, they must have seemed like a horde of demons. The French, laden with the more valuable spoils of the victory, followed with less disorder; and in the rear were a small party of English prisoners, whom the savages that night put to death with the appalling and hideous means and ceremonies they were apt to use on such occasions.

Colonel Dunbar's force at Fort Cumberland amounted to nearly fifteen hundred men. Under the command of Washington, or of any of the better class of provincial officers, they would have retrieved the lost honor of the army by an immediate retaliation of the defeat on the Monongahela. Within a fortnight the French would have been driven from Fort Duquesne and from the valley of the Ohio. But this pusillanimous officer, pausing only to give some directions to the Virginia and Maryland companies respecting the sick and wounded, with all the horses at his disposal in consequence of the destruction of the public stores, pushed his shameless flight toward the settlements. It was in vain that he was implored to post his troops on the frontiers, so as to afford some protection to the inhabitants; "he did not think himself safe," writes Franklin, "till he arrived at Philadelphia, where the inhabitants could protect him."

Washington contemplated these proceedings with grief and indignation. He was compelled to remain a few days at Fort Cumberland to recover a little strength, and while there wrote with great freedom on the subject to Governor Dinwiddie and to several of his relations and friends. To Dinwiddie, as has been seen, he described the con-

* A considerable portion of the manuscripts of Braddock and Washington were subsequently translated and published under the direction of the French government, to prove the hostile intentions of the British court before the declaration of war.

duct of the regular troops as "dastardly;" to his mother he wrote that "they behaved with more cowardice than it is possible to conceive;" to his brother, that they had been "scandalously beaten by a trifling body of men;" and, a few days after, to Mr. Robert Jackson, "We have been beaten! shamefully beaten by a handful of men who only intended to molest and disturb our march! Victory was their smallest expectation. But see the wondrous works of Providence, the uncertainty of human things! we, but a few moments before, believed our numbers almost equal to the entire force of Canada; they, only thought to annoy us; yet, contrary to all expectation and probability, and even to the common course of things, we were totally defeated, and have sustained the loss of everything."

Whatever of horror or despair gathered with the darkness about its close, no day had yet dawned more surely auspicious of American independence than this memorable ninth of July. Intelligence of the slaughter flew fast through all the inhabited parts of the country, creating among people of every condition the profoundest consternation. It was regarded as decisive of the fall of the British empire in America; and in one sense it was so; but the overthrow of this empire was not to be accomplished by the servants of Louis the Fifteenth. They who look for the hand of God in history will no where find it more distinctly visible than over this field of death. Dieskau was speedily to yield before the militia of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, at Lake George; and a few months later, on the plains of Abraham, Wolfe, by the last and most masterly exhibition of his military genius, was to destroy for ever the dominion of France in this part of the continent. But after the battle of the Monongahela the power of England over her own children here was broken. There was no longer confidence in the prowess of British regular troops. It was felt and understood that the colonies must take care of themselves. If a stamp act, such as was advocated by Dinwiddie, Sharpe, Shirley, and other royal governors, for the collection of revenue with which to support a British army, could have been carried into execution before, it was not to be doubted that any measure of this kind would now be

resisted with stubborn indignation. No more of the king's troops were wanted. At least, from this time they were not held to be worth the price asked for them. Had the results of the expedition to the Ohio been different, it may be doubted whether America would have had that confidence in her ability to cope with England which was a necessary condition of the revolution that in the next twenty years grew continually more probable.

Washington rode amidst this havoc as safely as the three Hebrews walked in the furnace upon the plains of Dura. He was not more distinguished by his bravery than by his judgment. Everything that was not lost, he saved. His conduct was celebrated in all the colonies, and was praised as universally as it was known. He reaped only honor from a field of disgrace. No conceivable combination of circumstances could have been more favorable to his reputation. Had the battle ended in victory, his displays of the most consummate valor would but have added to the laurels of the commander in chief. Ending in defeat, which without him would have been annihilation, the faults of all who were engaged in it seemed to increase the splendor of his indefectible conduct. "Never," writes Mr. Everett, "did victorious consul return to republican Rome, loaded with the spoils of conquered provinces, with captive thousands at his chariot wheels, an object of greater confidence and respect, than Washington, at the close of two disastrous campaigns, from one of which he was able to save his regiment only by a painful capitulation, in the other barely escaping with his life and the wrecks of the army." On the seventeenth of the following month, the Reverend Samuel Davies, afterwards president of Princeton college, in a sermon entitled, "Religion and Patriotism the Constituents of Good Soldiers," preached to a company of volunteers, raised in Hanover county, Virginia, made use of the memorable words, "As a remarkable instance of martial fire, I may point out to the public that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved, in so signal a manner, for some important service to his country."*

* Sermons on Important Subjects, by Samuel Davies, A. M., iii. 47.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OTHER EXPEDITIONS—NEW ENGLAND AND THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN COLONIES—COMPARISONS UNFAVORABLE TO THE LATTER BY WASHINGTON AND SHIRLEY—RELATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE—CAPTURE OF THE ALCIDE AND THE LYS—THE ACADIANS—BEAU SEJOUR TAKEN—POETRY AND HISTORY—ABSURDITY OF COMMON REPRESENTATIONS OF THE NEUTRAL FRENCH AND THEIR SUFFERINGS—PROVINCIAL ARMY AT LAKE GEORGE—DEFEAT OF DIESKAU—SHIRLEY FAILS TO REACH NIAGARA.

THE other expeditions announced at Alexandria were composed of provincial troops, and were successful except where their failure resulted from that of the commander in chief. In every period of our colonial history the people of New England displayed a degree of patriotic liberality and heroism hardly known in the western and southern parts of the country. When the congress of governors met General Braddock at his camp on the Potomac, Washington illustrated his sensibility upon this point in a letter to William Fairfax. Mentioning Governor Shirley, he wrote, "I heartily wish the same unanimity may prevail among us that seemed to exist between him and his assembly, when they, to expedite the public business and forward his journey hither, sat till eleven and twelve o'clock every night." Shirley himself, about the same time, represented the matter strongly to the ministers.* Enterprises were on foot before the arrival of Braddock which would have settled every dispute with the French in 1755, "if the five most western colonies had exerted themselves for their own defence," as Massachusetts and other parts of New England "had done for the general service." But while Massachusetts had raised four thousand and five hundred men, and the other three governments east of the Hudson had

* Letter to Sir Thomas Robinson. Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York, vi., 943.

voted two thousand and one hundred more for an attack on Crown Point, the colonies bordering on the Ohio and the great lakes, "after being harassed by a dangerous and increasing enemy at their doors, after suffering two defeats from them, though more populous and much richer than those of New England," had not produced above eleven hundred men for the protection of their wives and children, and the houses in which they lived.

The French had evinced a settled determination to make themselves masters of this continent. They anticipated success from a system of profound duplicity. But the inconsistency of their protestations with their proceedings in America was too apparent to escape detection by intelligent observers of affairs, and open war would have resulted but for the incapacity and temporizing policy of the Duke of Newcastle's administration. The establishment of the posts on the Ohio was clearly aggressive under the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. The occupation of the works commenced by the English at the junction of the Monongahela with the Alleghany, and the capture of Fort Necessity, were acts of war, and whether the parent states chose to preserve or to interrupt relations of peace in Europe, a decent respect for the dignity of the empire made it necessary for the ministers in London to provide for the defence of the boundaries of her provinces. As soon as it was known in Paris that General Braddock had sailed for Virginia an attempt was made to check the proposed operations of this officer by new assurances of amicable purposes on the part of France. When however the ambassador, the Marquis de Mirepoix, submitted to the British cabinet the declarations of his sovereign, their insincerity was shown by abundant evidences, and he hastened home to complain of having been made an instrument of dissimulation. Mirepoix was a weak though an honorable man. The king subdued the irritation of his feelings, and sent him back to London with still further assertions of friendly dispositions, which it was believed would prolong the inactivity of the British government. But it was too late for such resorts. The foreign secretary exhibited to him indisputable proofs that a powerful squadron was nearly ready to leave Brest for the St. Lawrence, and

soon afterwards news was received of its departure, with a great quantity of military stores, and an army of four thousand men, commanded by the veteran and distinguished Baron Dieskau.* Under these circumstances, though in sending General Braddock to America the ministers had avowed an intention only to resist encroachments, it was deemed proper to despatch Admiral Boscawen to watch the motions of the enemy's ships; and on the seventh of June, near the southern point of Newfoundland, he came up with three of them, the Alcide, the Lys, and the Dauphin, which had been separated from the rest, and after a short engagement captured the Alcide and the Lys.† Dieskau, with the Marquis de Vaudreuil,‡ successor of the Marquis Duquesne, governor general of New France, a few days afterwards arrived in Quebec.

On the twentieth of May, while General Braddock was slowly advancing towards the Ohio, three thousand men embarked at Boston for the Bay of Fundy, to drive the French from disputed territory, beyond the Messagouche and east of the St. Lawrence, which was claimed as a part of Acadia, by the English named Nova Scotia.

* Baron Dieskau had been a favorite pupil of Saxe. The value set upon his abilities is shown by his salary. He received twelve thousand livres a year as a major general, and twenty-five thousand more as commander in chief of the French army in America.

† Captain Richard Howe, afterwards Admiral Lord Howe, distinguished himself in this action.

‡ Pierre Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil-Cavagnac, was the son of the Marquis de Vaudreuil who was governor of Canada from 1703 to 1725, and was born in Quebec in 1698. He had served in Canada during the later years of his father's administration, and had been governor of Louisiana from 1743 to 1753. Mr. Gayarré, in his *History of Louisiana*, gives some interesting revelations of his character. It happened, says this entertaining historian, that one of his servants acted with insolence towards an officer of the garrison in New Orleans, who had come to pay his respects to the governor on one of his reception days. The marchioness, having been informed of the fact, brought it to the knowledge of her husband, and insisted on the culprit's being dismissed. De Vaudreuil acquiesced in a demand which he thought just, and consented to part with the servant, although a favorite one. He sent for his purse, and after having paid the wages due to the man, he added a bounty of three hundred livres. His wife expostulated with him on this strange piece of liberality, and observed that it was offering a reward to impertinence. Unmoved, and without returning an answer, the marquis threw again three hundred livres to the lacquey, and, seeing the flush of anger rising to his wife's brow, said to her, with the greatest composure, "Madam, I do not reward him for his insolence, but for his faithful past services, and if you show too much displeasure to the poor devil, I will give him the whole purse, to indemnify him for his having incurred the mortification which you now inflict upon him." De Vaudreuil was remarkable for grace and elegance of person, the dignity of his demeanor, and the fascination of his address, and was fond of luxury, show, and pleasure. Surrounded by a host of brilliant officers, of whom he was the idol, he loved to keep up a miniature court, in distant imitation of that of Versailles. He carried to Canada the same tastes and habits, relieving the gloom of war with magnificent balls, sumptuous dinners, and everything that could be devised, calculated to attach the people to his person, or to render life agreeable.—*History of Louisiana: the French Domination*, ii. 18, 66.

They were led by John Winslow, a great grandson of Edward Winslow, one of the most distinguished of the founders of Plymouth colony, and himself a man of eminent respectability and popularity. He held the rank of major general in the Massachusetts militia, but acted in the present expedition as a lieutenant colonel, under a commission from Governor Shirley. After a passage of eight days they arrived at Chignecto, at the head of the bay, where they were joined by three hundred regulars, with a train of artillery, under Colonel Monckton, who assumed the chief command. On the fourth of June, after a short engagement, they forced the passage of the Messagouche, defended by a small party, with a few pieces of cannon, and on the twelfth invested the fort at Beau Sejour, which surrendered on the sixteenth, on condition that the troops, agreeing not to bear arms against Great Britain for six months, should be sent to Louisburg. The fort received an English garrison, and, from the brother of the king, who was captain general of the army, was named Cumberland: an honor bestowed on the most southwestern as well as the most northeastern British post in America. An inconsiderable force at Fort Gaspereaux soon afterwards capitulated on the same terms; and an officer sent with three frigates and a sloop to reduce St. John's, found that the enemy had abandoned and burned their works there and left the country. The entire province of Nova Scotia, according to the English definition of its boundaries, was thus conquered, with a loss of but twenty men killed, and about the same number wounded.

In Acadia were made the first European settlements in this part of the continent. The province was the scene of frequent contests between the French and English until finally relinquished to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Of the population, consisting mainly of Breton peasants, we know very little except that they were extremely ignorant and superstitious. It was agreed that they should continue to hold their lands if they would take the oath of fidelity to their new sovereign; this they refused to do, unless excused from every obligation to bear arms against France. The feeling thus displayed was natural and honorable, but the favor

was an extraordinary one to be asked by a conquered people. The officer in command of the British forces, however, granted it, and, though it was subsequently disallowed by the crown, the Acadians continued to claim the privileges of neutrality. Yet they were never neutral. In all the period since the treaty of Utrecht they had continued to be as thoroughly French, in feeling and conduct, in language, religion, and manners, as before the change made in their political relations. They had been ready to support any movement which promised to restore them to their ancient masters. "Indulged in their prejudices, and resigned to the management of priests, who were instructed by the bishop of Quebec, from whom they derived their stipends,"* "they had secretly courted the visit of the French troops, and furnished them and their Indian allies with intelligence, quarters, and every assistance."† Three hundred of their young men were taken in arms at Beau Sejour. Their lands were forfeited, and they might lawfully as well as justly have been ordered to leave the country; but if permitted to go where they pleased they would have retired to Montreal or Louisburg, and strengthened the enemy in those places. It was necessary therefore to overawe them by a strong military government, or transport them to the southern British provinces; and, after a careful consideration of the subject, the latter alternative was adopted. The duty of effecting their removal was confided to General Winslow.

Poetry, in the disguise of History, and in her proper costume and language, has celebrated the misfortunes of the Acadians, and the inhumanity alleged to have been exhibited against them by the British authorities. But there was no inhumanity in the case. On the contrary, no subjugated community was ever treated with more generosity. "For nearly forty years," writes Mr. Bancroft, "no tax gatherer counted their folds, no magistrate dwelt in their hamlets."‡ Bigoted and intolerant, like their ancestors, they listened with enthusiasm to the denunciations which their priests made

* Chalmers's Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies, ii. 280.

† Williamson's History of Maine. Gayarré's Louisiana.

‡ History of the United States, iv. 194.

against the heretics who had possessed themselves of the country. "Better," said these creatures, "surrender your meadows to the sea, and your houses to the flames, than at the peril of your souls take the oath of allegiance to the British government."*

General Winslow knew that he had to deal with an enemy entirely insensible to the obligations of honor or gratitude, and the means to which he resorted for making them prisoners were suitable to their character and his own circumstances. They were indeed the only means by which it was possible to accomplish his purpose, and, however disagreeable, in no way deserving of censure. The sufferings of the Acadians were undoubtedly very great; and it has been the fortune of war that the anguish of its victims could never be graduated to individual deserts; but in this case it appears considerable when contrasted with that which its subjects themselves had assisted in spreading, as with a tide of fire, all along our western borders, for nearly a dozen years. The needless cruelties which marked the progress of this protracted contest were caused by the French, who, intent upon driving the English from the vast regions they inhabited, sent the remorseless savages under their control, with the tomahawk, the scalping knife, and the torch, to murder and destroy, without regard to age or sex or condition, the unprotected settlers on the British frontiers from Canada to Georgia.

The troops raised in New England for the expeditions of Governor Shirley and General Johnson were nearly all assembled in Albany before the close of June, but were detained several weeks from active operations. General Phineas Lyman, of Connecticut, with between four and five thousand men, in July marched to a point near the head waters of the Hudson about sixty miles northward, where he commenced the fortification afterwards known as Fort Edward. Here he was joined by General Johnson who entered upon the chief command, and on the twenty-second of August it was resolved in a council of war to construct a military road as far as the lake of the Holy Sacrament, on the way towards Crown Point. In the following week General Johnson advanced with

* Bancroft: History of the United States, iv. 196

three thousand and four hundred men to the lake, to which, in honor of the king and in assertion of his right of dominion there, he gave the name of George; and after clearing several acres, in the midst of a dense forest, where, he writes, "never was house or fort erected before," he encamped his army.

Baron Dieskau, soon after his arrival in Montreal, commenced vigorous preparations for a campaign. He determined first to reduce Oswego, and had already sent a detachment up the St. Lawrence, for that destination, when intelligence was received of the danger that threatened Crown Point, and he reluctantly changed his plans to ascend the Champlain. Leaving a part of his forces to strengthen that post, he proceeded with about two thousand French, Canadians, and Indians, to the southern extremity of the lake, and began a rapid march in the direction of Fort Edward; but when within four miles of this place, the Indians, apprehensive that it was defended with artillery, refused to approach any nearer, though willing to go and attack the main body of the army, which they supposed was without cannon or entrenchments.

Advised of his approach, Johnson, on the morning of the eighth, sent back a thousand men, commanded by Colonel Ephraim Williams, of Massachusetts, and two hundred Mohawk Indians, under the veteran and faithful king Hendrik, to relieve Fort Edward; but they had proceeded only four miles when they were surprised by Dieskau, and, after a short engagement, in which they fought with great intrepidity, compelled to retreat, leaving Colonel Williams* and the Indian sachem, with a considerable number of inferior officers and privates, dead on the ground. Legardeur de St. Pierre, who had received Washington the previous year at Fort Le Boëuf, and who accompanied Dieskau at the head of his Indian auxiliaries, was among the killed of the other side.

* Ephraim Williams, a man of address and wit, with uncommon military talents—the founder of Williamstown and of Williams College, in Massachusetts—was born at Newton, in that colony, in 1715. In early life he made several visits to Europe, and from his twenty-fifth year was connected with the provincial army. As if having a presentiment of death, while passing through Albany, on the way to Johnson's headquarters, he made his will, by which he endowed with a considerable portion of his property a free school for western Massachusetts, since grown into Williams College. He was slain in the fortieth year of his age.

Johnson's camp was protected on the north by the lake, on the east and west by heavily wooded swamps, and on the south by a breast-work formed of the trunks of trees which he had found growing on the field now occupied by his tents. The sound of musketry and the presence of fugitives soon warned him that the enemy was not far off, but, hindered in various ways, they came forward so slowly that the alarm caused by the defeat of Colonel Williams had nearly subsided, and several cannon, received two days before from Fort Edward, had been judiciously mounted, when, a little before twelve o'clock, the assault was commenced, by the French regulars, in front, seconded by the Canadians and Indians on the right and left. As soon as the artillery began to play the Canadians and Indians fled in disorder, and Dieskau, after bravely sustaining the attack for four hours, was compelled to order a retreat. Johnson had been slightly wounded in the early part of the battle, and the command had devolved upon General Lyman, whose good marksmen, taking deliberate aim, decimated the unflinching French regulars at every fire. He pursued the enemy a short distance, and succeeded in making a considerable number of prisoners. Those who escaped fled to Crown Point. Dieskau had received three balls in different parts of his person, and an attendant was killed while endeavoring to assist him from the field. Left alone, and attempting to support himself against a tree, he was discovered, and, in the act of exhibiting his watch, in the hope that by surrendering it he might secure kind treatment, he was shot through the hips, by an officer who thought he was searching for a pistol with which to defend himself.

Towards evening, when the pursuit had been discontinued, the larger portion of the survivors of the French army were reunited near the scene of the morning's conflict, where, not suspecting an enemy was in the rear, they had left their baggage and camp equipage. While unpacking some provisions they were suddenly attacked by two hundred men, under Captain McGinnes, of New Hampshire, on their way from Fort Edward to support the main body of the provincials, and after a single discharge of their mus-

kets, by which McGinnes was killed, they again fled in disorder, leaving all their public and private stores in possession of the victors.

In the several conflicts which occurred during the day the loss of the British provincials was about two hundred and sixteen killed, and ninety-six wounded. The loss of the French was variously estimated at from six hundred to one thousand.

The exultation of the French at their triumph on the Monongahela was checked by their defeat at Lake George. In the first conflict one army lost its commander in chief, a tried and popular soldier of the school of Marlborough; in the second, the other was deprived of a leader who had been the favorite pupil and was regarded as the most accomplished of the disciples of Saxe.*

* Peter Wraxall, author of "Records of Indian Affairs in the Colony of New York from 1678 to 1751," and aid de camp to General Johnson, describes Dieskau as "an elderly man, and very much of a gentleman." Johnson, in a letter to Sir Charles Hardy, dated the sixteenth of September, says, "I forwarded this day the French general and his aid de camp: the general to travel in a litter or batteau to Albany, and thence to New York, as his wounds will permit." On the eighth of October Governor Hardy wrote from Albany to the Lords of Trade, "The French general has been here some time under cure, is somewhat better, and has desired to be removed to New York. I shall send him there by the first opportunity." In Parker and Weyman's New York Gazette, for the twenty-ninth of October, 1755, I find the following notice of his arrival: "Baron de Dieskau, the French Major General taken by General Johnson, and who, by Louis of France is allowed a pension of four thousand livres per annum, was brought down prisoner from Albany on Monday afternoon last; to this city; and about nine o'clock at night, to avoid a crowd of people assembled to see him, was landed and carried to lodgings prepared for him in Nassau street, where he now lies dangerously ill of his wounds. His aid de camp is with him." After lingering some time in New York Dieskau was sent to England, whence, as his restoration was deemed impossible, he was permitted to retire, on his parole, to Germany, at one of the spas of which country the veteran soldier lived several years, a sufferer from his wounds, of which he finally died.

The designs entertained by Dieskau before the battle are stated very distinctly by Captain Henry Babcock, of Connecticut, in a letter to the Rev. Dr. Cooper (Documentary History of New York, iv. 302). He says, "Had the baron succeeded in his attempt against Sir William, this country, at least a good part of it, would have been deluged in blood and slaughter, and such scenes of horror and distress would have ensued as would shock the ears of the most obdurate wretch: General Braddock being defeated at Monongahela, and the army under his command almost cut to pieces—one third killed, one third wounded, and one third run away, which General Burton, who was in the action, afterwards assured me was as near the truth of the matter as he could relate. General Shirley at that time was at Oswego. The city of Albany would have instantly fallen a sacrifice to that very enterprising general, the baron, . . . who very justly observed that, had he won the day, he would have easily cut off all supplies from General Shirley, who of course must have submitted to any terms the baron would have pleased to impose. The Six Nations, had Sir William been defeated, undoubtedly would have joined the baron, and the city of New York would have been the baron's headquarters. But, thanks be to God! all indulgent Heaven did not think proper to devote this country to ruin." Braddock, it will be remembered, thought of eating his Christmas dinner in Philadelphia; it is not improbable that Dieskau had some expectation of a similar pleasure in New York.

Each received a death-wound in his first American battle. The tide of popular feeling was changed with the reversed fortunes of the war. The British government evinced its sense of the importance of Dieskau's overthrow by making Johnson a baronet and presenting him a gratuity of five thousand pounds. The honor of the result was however more justly claimed for Lyman, of Connecticut. The army and its officers were nearly all New England men, and Europe never had seen as large a collection of troops possessing an equal average of intelligence, property, and good reputation. Colonel Timothy Ruggles, who distinguished himself in this action, was afterwards president of the Stamp Act Congress; Captain Israel Putnam was to fill the measure of his renown at Bunker Hill; Colonel Gridley, who had been at Louisburg, was also to share the danger and glory of the first great battle of the revolution; Lieutenant Colonel Pomroy, of Northampton, who wrote from before Louisburg, to his wife, that "if it were the will of God he hoped to see her pleasant face again, but, if God in his holy and sovereign providence had ordered it otherwise, he hoped he should have a pleasant meeting with her in the kingdom of Heaven, where there are no wars, nor fatiguing marches, nor roaring cannons, nor crackling bombshells, nor long campaigns, but an eternity to spend in perfect harmony and undisturbed peace," had seen his wife's pleasant face again, and had written home to his neighbors, from the camp at Lake George, "Come to the help of the Lord against the mighty: you that value our holy religion and our liberties will spare nothing, even to the one half of your estate." This appeal, with others, betraying a kindred enthusiasm, was answered. Two thousand men were sent from Massachusetts to reinforce the northern army; but they arrived after the defeat of the French, and the incompetency and cowardice of Johnson paralyzed their energies. The applause he received for sagacity and valor displayed by his subordinates was too dearly prized to be hazarded in a second engagement, and, instead of using his advantage by driving the enemy from Ticonderoga and Crown Point, he wasted the autumn in building Fort William Henry, near Lake George, and on the approach of

winter, garrisoning the useless structure with six hundred men, disbanded the remainder of his forces.

Shirley meanwhile, with two regiments, enfeebled by sickness and disheartened by news of the defeat of Braddock, reached Oswego on the twenty-first of August. Here vessels were built, and preparations made for proceeding against Niagara. On the eighteenth of September six hundred men were to embark on the Ontario for the conquest of that post: a blockhouse, almost in ruins, surrounded by a shallow ditch and a rotting palisade, and defended by but thirty soldiers, badly armed. A succession of heavy rains, followed by head winds, and other causes, prevented their departure until the season was too far advanced. On the twenty-third of October, therefore, leaving at Oswego a garrison of seven hundred men, General Shirley, by the death of Braddock raised to the supreme command of the British forces in America, began his retreat towards Albany.

CHAPTER XIX.

WASHINGTON AT MOUNT VERNON—CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIS BROTHER AUGUSTINE—RETROSPECT OF HIS MILITARY EXPERIENCE—INTRIGUES AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT—LETTER TO HIS MOTHER—IS APPOINTED COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE VIRGINIA FORCES—TOUR OF INSPECTION—INCURSION OF THE INDIANS—PANIC AMONG THE PEOPLE—DIFFICULTIES IN THE CAMP—SCENES AT WINCHESTER—RETREAT OF THE ENEMY—END OF THE SEASON.

WASHINGTON arrived at Mount Vernon on the twenty-sixth of July. Excitement and activity had prolonged his illness, and he determined, in the repose of home, to seek a restoration of his strength; but he was so honorably conspicuous, for the part he had acted on the Monongahela, that his time was continually occupied with the visits of friends and of other persons alarmed at the exposed and critical condition of the province. As he was still adjutant general of the militia he issued orders for the companies in his district to assemble for exercise and review, and attended to the ordinary duties of that office, but did not otherwise take any part in public affairs.

His brother Augustine wrote to him from Williamsburg, where the house of burgesses, of which he was a member, had been convened, that he might derive advantage from being present during the session. He replied, that he was not able, were he ever so willing, to go to the seat of government, as it was with some difficulty and much fatigue that he visited his plantations, so much had a sickness of five weeks reduced him. "But though it is not in my power to meet you there," he continued, "I can nevertheless assure you that, so little am I dispirited by what has happened, I am always ready and willing to render my country any services that I am capable of, though never upon the terms I have done: having

suffered much in my private fortune besides impairing one of the best of constitutions." He proceeded to sum up the account of his public services and their rewards. "I was employed," he wrote, "to go a journey, in the winter, when I believe few or none would have undertaken it: and what did I get by it? My expenses borne! I was then appointed, with trifling pay, to conduct a handful of men to the Ohio. What did I get by that? Why, after putting myself to a considerable expense in equipping and providing necessities for the campaign, I went out, was soundly beaten, and lost all! came in, and had my commission taken from me; or, in other words, my command reduced, under pretence of an order from home. I next went out a volunteer, with General Braddock, and lost all my horses, and many other things. But this, being a voluntary act, I ought not to have mentioned it; nor should I have done so, were it not to show that I have been on the losing side ever since I entered the service, which is now nearly two years."

The people evidently expected that the leadership of any troops which might be raised for the defence of the province would be given to Washington; but Dinwiddie had become attached to his countryman Innes, and strongly favored his appointment. He perhaps regarded the popular favorite as quite too young, notwithstanding the admirable manner in which he had hitherto conducted himself, to be placed at the head of the military establishment of the oldest and richest dominion in America. The assembly voted to raise twelve hundred men, and one of Washington's friends, in conversation with the governor, after suggesting that this number should be increased to four thousand, said, "If this were done, I suppose your honor would give the command of them to Colonel Washington, for I think he deserves everything his country can do for him." The wary Scotchman spoke favorably of him, but intimated that there was a warm solicitation for the office from another quarter. It was believed, nevertheless, that it would be granted to Washington if he became a suitor for it, and the gentleman who held this colloquy with the executive wrote to him, "If we could be so happy as to have you here at this time, and it were known

that you are willing to take such a command, I believe it would greatly promote the success of our endeavors with the assembly." Without expressing any disinclination for the service, however, he declined to take any measures for obtaining what he could receive, if at all, only as a voluntarily offered assurance of public confidence.

While his prospects were thus uncertain, his mother, still influenced by the feelings she had exhibited when informed that he might join the expedition under General Braddock, endeavored to dissuade him from taking any part in these frontier wars, in which he had already suffered so much and been exposed to so many dangers. In answer to her letter he wrote, on the fifteenth of August, "If it is in my power to avoid going to the Ohio again, I shall; but if the command is pressed upon me by the general voice of the country, and offered upon such terms as cannot be objected against, it would reflect dishonor on me to refuse it; and that, I am sure, must, and ought, to give you greater uneasiness, than my going in an honorable command. Upon no other terms will I accept it. At present I have no proposals made to me, nor have I any advice of such an intention, except from private hands."

In another letter, of the same date, addressed to Mr. Warner Lewis, at Williamsburg, he expressed belief that the command of the army could not be obtained for him upon terms that he would accept. The most important conditions which he mentioned were, that he should be allowed to choose his own officers, and that there should be a better system of military regulations, more promptness in paying the troops, and a thorough reform in all the agencies for procuring supplies. At best the position would be one of extreme difficulty. "I believe," he wrote, "our circumstances are brought to such an unhappy dilemma that no man can gain any honor by conducting our forces at this time, but will rather lose his reputation if he attempts it."

Before these letters were written, however, Washington had been appointed commander in chief of all the forces raised or to be raised in Virginia, upon the very conditions he had thus announced to his friend, and with the privilege of choosing an aid de camp

and secretary. The assembly voted forty thousand pounds for the public service; resolved to increase the number of companies to sixteen; and granted to George Washington three hundred pounds, to the captains seventy-five pounds each, to every lieutenant and surgeon thirty pounds, and to every soldier five pounds, as "a reward and compensation for their gallant behavior and losses" in the battle near Fort Duquesne. The governor was satisfied or affected to be so with the result, and in a letter to the ministers on the subject mentioned Washington as "a man of great merit and resolution," adding an expression of his conviction that General Braddock, if he had survived, "would have recommended him to the royal favor."

Upon being advised of his promotion Washington went immediately to Williamsburg to consult with the governor respecting the duties which awaited him, and to enter upon their administration. Lieutenant Colonel Adam Stephen and Major Andrew Lewis were chosen to be his principal officers, and it was determined to establish his headquarters at Winchester. After visiting Alexandria and Fredericksburg, where he stationed recruiting agents, he proceeded to Winchester, arriving there on the fourteenth of September. In a few days afterwards he set out on a tour of observation. He visited Fort Cumberland, on Will's creek, and Fort Dinwiddie, on Jackson's river, at both posts taking upon himself the command of the assembled troops and issuing such orders as the condition of affairs made necessary. He returned by way of Alexandria and Fredericksburg, intending to proceed by fast riding to Williamsburg, for consultation with the governor and legislature, and had reached the residence of his friend Colonel Baylor, near Fredericksburg, on the seventh of October, when he was overtaken by an express from Lieutenant Colonel Stephen, whom he had left in charge of Fort Cumberland, informing him that a body of Indians had made an incursion into the settlements, killing and making prisoners of the inhabitants, and destroying their houses and other property.

Instantly changing his plans, Washington wrote to the gov-

error an account of what had occurred, and started for Winchester. Passing again through Fredericksburg he met Colonel Stephen, in person, who gave a more startling and discouraging view of matters than that contained in his letter. Stephen was sent on to the seat of government, and Washington as soon as possible found his way to headquarters, where he arrived on the tenth. He found the place in a state of extreme confusion, the inhabitants of the back country coming in, conveying such of their household goods as they had been able hurriedly to remove, while the people of the town were preparing to find greater security farther east. Making use of every practicable means to allay the excitement, he endeavored to raise a body of militia to proceed without delay against the enemy, but was informed, by Colonel Martin who had already made such an attempt, that it was impossible to get together more than twenty or twenty-five men, the rest of the militia having absolutely refused to leave their homes, declaring that they would rather die with their wives and families than march against the savages. Failing in this plan Washington despatched expresses to hasten forward recruits, of whom he had left seventy at Fredericksburg, and more than thirty at Alexandria, and also the militia of Fairfax and Prince William counties, who had been ordered to join him. Spies were likewise sent out to discover the situation of the enemy and to encourage the rangers, who, it was reported, were blocked up by the Indians, in small forts, but whom Washington believed to be "more encompassed with fear than by the enemy."

The young commander found himself surrounded by innumerable difficulties. The people, though aware of their imminent danger, and indeed exaggerating it in an extraordinary degree, instead of supporting him by a ready co-operation, seemed to exult in every circumstance by which his plans were impeded. "No orders are obeyed," he wrote to Governor Dinwiddie on the eleventh, "but such as a party of soldiers, or my own drawn sword enforces. Without this, not a single horse, for the most earnest occasion, can be had: to such a pitch has the insolence of these people arrived by having every point, hitherto, submitted to them. However, I have

given up none where his majesty's service requires the contrary, and where my proceedings are justified by my instructions; nor will I, unless they execute what they threaten, that is, blow out our brains." In the same letter he urged the necessity of the passage of an act by the assembly authorizing the enforcement of military law, which at that time had become almost entirely inoperative in the colony; and frankly avowed that unless this were done he should resign his commission.

Although Virginia had now, according to reports transmitted to the Board of Trade, an enrolled militia of twenty-eight thousand,* the prospect of raising a single regiment to protect her frontier from the most dreaded and remorseless of enemies seemed utterly hopeless. The lower counties found an excuse for not furnishing men for this purpose, in the fact that their white population lived in perpetual fear of their negro slaves, who required constant watching,† while the inhabitants of the back country were not only unwilling to do anything for their own defence, but encouraged insubordination in the small force collected for their relief, harbored deserters, and in every way manifested as little sympathy with Washington as might have been expected by the leader of a hostile army.

The panic which continued to prevail in Winchester is illustrated in the letters which Washington forwarded to the governor. The Sunday after his return to that place an express arrived, exhausted with fatigue and fear, stating that a party of Indians was but twelve miles off, and that the settlers were flying in disorder from their homes. Men familiar with the country were sent out to watch their movements and ascertain their numbers; the defences of the town were carefully guarded; and near the end of a night of sleepless anxiety intelligence was received, that the Indians were within four miles of the village, killing and destroying all before them. The trembling messenger alleged that he himself had heard constant firing, and the shrieks of the murdered. Washington immediately

* Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York, vi., 993.

† Bancroft's History of the United States, iv., 221

collected what force he could, about forty men, and marched directly to the scene of these outrages, when he found that all this terror and trouble had been caused by three drunken soldiers of the light-horse, carousing, blaspheming, and firing their pistols. They were, of course, conducted to the camp as prisoners. The alarm of the previous day proved to be quite as ill founded.

The consternation was not confined to the frontier. It was rapidly spreading throughout the colony. An officer who arrived with a small party of recruits from Alexandria stated that he had found the road across the Blue Ridge obstructed by people flying for their lives; he had in vain endeavored to stop them; they were persuaded that Winchester was in flames, and that the foe was in quick and blood thirsty pursuit. During this state of affairs Washington endeavored to collect and arm the men who had abandoned their homes, and to remove their families to places of comparative safety; he gave pressing orders to the recently appointed officers, who never ceased to give him occasions of complaint by their inattention to duty, to hasten their recruits; and directed the county lieutenants below the Blue Ridge to send their militia immediately to Winchester; but before sufficient force was assembled to justify an attempt to drive the enemy back to the Ohio they became satiated with butchery and plunder, and had recrossed the Alleghanies.

Washington availed himself of the temporary repose which followed to complete, as far as circumstances would permit, the organization of his little army. He appointed Captain George Mercer his aid de camp, and a Mr. Fitzpatrick, of Alexandria, his secretary. Compelled to attend personally to every department, he was for a considerable time occupied in making the most judicious disposition of his troops for the defence of the country, and in procuring for them necessary supplies, while with untiring assiduity he urged upon the executive and legislature the establishment of such principles of discipline as obtained in other colonies, and without which, he was persuaded, no supplies of money, however liberal, or levies of men, however large, would enable a commander to satisfy the

reasonable expectations of the people, or to accomplish anything of real and permanent importance against the enemy. He at length succeeded in procuring the passage of a bill through the house of burgesses providing for the punishment of mutiny, desertion, and disobedience, and for holding courts martial. It was not in all respects such a law as he desired, and he perceived that a clause in it delaying the execution of sentences until approved by the governor would very much impair its efficiency; but, with this and other defects, it relieved him from many of the difficulties and embarrassments to which he had hitherto been subjected, and was a gratifying concession to his wishes, and a flattering exhibition of respect for his opinions, by the administration. He also strongly urged upon the governor and legislature, as he had repeatedly done before, the imperative necessity of conciliating the Indians, and attaching them to the British interest, as the best means of counteracting the designs of the French; and in compliance with his recommendation Colonel Byrd and Colonel Randolph were appointed commissioners to negotiate with the Cherokees, Catawbas, and other southern tribes, for their support in the ensuing year.

CHAPTER XX.

RENEWAL OF DIFFICULTIES RESPECTING RANK—CAPTAIN DAGWORTHY—APPEAL TO GOVERNOR SHIRLEY—EXPEDITION TO NEW ENGLAND—PHILADELPHIA—NEW YORK—MISS PHILIPSE—RECEPTION IN BOSTON—DAGWORTHY'S CLAIMS SILENCED BY THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF.

THE regulation by the ministers respecting rank, by which all officers holding royal commissions were to have precedence of those appointed by the provincial governments, had been, as has been shown, a cause of continual discontent. Washington had steadily refused to serve under any commander whose titular dignity was inferior to his own, and his feelings on this subject were generally shared by his companions in arms. The only remedy, except a revocation of the order of the twelfth of November, 1754, which merely confirmed the pretensions of the king's officers in America previous to that time, would have been the granting of commissions from the crown to the principal officers selected by the colonial authorities. Assurances from General Braddock, and the honorable distinction he had won in the battle of the Monongahela, had led Washington confidently to expect such a commission. Governor Dinwiddie had strongly, though perhaps reluctantly, recommended him to the home administration as a man whose appointment to a place in his majesty's army would be of "infinite service," and had stated in the same communication that the officers of the Virginia regiment generally, were "dispirited for want" of such commissions as would secure to them, under all circumstances, the consideration properly appertaining to their respective conditions.

At Fort Cumberland, which was within the limits of Maryland, Governor Sharpe of that colony had stationed about thirty men, under the direction of Captain Dagworthy, who had held a royal

commission in the last war, and now claimed its privileges and authority, refusing to obey any provincial officer, however high in rank. When therefore Colonel Stephen was sent to this post, with a considerable force, Dagworthy paid no attention to his orders, and the garrison was in consequence soon in a state of insubordination, the larger part of it adhering to Colonel Stephen, while the fragment of a company from Maryland would recognize no commander but Captain Dagworthy.

Washington represented the matter to the governor and council and solicited their immediate action for its settlement. A correspondence followed between the two governors, but without any satisfactory result. Sharpe seemed to regard the fort as under his particular charge because it was in his province; but Dinwiddie replied that it was the king's fort, built in obedience to directions sent to him from the king, by troops chiefly in the king's pay, and consequently not subject to any special control by the governor of Maryland. And as to Dagworthy's pretence that his captain's commission from the crown entitled him to command Colonel Stephen, and the commander in chief of the forces of Virginia, it was known that he had commuted his half pay for a specific sum of money, so that his commission had become null and void as if it had never been granted. The case however presented some questionable points, and Dinwiddie was unwilling to give any positive orders in regard to it, though he intimated to Washington that according to military usage Dagworthy might be arrested by him. But this discreet officer did not choose to hazard a proceeding beyond what he conceived to be the sphere of his proper duties, for which he might himself be called to account, and simply expressed his determination to resign his military position, as he had previously done under not dissimilar circumstances, unless the matter should be settled to his satisfaction.

The messenger despatched by Governor Dinwiddie to General Shirley, commander in chief of the king's forces in America, requesting that the officers of the Virginia regiment be "put upon the establishment," had returned from Boston without having suc-

ceeded in his mission, and these officers, therefore, in the warmest manner, desired Washington to proceed to General Shirley's headquarters in person, and lay before him their memorial of the several difficulties respecting rank, which the conduct of Dagworthy had now invested with an unusual interest.

On the fourteenth of January, 1756, he solicited of Governor Dinwiddie leave of absence for this purpose, which the governor readily granted, in the hope of being relieved from any further trouble in regard to the subject; and after issuing such military orders as he deemed necessary, and arranging his private affairs for the period during which he proposed to be absent, he set out, on the fourth of February, with his aid de camp, Captain George Mercer, and Captain Walter Stewart, of the Virginia light horse, for New England.

Although he declared in a letter to Colonel Stephen that this expedition had not been thought of until he left Winchester, a few days previously, it so happened that he was generously supplied with whatever was necessary for maintaining an appearance suitable for a Virginia gentleman of fortune, possessing an eminent position in society. He had a short time previously given an order to his agent in London, in which we have exhibited not only his taste and luxury in dress, but an example of the best costume of his class in that period. He directs his correspondent particularly to send, "two complete livery suits for servants, with a spare cloak, and all other necessary trimmings for two suits more. I would have you," he writes, "choose the livery by our arms, only as the field of the arms is white, I think the clothes had better not be quite so, but nearly like the enclosed: the trimmings and facing of scarlet, and a scarlet waistcoat. If livery lace is not quite disused, I should be glad to have the cloaks laced: I like that fashion best; and two silver-laced hats for the above servants. One set of horse furniture, with livery lace, with the Washington crest on the housings, &c.: the cloak to be of the same piece and color of the clothes. Three gold and scarlet sword-knots; three silver and blue ditto; one fashionable gold-laced hat."* A private gentleman and his servants,

* Life by Irving, i., 227, *note*.

with such appointments as are here mentioned or suggested, and riding horses of the best blood and condition, would not now be able to travel from Williamsburg to Boston without exciting continual and especial wonder. The last century has brought even to this continent few more noticeable changes, and perhaps none of more questionable propriety, than those which have induced a homely and almost undistinguishable uniformity in our apparel.

The youthful hero was not ignorant of the extent and quality of his reputaion, and, besides seeing Shirley, felt a natural desire to visit the leading cities of the country, in which he was confident of an agreeable reception. He had had a friendly correspondence with Governor Morris, and Mr. Gist, who had been sent to Philadelphia in the preceding October, on some business connected with the service, had written from that city assurances of the high and kindly regard entertained for him there. "Your name," he states, "is more talked of in Pennsylvania than that of any other person in the army, and everybody seems willing to venture under your command." The assembly was sitting. Mr. Franklin and Mr. Peters both told him that if Washington "would write a letter setting forth the murders and plunderings on the frontier, and in view of them asking the assistance of Pennsylvania, his representations would have more influence to that end than those of any man in America." Colonel Gage, who had been his companion in arms on the Ohio, and who twenty years afterwards was to oppose him as commander in chief of the king's forces at Boston, had written to him from Albany in November, "It gave me great pleasure to hear from a person of whom the world has justly so good an opinion, and for whom I have so great an esteem. I shall be happy to have frequent news of your welfare, and hope soon to hear that your laudable endeavors and the noble spirit you have exerted in the service of your country have at last been crowned with the success they merit."

It is difficult to realize the truth that this country, in its earliest settled and most populous portions, presented so very different an aspect but a century ago. A hundred of the largest towns then existing here would not make one as large as is now the smallest

of the three capitals Washington proposed to visit. Everything, except society, has advanced with the same uniform and unprecedented rapidity. To this deputation from Virginia, the material changes and improvements disclosed in their progress toward the metropolis of the eastern colonies, were almost as remarkable as those which time itself has since brought to the Ancient Dominion.

Travelling on horseback the party reached Philadelphia on Friday the sixth of February, the second day after leaving Alexandria. Philadelphia was then the most considerable city in North America, and contained about twenty thousand inhabitants. An enumeration made six years previously, by Franklin, the Shippens, and other leading citizens, each taking a ward to canvass, showed that there were in the ten wards and two suburbs two thousand and seventy-six houses, and eleven places of worship. It was near enough to the scene of the wars in which Washington had been engaged for its inquisitive people to learn and to be interested in all the particulars of their history. He remained here a week, receiving, with his companions, marked attentions from the most distinguished of the official and private characters who at that time made the polite society of Philadelphia the most agreeable in the colonies.

On Sunday, the fifteenth of February, he arrived in New York. This city, which in the next fifteen years doubled its population, contained then but ten thousand three hundred and eighty-one inhabitants. In the previous summer the first stage coach for passengers between New York and Philadelphia had been established. The time occupied on the road was three days. The same year the mail, which had hitherto been carried once in two weeks, began to be carried every week. This year another stage coach was set up, with the ambitious name of Flying Machine, and its proprietors promised passengers to take them from city to city in two days, at three pence per mile, or twenty shillings for the entire distance. In this quaint old town, which still preserved many of the characteristics of New Amsterdam; in which houses, built of materials and according to plans sent from the banks of the Zuyder Zee, were not more peculiar than much in the manners of their occu-



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pants; in and about which were settled many of those Huguenot families who have constituted so admirable an element in her society; and in which there was a dignified circle of English and Anglo-American gentry, ready, with the rest, to pay him especial honors, Washington passed nearly a week.

There are traditions which associate his name in tender connection with that of a young woman, a belle of New York, the mansion house of whose family is still visible on the banks of the Hudson. Beverly Robinson, a schoolmate and friend, son of the speaker of the Virginia assembly, resided here at that time, having married a daughter of Mr. Frederick Philipse, one of the nieces and heiresses of a wealthy landholder, Mr. Adolphus Philipse. He was the guest of Mr. Robinson while he remained in the city, and at his house met Mrs. Robinson's sister and coheiress, Mary Philipse, whose charms made a deep impression upon him. She was two years older than himself, and from a portrait of her which has been preserved does not appear to have been remarkably beautiful, but she was undoubtedly an elegant woman, and her liberal expectations as to fortune, and the eminent social position of her family, made her hand an object of ambition among the leading young men of the country. Washington however was less fitted for the drawing room than for the council of war, even at this early age, and notwithstanding his military fame, his indefectible private character, his hereditary respectability, fine person, and various manly accomplishments, was compelled in the society of women to give place to men who had cultivated more successfully the art of pleasing. He kept the secret of his passion, as he had that of his tenderness for the "lowland beauty" whose praises are celebrated in letters which he wrote at seventeen, while surveying the estates of Lord Fairfax; and on Friday, the twentieth of February, pursued his journey, finding occupation for his thoughts in the advanced civilization and prosperity of the provinces east of the Hudson.

Arriving in Boston, he was received by Governor Shirley with affection, as well as with the respect due to a person of his distinguished reputation. Shirley had been his occasional guest at Mount

Vernon during the congress of governors at Alexandria, and had "perfectly charmed" him by his "character and appearance," and the young Virginian had not only won his friendship at that time, but had entitled himself to a warmer regard by an intimacy with his son, General Braddock's private secretary, which ended only with the last moment of that person's life, on the field of the Monongahela. Shirley was about sixty-four years old, but had married a young Frenchwoman, while in Paris, a few years previously, and now wore gracefully the manners of middle age.* Boston at this period contained nearly fourteen thousand inhabitants, and was not increasing either in population or wealth, but in intelligence it was before any other American city, and was not inferior to any in social refinement. Washington was received here, as he had been in Philadelphia and New York, with the highest consideration, by all

* William Shirley was born in Sussex, England, about the year 1693, and was bred to the profession of the law. He obtained employment under government in London, but having the prospect of a numerous family was advised to remove to Boston, where he resided six or eight years in expectation of being appointed collector; but that place having been conferred on another person, he was, in 1741, made governor of Massachusetts. He planned the expedition against Cape Breton in 1745, and on the last day of August in the same year was appointed colonel of a regiment of foot. The next year he published an account of that expedition, in "A Letter from William Shirley, Esq., Governor of Massachusetts Bay, to his grace the Duke of Newcastle, with a Journal of the Siege of Louisburgh," and returned to England in 1749, when he was appointed one of the commissioners to settle the boundaries between the possessions of England and France on this continent. While thus engaged he wrote the Memorial of the English Commissaries, dated the twenty-first of September, 1750, in which he claimed for the English all the land east of the Penobscot and south of the St. Lawrence as constituting the ancient Acadia. He returned to his government of Massachusetts in 1753, and in 1754 explored the Kennebec, on which river he erected Fort Halifax, on the present site of the city of Augusta. On the second of February, 1755, he was appointed major general, and military superintendent of the northern colonies, and made the expedition to Oswego, which has been mentioned in the text, and which brought probably undeserved disgrace upon him. The death of Braddock made him commander in chief of the British army in America, but he was superseded in this office as well as in the government of Massachusetts, soon after the visit of Washington to Boston, and ordered to England, where he was not very well received by his official superiors. There were several publications in his defence, one of which, published in 1757, entitled "A Review of Military Operations in America," &c., was written by William Smith, the historian. These publications relieved him from much of the odium he had suffered, and in 1759 he became lieutenant general, and soon after was appointed to the government of the Bahama Islands. Shirley was a man of decided abilities, and was much relied upon by the ministers in regard to America. He was strongly opposed to Franklin's plan of union, proposed at Albany in 1754, and urged the establishment of a stamp tax here as early as 1756. He had not the qualities necessary for a successful soldier, but few Englishmen of his age would have made a better minister of war. His literary abilities were respectable, and besides his controversial and historical writings he is said to have been the author of two dramatic pieces, "Electra, a Tragedy," and "The Birth of Hercules, a Masque." He finally returned to Massachusetts, and died at his seat in Roxbury, on the twenty-fourth of March, 1776, at which time he was the senior lieutenant general in the British army.—E. B. O'Callaghan: Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York, vi. 959

classes whose courtesies could be grateful to him. A large portion of his time was spent with the commander in chief, in the discussion of public affairs.

At a council of the colonial governors at New York, in December, comprehensive measures had been determined upon for the campaign of the year just commenced; an army of six thousand men was to make its way to Niagara; Crown Point was to be invested by ten thousand, while the enterprise against Fort Duquesne, notwithstanding the depressing memories of Braddock's march, was to be undertaken again by a force of three thousand; and, to meet the French advances on every line, two thousand men were to ascend the Kennebec, in Maine, till, striking the head waters of the Chaudiere, they were to follow that river to its confluence with the St. Lawrence, opposite Quebec, and thus carry alarm to the doors of the enemy. The measures necessary to raise men and means for this extensive plan were being discussed in the legislature, and we may suppose that Washington was an attentive listener to the debates, by which his personal interests, as well as the general welfare, might be very deeply affected.

Governor Shirley, as commander in chief, does not appear to have had authority to grant commissions in the standing army, but he readily complied with Washington's application in regard to Dagworthy, giving an order which definitively settled the position of that troublesome person, whom he declared to be simply a provincial captain, "acting under a commission from the governor of Maryland." "And where there are no regular troops joined," the order proceeds, he "can only take rank as a provincial captain, and of course is under the command of all provincial field officers; and in case it should happen that Colonel Washington and Captain Dagworthy should join at Fort Cumberland, it is my order that Colonel Washington should take the command."

After ten days agreeably passed in Boston Washington started on his return to Virginia. In New York he lingered at the house of his friend Robinson until duty called him away, but did not divulge to Miss Philipse the emotions she had awakened. He

however intrusted his secret to a confidential friend, probably her brother-in-law, whose letters, Mr. Sparks informs us, "kept him informed of every important event," and in a few months he was advised that unless he pressed his suit a rival would carry off the prize; but other cares engrossed his time, and he never saw Miss Philipse again until she had become the bride of his old companion in the military family of Braddock.*

After an absence of seven weeks, in which he had formed many valuable acquaintances, and acquired much information which was subsequently very useful to him, he returned with his associates to Williamsburg.

* Miss Philipse was married to Captain Morris on the nineteenth of January, 1758. She is said to have been the original of the heroine of Mr. Cooper's novel of "The Spy." The landed possessions of the Philipse family were very great, embracing much of the district now occupied by the city of New York, and covering an area twice as large as all Yorkshire. Captain Morris continued to reside in New York, where he occupied a seat in the council, till the breaking out of the revolution. Adhering to the crown, his estates and those of his wife were confiscated, and he returned to England. By a marriage contract, however, Mrs. Morris's property had been settled on her children, and these being omitted in the act of confiscation, the ministry conceived their rights remained unaffected. Therefore but seventeen thousand pounds were granted from the treasury to Mr. Morris in satisfaction of his life interest. After the peace it was found impracticable to reinstate the children in their possessions, and in 1809 their claims were purchased by the late Mr. John Jacob Astor for twenty thousand pounds. The estimated value of the property in question was nearly one million pounds; at this day the sum would be incalculable. On the nineteenth of May, 1760, Morris was made lieutenant colonel of the forty-seventh foot, and died on the thirteenth of September, 1794. His widow survived to the eighteenth of July, 1825. Their only son was the late Admiral Henry Gage Morris, R. N., Keldgate House, Yorkshire. — *History of the Expedition to Fort Duquesne*, by Winthrop Sargent, p. 369. Sabine's *American Loyalists*.

CHAPTER XXI.

NEW INCURSIONS BY THE FRENCH AND INDIANS—DIFFERENT PLANS FOR THE PUBLIC DEFENCE—CONDITION OF THE TROOPS—EXPEDITION TO SHAWNEE TOWN—IMPOSSIBILITY OF OBTAINING RECRUITS—BORDER MURDERS BY THE ENEMY—THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF CONTEMPLATES RESIGNING—THE ENEMY AGAIN RETIRE BEYOND THE OHIO.

WASHINGTON returned from Boston on the twenty-third of March, and proceeded to Williamsburg, where, if his habits of life would not allow of ease, he might be permitted, now that the annoying affair of Dagworthy was settled to his satisfaction, to look for a period of tranquil life. But any expectations of this kind, if indulged, were disappointed. Hostilities between the colonial forces of France and England were not even yet recognised by a formal declaration of war, though they were prosecuted with persistence and activity. Under the walls of Fort Cumberland, and other posts nearer the coast, and, indeed, around the headquarters of Washington at Winchester, the yells of Indians, led and managed by Frenchmen, were now heard. An express arrived at the capital with intelligence of a new outbreak within a day or two after Washington's arrival from the north, and with his wonted promptitude he reached Winchester, to attend to measures for its suppression, on the sixth of April. He informed Governor Dinwiddie, by a despatch dated the next day, of the untoward appearance of affairs, and with how poor a front the tardy organization of the British power could meet the daring and facile enemy, whose savage allies were murdering in open daylight all around the forts, and spreading alarm far and wide among the people.

It was at this point that Washington began to urge most strenuously that line of policy best calculated to meet the designs of France on this continent, and to bring repose to the colonists, from

the Hudson to the Savannah. The assembly, although their liberality did not equal the wishes or expectations of Dinwiddie, seem to have been willing to provide generously for the defence of the colony. They voted twenty thousand pounds to meet this new incursion, and directed the augmentation of the troops in the field to two thousand men. For a present invasion of their territory they provided without hesitation. But the plan which appears to have been most favorably considered in the assembly seems to have been one which contemplated continual invasions, instead of such an one as, by well directed offensive operations, would drive the foe from the region from which only invasion could be expected. The burgesses proposed to build a line of forts on the frontier, to resist all incursions from the disputed territory: Washington urged the driving of the French from the Ohio. "It seemed to be the sentiment of the house of burgesses, when I was down," so he writes to Dinwiddie on the seventh of April, referring to the few days he had passed at Williamsburg about the first of the month, "that a chain of forts should be erected on our frontiers for the defence of the people. This expedient, in my opinion, without an inconceivable number of men, will never answer their expectations."*

On the twenty-fourth of April, writing to Mr. Robinson, speaker of the assembly, he sets forth the reasons which might be adduced in favor of either policy. "If," he writes, "a chain of forts is to be erected on our frontiers, it will be done with a design to protect the people; therefore, if these forts are more than fifteen or eighteen miles, or a day's march asunder, and garrisoned with less than eighty or a hundred men each, the object is not answered, and for these reasons: First, if they are at greater distances, it will be inconvenient for the soldiers to scout, and will allow the enemy to pass between undiscovered. Secondly, if they are garrisoned with less than eighty or a hundred men, the number will be too few to afford detachments. Then, again, our frontiers are so extensive, that were the enemy to attack us on the one side, they might, before the

* Writings of Washington, by Sparks, ii. 135.

troops on the other could reach the spot, overrun and destroy half the country. And it was more than probable, if they had a design in one direction, they would make a feint in another. We are also to consider what sums the building of twenty forts, and the removing of stores and provisions to each would cost. In the last place, we are to inquire when and where this expense will end. For, unless we endeavor to remove the cause, we shall be liable to the same incursions seven years hence as now, if the war continues, and the *enemy is allowed to remain on the Ohio*.*

Here was a youth of twenty-four setting forth the policy of the white haired Cato. The war should be carried into Africa. But if the Roman senate could endure, year after year, the disheartening struggle to defend their dominions against the invading Carthaginian, till, under Scipio, they won repose and victory and freedom from invasion by the policy of counter-invasion, it is not to be wondered at that the house of burgesses of Virginia should persevere in providing for the day's defence, and shrink from undertaking the arduous work of relieving the border from all liability to military disturbance by the expensive and difficult enterprise of invading, by paths uncut or marked only by the bones of their slaughtered countrymen, the fastnesses of the French on the Ohio. The memory of Braddock's defeat, less than a year before, though the circumstances of that defeat must have been so well understood by persons connected with the government, had still a depressing effect upon all projects proposed for similar purposes. But Washington, with his vivid recollections of the sanguinary time, could separate the merits of the design, and real practicability of the campaign, from the misfortune of its result, and adhere to the promise of the former, while he felt that it was possible to avoid the errors that led to the latter. While he clearly perceived the present advantage of an offensive policy, he restrained the impetuosity of his nature, and brought himself with readiness and energy to do best that which

* Subsequently, writing to the governor, on the fourth of August, he says, "I observe your proposal to Lord Loudoun, of carrying on an expedition against the Ohio, have always thought it the best and only method to put a stop to the incursions of the enemy, as they would then be obliged to stay at home to defend their own possession."— See Sparks, ii

was possible, where what was best was, for the time, quite beyond his ability. "I shall next give the reasons," he says, in his letter to Mr. Robinson, of the twenty-fourth of April, which has just been quoted, "which I think make for a defensive plan. If the neighboring colonies refuse us their assistance, we have neither strength nor ability to conduct an expedition; and, if we had, and were the whole to join us, I do not see to what purpose, since we have neither a train of artillery, artillerymen, nor engineers, to execute any scheme beyond the mountains against a regular fortress. Again, we have neither stores nor provisions, arms nor ammunition, wagons nor horses, in any degree proportioned to the service; and to undertake an affair where we are sure to fall through, would be productive of the worst consequences; by another defeat we should lose, entirely, the interest of every Indian. If, then, we cannot act offensively with a prospect of success, we must be on the defensive;" and he proceeds to declare his adhesion, for the time, to the policy of constructing a chain of forts.

The return of the enemy, in greater numbers, of which Washington had advised the governor on the seventh of April, and the daring acts of hostility which they committed, in the neighborhood of the chief encampment of the Virginia forces, could not fail to revive the utmost terror among the inhabitants. It was no wonder that the fear of death at the hands of the savages, the burning of buildings, and all the atrocities which marked Indian warfare, frightful examples of which were continually familiar to them, drove the scattered dwellers on the border in fear and trembling toward the settled portions of the colony, where they might hope for better protection. Unless a stop were put to the depredations of the Indians, Washington believed the Blue Ridge would soon become the frontier. He wrote that it was injudicious for him to proceed to Fort Cumberland until a considerable accession to his command should be received. Advising with Lord Fairfax and other officers as to the best conduct to pursue in the absence of any proper legal discipline of the troops, he requested each captain to call a private muster and read to the men an exhortation he had prepared for

the purpose. "Orders," he said, were no longer regarded. It is quite certain that the assemblages of men, drafts or militia, authorized by any act of the colonial government, were left quite without those details of organization which would have assimilated them to the condition of regular troops. It was, indeed, an "uncertain way of raising men for their own protection," which the assembly had hitherto adopted. The commander in chief represented to the governor, on the third of May, the inconveniences which resulted from having no posts assigned to the several companies. Dispersed throughout the country they could not readily be paid or supplied; so many detachments were out that one captain or lieutenant might happen to command men of every company in the regiment; of the eight pence per day paid to each soldier two pence were retained for clothing, and, consequently, when clothing or other necessities were furnished, it would occur, in the case of an officer transferred from the head of men thus irregularly brought together, that this allowance could not be stopped. "By this," he suggests, "the country loses money, the men are badly supplied, and always discontented." Clothes soon became very much wanted, and soldiers who had been two months enlisted, and had been able to get, as clothing, nothing but a blanket, shoes, and shirt, were very "justly dissatisfied" at having stopped from their pay the entire clothing fund.

Washington employed his available force in scouring the woods and other places near him where the foe were most apt to select their places of concealment. The Indians were an enemy of whose capacity of giving trouble he had a very thorough knowledge. Five hundred of them, he said, had more power to annoy the inhabitants than ten thousand regulars. In his despatches to Dinwiddie, he sought to impress upon that functionary a sense of "the advantageous way they had of fighting in the woods;" the cunning and craft, the activity and watchfulness, the patience under suffering and privation, of antagonists who prowled about like wolves, and like that animal, accomplished their mischief by stealth, depending for their food as well upon their proficiency in hunting game as upon their dexterity in stealing the cattle of the inhabitants. It was to avoid

the trouble of a merciless and wary foe of this kind, that Washington contemplated the necessity of recommending to the legislature to compel the inhabitants in the region exposed to live together, in townships, working on each other's farms by turns, and to drive their cattle into the thickly settled parts of the country. Thus they would have no occasion to fear the attacks of small parties of the enemy, while the difficulties of subsistence would prevent the incursions of large ones.

Major Lewis had, near the close of the winter, made an attempt, which by the seventh of April was understood to be unsuccessful, to reach the town of the Shawnese.* It was an expedition of which, from the length of the march, Washington had expressed apprehensions, particularly in a despatch written to Governor Dinwiddie from Alexandria on the fourteenth of January. Streams swollen from the melting snows retarded the progress of the party, and, after wandering six weeks in the woods, having lost the canoes that contained their supplies, they were compelled to kill their horses for food. They were glad to retrace their way to the settlements without accomplishing their mission. Washington however saw one advantage in their premature return: the friendly Indians, of whom Major Lewis's force was in part made up, would now be free to be employed as scouts and guides, and he proposed immediately to send them forward to Fort Cumberland, where they would be of service against a foe of their own race and habits. An expedition directly west to the Ohio, to attack the Indians at a point far below Fort Duquesne, under ordinary circumstances would have met his earnest support; but when orders for such a movement came from the governor, in January, he was satisfied that the hostile tribes had already moved up the river to the neighborhood of the fort. Since, however, the governor was still determined upon a campaign in that direction, Major Lewis was directed to take command of the troops destined for that service.

* This resort of the Shawnee tribe of Indians, was situated at or near the junction of the Ohio and Great Kenhawa rivers, where Point Pleasant, in Mason county, Virginia, now is. Howe (*Vir Hist. Col.*, 360) supposes it was abandoned by the tribe about 1770.

M. Dumas, who commanded the French and Indians at Braddock's defeat, after the death of M. de Beaujeu, succeeded Contrecoeur in the command of Fort Duquesne. Toward the close of March, he sent out the Sieur Donville, with fifty Indians, to observe the operations of the Virginians in the vicinity of Fort Cumberland. He was directed to harass their convoys, burn their magazine at Conococheague, if practicable, and use every effort to take prisoners, in order to obtain from them further knowledge of the designs of the provincial authorities. These orders showed great boldness and confidence on the part of the French, for Conococheague was in the midst of a populous district, and the inhabitants, aroused by fear, were exceedingly vigilant. Dumas also humanely instructed Donville to use all his influence to prevent the savages from committing any cruelties upon those who might fall into their hands. "Honor and humanity," he said, "ought, in this respect, to serve as our guide."

Donville obeyed his superior with alacrity, for he was young, and ambitious of distinction. With his trained savages, he traversed the country watered by the upper tributaries of the Potomac, and spread alarm among the settlers. At the beginning of April he was on the North river, a branch of the Cacapehon, in Hampshire county; and there he was attacked and defeated by a scouting-party under a brave Virginian named Paris. Donville was killed; and his scalp, with the instructions of Dumas found upon his person, were sent to Washington. That commander immediately forwarded them to Governor Dinwiddie, with the expressed hope that the party who jointly claimed the merit of securing the trophy would be properly rewarded, notwithstanding it came from the head of a white man.* Such complicity of the generous Washington in a revolting practice

* The reward for Indian prisoners or scalps was left to the discretion of the governor at that time, as there was no specific law upon the subject. Such law was soon afterward enacted, and the price for every "hostile Indian taken or killed" was fixed at ten pounds. The Virginians had early precedents. Seventy years before, a bounty of eight pounds per head was offered by the commissioners of the New England Confederation "for every fighting Indian man slain" by the soldiers. They were also allowed the benefits arising from the sales of such Indians into slavery. At a later period, Massachusetts and New Hampshire offered fifty, and even a hundred pounds, for an Indian scalp; and in Maryland, at one time, fifty pounds were offered for a prisoner or a scalp taken within that province. The cruelties which the white people suffered at the hands of the Indians, during the early colonial periods, made the life of a savage appear no more sacred than that of a beast of prey

of savage warfare seems strangely paradoxical, unless we consider the exigencies of the occasion, and the prevailing habits and sentiments of the border people at that time. Strongly as he opposed the employment of Indians in the War for Independence twenty years later, Washington now as strongly urged the necessity of such an alliance, which expediency imposed. "Unless we have Indians to oppose Indians," he wrote to Governor Dinwiddie, toward the close of April, "we may expect but small success."

Washington's hopes of raising a sufficient number of men to drive the enemy from the adjacent mountains, were soon dispelled. The captains of his regiment held the proposed private muster of their companies, read to them the "exhortation" of their colonel, and communicated his orders for them to rendezvous at Winchester on the fifteenth of April. Of the whole sixteen companies, only fifteen men appeared at the time appointed. All manhood seemed to be paralyzed by a sense of impending danger, and the inhabitants saw no chance for safety but in flight to the country eastward of the Blue Ridge. There were not armed men enough at Winchester, to spare, to afford Washington a safe escort to Fort Cumberland, and the garrison at the latter place was greatly weakened by the absence of detachments which had been sent out to keep the enemy at bay. The roads between the two places were everywhere infested by the savages; and none but hunters, expert in woodcraft, and travelling at night, could make the journey with safety. And one of these, whom Washington had sent to Colonel Stephen with a message, was assailed several times within six miles of Fort Cumberland, and narrowly escaped, after having several bullets pass through his clothes, and his horse shot under him.

The danger that menaced Winchester grew more and more alarming every hour. A scouting-party of one hundred men, under Captain John Mercer, sent to scour the Warm Spring mountain, were attacked by mounted Frenchmen and Indians within twenty miles of that place. Mercer and several of his men were killed, and the remainder were dispersed. The intelligence of this event, and the tales of horror that hourly arrived, made the inhabitants of



J. Rogers

M. J. Smith

SETTLERS IMPLORING WASHINGTON'S PROTECTION.

Winchester expect an attack at any moment. In the extremity of their terror, with no chance for successful flight, they turned to Washington, feebly supported as he was, as their chief hope. "The women," says Irving,* "surrounded him, holding up their children, and implored him, with tears and cries, to save them from the savages." The heart of the young commander was powerfully affected, and he wrote a touching letter to Governor Dinwiddie on the twenty-second of April. "Your honor may see," he said, "to what unhappy straits the distressed inhabitants and myself are reduced. I am too little acquainted, sir, with pathetic language to attempt a description of the people's distresses, though I have a generous soul, sensible of wrongs, and swelling for redress. But what can I do? I see their situation, know their danger, and participate their sufferings, without having it in my power to give them further relief than uncertain promises. In short, I see inevitable destruction in so clear a light, that, unless vigorous measures are taken by the assembly, and speedy assistance sent from below, the poor inhabitants that are now in forts must inevitably fall, while the remainder are flying before a barbarous foe.... The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions of the men, melt me into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease."

At that time of peril for the inhabitants of northern Virginia, and of great perplexity for Washington, jealousy and private ambition, as in after-years when he was in the midst of suffering at Valley Forge, assailed him with abuse, and cast reproaches upon his faithful officers. The newspaper at Williamsburg† was made the vehicle of these slanders, which emanated from the personal friends of the governor, who sought to place Colonel Innes, his favorite, already mentioned, in the chief command of the troops. In this scheme, the governor became an accomplice, or at least a pliant

* Life of Washington, i., 235.

† At that time there was only one newspaper printed in the Virginia colony. It was entitled *The Virginia Gazette*, and was printed by William Hunt, at the postoffice, in Williamsburg. Another, of the same name, was commenced at Williamsburg in 1766, by William Rind, a Maryland printer who was supported by the party opposed to the governor.

instrument. This was manifest to Washington and his friends, and the injustice stung the youthful commander with the keenness of a scorpion. In his letter to the governor just quoted, after alluding to the published calumnies, he said: "These cause me to lament the hour that gave me a commission, and would induce me, at any other time than this of imminent danger, to resign, without one hesitating moment, a command from which I never expect to reap either honor or benefit; but, on the contrary, have almost an absolute certainty of incurring displeasure below, while the murder of helpless families may be laid to my account here!"

This letter had a powerful effect at the seat of government, and created much solicitude throughout the province. Patriotic men, especially the personal friends of Washington, who knew his worth and the injustice of his calumniators, urged him to abandon all thoughts of resigning while the danger was so threatening, and assured him, not only of their support, but of the weakness of the few who sought to disparage him. His friend, Colonel Fairfax, who was one of the governor's council, said in a letter: "The house of burgesses are pleased with the governor's orders,* and depend on your vigilance and success. Your endeavors in the service and defence of your country must redound to your honor; therefore do not let any unavoidable interruptions sicken your mind in the attempts you may pursue. Your good health and fortune are the toast at every table." From Mr. Robinson, the speaker of the assembly, he received a most encouraging letter. "Our hopes, dear George," he wrote, "are all fixed on you, for bringing our affairs to a happy issue. Consider what fatal consequences to your country your resigning the command at this time may be, especially as there is no doubt most of the officers will follow your example. I hope you will allow your ruling passion, the love of your country, to stifle your resentment, at least till the arrival of Lord Loudoun,† or the meeting of the assembly, when you may be sure of having justice done."—"Nothing but want of power in your country," wrote Landon Carter, a mem-

* Dinwiddie had ordered out one half of the militia in ten of the northern counties of Virginia.

† Lord Loudoun had been appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, and also governor of Virginia.

ber of the assembly, "has prevented it from adding every honor and reward that perfect merit could have entitled itself to. How are we grieved to hear Colonel George Washington hinting to his country that he is willing to retire! Give me leave, as your intimate friend, to persuade you to forget that anything has been said to your dishonor; and recollect that it could not have come from any man that knew you." Many other leading persons, in different parts of the province, expressed their earnest desires that he should remain in command. Thus sustained by the approval and encouragement of the best men in Virginia, and his own conscience, Washington's just pride yielded to the demands of loyalty to his country.

Washington's stirring letters from Winchester evoked the patriotic action of many leading men. One hundred gentlemen, led by Peyton Randolph, the attorney-general, armed and equipped themselves, and volunteered their services in the field of greatest peril. They were named *The Gentlemen Associators*; and, as their offer was gladly accepted, much popular enthusiasm was excited. They were not only to confront the enemy in battle, but were to aid Washington in the selection of proper places for the projected frontier forts. There was much preparatory parade, but very little useful action, on their part; and before they arrived at Winchester, the foe had departed and the alarm had subsided.

At the close of April, the French and Indians who had swept over the surrounding hills and valleys like the scythe of death, and had so depopulated the whole region by the terror they inspired that the Blue Ridge had become the frontier, suddenly turned their faces toward Fort Duquesne. They had either become surfeited with blood and plunder, or alarmed by intelligence of increasing strength on the part of Washington. Laden with spoils, prisoners, and scalps, they crossed the Alleghany mountains to the Ohio in such numbers, that returning scouts affirmed that the roads were as hard beaten by them as by Braddock's army the year before.

CHAPTER XXII.

ERECTION OF FORT LOUDOUN AT WINCHESTER—PROJECTS FOR A CHAIN OF FRONTIER FORTS—WASHINGTON'S DISAPPROVAL—THE CAUTION AND CRAFT OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE—HIS OPINION OF WASHINGTON'S MERITS—THE GOVERNOR'S INTERFERENCE—HIS AMBIGUITY—WASHINGTON'S COMPLAINTS—DISSATISFACTION OF THE SOLDIERS—DIFFICULTIES ABOUT FORT CUMBERLAND—NEW ALARMS—WASHINGTON URGES OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS—HE MAKES A TOUR OF OBSERVATION—HIS REPORT TO THE GOVERNOR, AND ITS EFFECTS.

ALTHOUGH the enemy had retired beyond the mountains, Washington did not relax a single effort, nor allow his vigilance to slumber. In a letter to the governor, he expressed his doubts whether they were gone for the season, or only to bring on a larger party. He inclined to the latter opinion; and, taking counsel of his prudence, he commenced the erection of a strong fort at Winchester, which the assembly, on his recommendation, had authorized in March.* This fort was intended as a depository for military stores, and a refuge and rallying-point for the frontier settlers who might be driven from their homes by the incursions of the enemy. It was named Fort Loudoun, in honor of the newly-appointed governor of Virginia. At about the same time, Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, commenced the erection of a quadrangular stone fort upon the North mountain, a few rods from the Potomac river, in Washington county, which was named Fort Frederick. It was a few miles from the mouth of the Conococheague creek, and formed a shelter and defence for the inhabitants of a thickly-settled and fertile country.

Washington also commenced the erection of a chain of frontier forts, to extend from the Potomac to the North Carolina line, through the ranges of the Alleghany mountains. These had been authorized by the assembly, though earnestly disapproved of by

* Hening's Statutes, vii., 33.

Washington.* He believed that three or four strong garrisons, situated within the borders of settlements, would be far more effective and certainly less expensive, than a score of weak ones in the wilderness, stretching along a line of three or four hundred miles. The governor, too, disapproved of the plan of the assembly. He had already submitted to the board of trade a project for a much more extensive chain of forts. These were to embrace the whole line of frontier from Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, to the country of the Creek Indians in Alabama.† But both yielded to the views of the assembly; and Colonel Washington, in conformity with his instructions, drew up a plan and fixed the several positions of twenty-three forts. He also sent out parties to erect them, and gave his personal supervision to those that were within a reasonable distance of his headquarters at Winchester.

In these labors, Washington seems not to have been favored with the aid of "The Gentlemen Associators." He had expected none, and therefore he was not disappointed. As late as the twenty-third of May, they had not appeared, and he wrote to the governor—"I am heartily glad that you have fixed upon these gentlemen to point out the places for erecting forts, but regret to find their motions so slow." There was deep meaning and keen irony for the governor and his friends in this passage, which those in power at Williamsburg undoubtedly perceived. But Dinwiddie was both cautious and crafty; and at this very time, when he was casting obstacles in the way of Washington's success, he joined in paying a just compliment to his merits. The council and house of burgesses had agreed upon a representation to the king, in which Washington and other officers were recommended to his majesty as worthy of promotion to the regular army. Unwilling to openly oppose the Virginia assembly in this matter, and perceiving a chance for his favorite

* An expression of his views is given on page 204.

† The governor proposed to furnish the funds for erecting these forts, by a poll-tax of one shilling sterling for two years throughout all the colonies, to be levied by parliament; and to support the garrisons by a perpetual land-tax of two shillings on every one hundred acres of land. He estimated the number of taxable polls in the colonies at one million, and hence the tax would amount to fifty thousand pounds a year. He also estimated the amount of the land-tax at sixty thousand pounds a year.

Colonel Innes, by the removal of Washington to another field of duty, Dinwiddie wrote as follows to Major-General Abercrombie on the twenty-eighth of May: "As we are told the earl of Loudoun is to raise three regiments on this continent, on the British establishment, I do not venture to trouble him immediately on his arrival with any recommendations; but, good sir, give me leave to pray your interest with his lordship in favor of Colonel George Washington, who, I will venture to say, is a very deserving gentleman, and has from the beginning commanded the forces of this dominion. General Braddock had so high an esteem for his merit, that he made him one of his aids-de-camp; and, if he had survived, I believe he would have provided handsomely for him in the regulars. He is a person much beloved here, and he has gone through many hardships in the service, and I really think he has great merit, and believe he can raise more men here than any one present that I know. If his lordship will be so good as to promote him in the British establishment, I think he will answer my recommendation." These, no doubt, were the true sentiments of Dinwiddie, yet we are justified by events in suspecting him of selfish motives in expressing them at this time. And Washington undoubtedly was sincere in his irony, when he expressed his gladness at the appointment of "The Gentlemen Associators" to determine upon the localities of the frontier forts, for he was perfectly willing to allow others to take the responsibility of doing that which his judgment did not approve. But while he was willing to yield thus much to necessarily incompetent men, he had just reason to complain of the continual interference of civil officers in military matters, to his great personal annoyance and the detriment of the service. The governor himself, who was unskilled in military affairs, was so exceedingly tenacious of his authority, that he undertook, at the distance of two hundred miles from the scene of action, to regulate the principal operations of the army.* And either from natural stupidity, or a wicked desire to perplex the popular young commander, of whom he was jealous, Dinwiddie communicated orders and replies to Washington

* Sparks's Writings of Washington, i., 84.

in terms so ambiguous, that frequently he could not determine the governor's meaning. Of this he complained bitterly in letters to his friend the speaker of the assembly. "The orders I receive," he said, "are full of ambiguity. I am left, like a wanderer in the wilderness, to proceed at hazard. I am answerable for consequences, and blamed, without the privilege of defence." . Later in the season, after having visited Williamsburg, and urged upon the governor the necessity of abandoning Fort Cumberland as a place of frontier deposit, he applied for positive directions in the matter. Washington mentioned the affair in a letter to Speaker Robinson, and said: "The following is an exact copy of the governor's answer: 'Fort Cumberland is a king's fort, and built chiefly at the charge of the colony, therefore properly under our direction until a governor is appointed.' Now, whether I am to understand this ay or no, to the plain, simple question asked—'Is the fort to be continued or removed?'—I know not. But in all important matters, I am directed in this ambiguous and uncertain way."

Although Washington warmly remonstrated with Speaker Robinson against the perplexing interferences and ambiguous orders of the governor, he endured all with such exemplary dignity and patience, and performed the duties assigned him so diligently and faithfully, that he won for himself not only the sympathy but the highest esteem and admiration of the patriotic party in the house of burgesses, and of the people at large. This dignity and forbearance irritated Dinwiddie and the little Scottish faction who sought to disgust Washington with the service and cause him to resign, for it foiled every movement in favor of Innes, and taught the governor his own weakness and the abounding strength of the young man he wished to humble. This irritation was increased by Washington's free comments concerning military affairs on the frontier, and especially in relation to the absurdity of retaining Fort Cumberland; and Dinwiddie, with the mean spirit of jealousy and retaliation, made such representations to Lord Loudoun as drew from him an order in which was an implied censure of the young commander-in-chief. In a letter to the governor, after giving a peremptory order

to keep Fort Cumberland, Loudoun said: "I can not agree with Colonel Washington in not drawing in the posts from the stockade forts, in order to defend that advanced one; and I should imagine much more of the frontier will be exposed by retiring your advanced posts near Winchester, where I understand he is retired; for, from your letter, I take it for granted he has before this executed his plan, without waiting for any advice. If he leaves any of the great quantity of stores behind, it will be very unfortunate, and he ought to consider that it must be at his own door."

Loudoun, who was remarkable for his laziness and indecision, wrote, of course, without knowledge. He was too indolent and tardy to satisfy himself by proper inquiries and form a judgment therefrom, but was content to echo the suggestions of Dinwiddie, whose object was thus attained. Strengthened by this expressed opinion of high authority, the governor at once played the part of a wilful boy, determined to have his own way, right or wrong. He directed the garrisons to be withdrawn from the smaller frontier forts, and these, with most of the troops at Winchester, were ordered to the almost useless Fort Cumberland, which was to become the headquarters of the army. The most exposed points were thus weakened, and an unnecessary force was gathered where it was not needed, and could not be made immediately available in the event of an incursion of the enemy. Thus all the wise plans of Washington were deranged and reversed, and the labors of the whole army for many weeks were rendered almost abortive.

A less patriotic officer than Colonel Washington would have left the service under such trying circumstances, but, true to his instinctive love of country, his sense of responsibility, and his self-sacrificing nature, he stood firm while danger impended, yet not without complaining. To his sympathizing friend, the speaker, he wrote: "The late order reverses, confuses, and incommodes everything; to say nothing of the extraordinary expense of carriage, disappointment, losses, and alterations, which must fall heavy on the country. Whence it arises, or why, I am truly ignorant; but my strongest representations of matters relative to the peace of the frontiers are

disregarded, as idle and frivolous; my propositions and measures, as partial and selfish; and all my sincerest endeavors for the service of my country are perverted to the worst purposes. My orders are dark, doubtful, and uncertain; to-day approved, to-morrow condemned. Left to act and proceed at hazard, accountable for the consequences, and blamed without the benefit of defence, if you can think my situation capable of exciting the smallest degree of envy, or affording the least satisfaction, the truth is yet hidden from you, and you entertain notions very different from the reality of the case. However, I am determined to bear up under all these embarrassments some time longer, in hope of a better regulation on the arrival of Lord Loudoun, to whom I look for the future fate of Virginia."

Another source of great annoyance to the commander-in-chief was the prevailing practice of desertion, by which his little army was continually weakened, and its moral stamina assailed. The pay of the soldiers was altogether inadequate; and in this, as in other appropriations and arrangements made by the assembly, a policy entirely too narrow and parsimonious was pursued. The common soldier received only eight pence per day, out of which two pence were stopped for his clothing. This pay was less than in any other part of the continent. Foreseeing the inevitable discontents of the soldiers, the assembly had provided for the payment of two hundred pounds of tobacco for every deserter who should be arrested and returned to headquarters. Instead of furnishing Washington with means to pay for such deserters immediately, he was only allowed to give the captors certificates of the fact, which were to be presented, in due time and form, to a court of claims, and there must lie, perhaps, as he wrote to Robinson, "till they are quite forgotten." The result was as might have been anticipated. Nobody would apprehend a deserter. And so much dissatisfaction was created, that Washington expressed his opinion that many, "rather than apprehend one, would aid fifty to escape," and that too among the Virginians.

It was toward midsummer when Washington commenced in ear-

nest the erection of the chain of frontier forts already mentioned. He had been waiting week after week for reinforcements from the militia, for there was danger in sending out such small detachments as necessity imposed, in the prosecution of the work. But his calls were almost in vain, while he was continually urged to press forward the work of frontier defences. The military ardor of "The Gentlemen Associators," who were to assist him, seems to have entirely subsided, for we hear nothing more of them; and the direction of the chain, and the position of the principal forts, were determined by a council of officers called by Washington, who assembled at Fort Cumberland about the first of July.

In the meanwhile, the enemy had been seen in small bands, hovering upon the Alleghanies, and striking murderous blows here and there among the more remote frontier settlers. Continual fear chilled the hearts of the few inhabitants who remained west of the Blue Ridge. Soon alarm after alarm came upon almost every breeze from the west and north; and before the close of summer, the settlers upon the upper waters of the Potomac were flying in great confusion. Conococheague and the surrounding country were entirely deserted, and the inhabitants farther down the Virginia side of the Potomac were in motion. These had appealed to Washington for protection, but he was almost powerless. He could not send a sufficient force for the purpose, without suspending the public works, and yet he knew not how to deny the suppliants. "It is with infinite concern," he wrote to Lord Fairfax,* at the close of August, "that I see the distresses of the people and hear their complaints, without being able to afford them relief." And in the same

* This was Thomas, the sixth Lord Fairfax, who possessed a tract of land, estimated to contain five millions of acres, lying between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, in Virginia, a region known as the Northern Neck. His kinsman, William Fairfax, managed this estate for awhile, and in 1739 Lord Fairfax himself came to Virginia. At the end of a year he returned to England, but came back in 1745, and remained in Virginia until his death, in 1792, when he was in the ninety-second year of his age.

Lord Fairfax resided several years with his relative, at his beautiful estate of Belvoir. He finally crossed the Blue Ridge to the Shenandoah valley, built a fine mansion a few miles from Winchester, which he named Greenway Court, and there put a farm under the highest cultivation. There he lived in plain elegance, and held offices of responsibility. He was lieutenant of Frederick county, presided in the courts at Winchester, and was superintendent of the public roads. He was an accomplished scholar, and was a contributor to the *Spectator* in earlier life.

letter he urged Fairfax to send him some of the militia of Frederick county, over whom he had control, to save the settlements from total desolation. Fortunately, these incursions of the enemy did not extend far into the settlements, yet the fears of the people were kept continually alive by dreadful forebodings.

From the beginning, as we have seen, Washington had strongly urged the necessity of acting on the offensive, and, by penetrating the country beyond the Alleghanies with a respectable force, to inspire the invaders with awe, and compel them to remain in the wilderness to defend their own domain. While pursuing the opposite and temporizing policy dictated by the governor and assembly, he continued to express his convictions, from time to time, as opportunity offered, that the only successful measure of relief for the settlements, and basis for permanent repose, would be a counter-invasion. While at Mount Vernon on private business, toward the close of September, he again pressed this subject upon the governor, in a letter. "We may form many schemes," he said, "to defend ourselves, but experience will show that none but removing the cause of the difficulties [by invading the Ohio region] will prove effectual. Unless the assembly concert some measures to augment the military force, the country, I fear, must inevitably fall. The frontiers, within twelve months, have been totally deserted for fifty miles and upwards from north to south, and all below that distance greatly thinned by the removal of numbers. . . . I believe I might add," he continued, "that no person, who regards his character, will undertake a command without the means of preserving it; since his conduct is culpable for all misfortunes, and never right but when successful."

On the twenty-ninth of September, Colonel Washington left Winchester on a tour of observation as far as the southwestern frontier, on the borders of North Carolina. In this tour he visited all of the forts and stockades, and was enabled to form a just opinion of their value as defences, and of the actual condition of the settlers. Distress everywhere prevailed. The Indians had broken into almost every little settlement, and had spread death and desolation, with

the knife and torch, along the whole western frontier of Virginia. He found the garrisons in wretched condition. The men were few, idle, insubordinate, and improvident. None of the forts were in a posture of defence, and the Indians often murdered helpless women near them, or carried off children and property from the very gates of the stockades. They kept no guard, few of the captains were on duty, and many private soldiers were away on leave, attending to their personal affairs. The soldiers often refused assistance to a neighboring garrison when assailed, and the inhabitants were taught by these delinquencies to regard them as burdens to themselves and the colony, rather than as defenders.

The militia, drafted generally for only one month's duty, were no better. They were always tardy in their movements, wasteful of provisions, "obstinate, self-willed, perverse, of little or no service to the people, and very burdensome to the country."* Upon them the inhabitants placed no reliance, and so they were literally without any defenders against the savages. They petitioned Colonel Washington in the most earnest manner for companies of his regiment, but it was not in his power to assist them. He could only promise to lay their case before the governor and the house of burgesses, and use his best endeavors to promote effectual measures for their security.†

After presenting the state of affairs along the frontiers, in graphic detail, to the governor, Washington remarked: "Perhaps it may be thought that I am partial in my relation, and reflect unjustly. I really do not, sir. I scorn to make any unjust remarks on the behavior of the militia, as much as I despise and condemn the persons who detract from mine and the character of the regiment. Were

* Washington's Report to Governor Dinwiddie.

† It is proper to state that there were grave difficulties in the way of furnishing soldiers for distant garrisons. The population of Virginia, at that time, was estimated by Governor Dinwiddie to be two hundred and ninety-three thousand, four hundred and seventy-two, of whom one hundred and seventy-three thousand, three hundred and sixteen, were white, and one hundred and twenty thousand, one hundred and fifty-six, were black. The militia were computed at thirty-five thousand men fit to bear arms. Dinwiddie wrote to one of the British secretaries of state: "We dare not venture to part with any of our white men any distance, as we must have a watchful eye over our negro slaves, who are upwards of one hundred thousand." — Sparks' Writings of Washington, *note*. ii., 154

it not, that I consult the good of the public, and think these garri-
sons merit attention; I should not deem it worth mentioning. I
only wish to make the country sensible, how ardently I have stud-
ied to promote its cause, and desire very sincerely, that my succes-
sor may fill my place more to its satisfaction, in every respect, than
I have been able to do. I mentioned in my last that I did not
think a less number than two thousand men would be sufficient to
defend our extensive and much-exposed frontiers from the ravages
of the enemy. I have not had one reason to alter my opinion,
but many to strengthen and confirm it. And I flatter myself that
the country will, when my determinations are known, be convinced
that I have no sinister views, no vain motives of commanding a
number of men, which urge me to recommend this number; but
that it proceeds from the knowledge I have acquired of the country
and people to be defended." In a subsequent letter upon the same
subject, he remarked: "As defensive measures are evidently insuffi-
cient for the security and safety of the country, I hope no argu-
ments are requisite to prove the necessity of altering them to a
vigorous offensive war, in order to remove the evil."

This last letter here referred to was accompanied by the report of
a council of officers, which had been held at Fort Cumberland, pur-
suant to a proposition of Dinwiddie himself. In that report the
policy of retaining Fort Cumberland was impliedly though not ex-
plicitly condemned. On the back of the report, Washington had
written his own views, and suggested the propriety of erecting a
fortress in its stead near the Little Meadows, at the joint expense
of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, whose frontiers were
equally exposed to the enemy. This expression of opinion by
Washington the governor chose to consider impertinent, while the
colonel's report of his tour of observation, further irritated the gov-
ernor because it confirmed the superior judgment of the young
commander-in-chief, and loudly condemned the actions of Dinwiddie
and the assembly.

The governor's reply was discourteous and evidently ill-humored,
and elicited from Washington a rejoinder full of dignity, and mer-

ited rebuke for the insolent executive. It was written at Alexandria, on the twenty-fourth of November. After disclaiming any disrespect to superiors, he proceeded to vindicate his course. Having referred to his services in making the dangerous and fatiguing tour to the southwest, for no other purpose than the public good, Colonel Washington remarked: "I am sorry to find that this, and my best endeavors of late, meet with unfavorable constructions. What it proceeds from, I know not. If my open and disinterested way of writing and speaking has the air of pertness and freedom, I shall correct my error by acting reservedly, and I shall take care to obey my orders without offering anything more." He then proceeded to comply with Dinwiddie's peremptory orders to march with the greater portion of his force at Winchester to Fort Cumberland, and make that his headquarters, leaving the far more important post of Fort Loudoun with a weak garrison in command of a subaltern, and a vast amount of public stores destitute of all protection. "So," Washington said, in the letter just quoted from, "if I comply with my orders, which I shall literally do, if I can, not a man will be left there to secure the works, or defend the king's stores, which are almost wholly removed to that place."

CHAPTER XXIII.

INDIAN DEPREDACTIONS ON THE PENNSYLVANIA FRONTIER—ARMSTRONG'S EXPEDITION—DESTRUCTION OF KITTANNING—GOOD EFFECTS OF THIS CHASTISEMENT—DECLARATION OF WAR BY ENGLAND AND FRANCE—ASPECT OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COLONIES—PREPARATIONS FOR THE CAMPAIGN OF 1755—FRENCH FORTIFICATIONS—THE ROYAL AMERICAN REGIMENT—TARDINESS OF BRITISH COMMANDERS—PROVINCIAL TROOPS AT ALBANY—DIFFICULTIES RESPECTING RANK—FATAL DELAYS—IMPORTANCE AND EXPOSURE OF OSWEGO—MOVEMENTS OF MONTCALM—CAPTURE OF OSWEGO—ABANDONMENT OF NORTHERN EXPEDITIONS.

WHILE the settlers along the frontiers of Virginia were suffering dreadfully from continual fear and frequent invasions, their immediate neighbors in Maryland and Pennsylvania were equally annoyed by the foe. King Shingis, the head sachem of the Delawares, already mentioned as Washington's ally in 1753, was now active with the French. He was small in person but great in prowess, always cruel and relentless, and continually thirsted for blood and plunder. He and another chief made their power felt all over the region westward of the Susquehanna. Toward the close of 1755, they led their warriors eastward, and desolated the settlements almost to the Delaware river.

Early in the spring of 1756 these depredations were renewed by parties of French and Indians. To guard against them, the province of Pennsylvania erected a chain of forts and blockhouses along the Kittanning hills from the Delaware river to the Maryland line;* and eight companies, commanded by Colonel John Armstrong, of Carlisle, were established in the country west of the Susquehanna. Yet these forts and troops did not fully protect the inhabitants.

* These fortifications were erected under the direction of Dr. Franklin, who had accepted a colonel's commission, and undertook the command of the volunteer militia on the frontier. These volunteers did not meet the expectations of the people in general, and Franklin soon discovering that he was not particularly fitted for military command, retired from office.

The foe was wary and expert; and Captain Jacobs, one of the most desperate of the Delaware chiefs, boasted with some truth that he could "take any fort that would catch fire." Scalping-parties swept through the valleys of the Kiskiminitas and Juniata, and over the adjacent country, almost to Fort Cumberland. In July they appeared in Sherman's valley; and, storming Fort Granby, at Lewistown, they carried away many prisoners to their chief town of Kittanning, on the Alleghany river. In these incursions from the west, the Indians had killed full one thousand frontier settlers.

A thorough chastisement of the marauders was now determined upon; and at the close of August, Colonel Armstrong, with two hundred and eighty provincials, marched from Fort Shirley, on the Juniata, to destroy the nest of bloody vultures at Kittanning. He was accompanied by Captain Hugh Mercer, who longed to serve his country, and to avenge the blood of his companions that had flowed so freely upon the banks of the Monongahela the year before. Rapidly and stealthily the avengers marched over the lofty ridges and through the dark defiles of the Alleghanies, and on the evening of the seventh of September they arrived near the doomed Indian village. The savages, unsuspecting of danger, were gathered around fires near by, and with whoops, and yells, and stirring songs, were celebrating their murderous exploits, by the horrid scalp-dance. The night wore away, their orgies ceased, the fires burned low; some of the Indians retired to their huts, and others lay down and fell asleep by the smouldering embers; the bright moon went down behind the hills, and all was dark and silent.

Dividing his little army, Colonel Armstrong directed the attack to be made simultaneously against the huts and the sleepers in the open air. At the first fire, the whole village was aroused. The women and children fled to the woods, and the warriors, encouraged by the voice of Captain Jacobs, fought desperately, and slew several of their assailants. The huts were fired by the provincials, and Jacobs was summoned to surrender. He proudly refused, saying, "I am a man, and will not be a prisoner."—"Then you will be burnt," answered his summoner. "Not till I have killed four or

five!" he said. Then the flames crept from roof to roof, and in the house of Jacobs, which began to glow with heat, a warrior chanted the defiant death-song. At length the fire and smoke expelled the Indians. Some were shot, and others escaped. Among the former was the savage leader, and also his giant son, a young warrior seven feet in height, who had distinguished himself at Fort Granby. Soon all the dwellings, thirty in number, were in flames; and when the sun arose, Kittanning was a smoking ruin, and amid the ashes lay nearly forty of the slain savages. Eleven white prisoners were released, and the victory was complete.

The provincials did not escape unharmed. Seventeen of them were killed, thirteen were wounded, and nineteen were missing at roll-call. Among the wounded was Captain Mercer, who was left behind, and, after a slow and solitary journey through the wilderness, he reached Fort Cumberland when almost famished. God, in his wisdom, had preserved him for a nobler martyrdom in the service of his country twenty years later, when he fell in battle at Princeton.

This chastisement of the Indians was effectual, and secured peace to the Pennsylvania frontier for some time.* The savages were thoroughly alarmed. It was the first time that the war had been carried into their country, where they fancied themselves secure, and it had precisely the effect which always presented itself to the mind of Washington, when urging upon the Virginia authorities the necessity of offensive measures. Had those authorities listened

* The city council of Philadelphia passed a vote of thanks to Colonel Armstrong and his officers for their gallant services, and presented the commander with a piece of plate and a silver medal. On one side of the medal was the device of an officer followed by two soldiers; the officer pointing to a soldier shooting from behind a tree, and an Indian prostrate before him. In the background, Indian houses in flames are seen. The legend was, "Kittanning destroyed by Colonel Armstrong, September, 1756." On the reverse were the arms of the corporation of the city of Philadelphia, consisting of four devices: on the right, a ship under full sail; on the left, a pair of scales, equally balanced; above the ship a wheat-sheaf, and over the scales two hands clasped. A medal was also given to each of the officers.

When the War for Independence broke out, Colonel Armstrong was appointed a brigadier-general in the Pennsylvania continental line, and did gallant service in defence of Fort Mifflin, at Charleston, in the summer of 1776. In 1777, he was engaged in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, when, becoming dissatisfied concerning some promotions in the army, he resigned his military commission, and accepted that of a member of the continental Congress. He died at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, on the ninth of March, 1795.

to his judicious advice, a vast amount of blood and treasure might have been saved.

At the North, the intercolonial struggle was carried on with considerable vigor during the year 1756. Until the spring of that year, the war was confined to America, and there was nominal amity between the governments of France and England. But when intelligence of the capture of the *Lys* and *Alcide* by Admiral Boscawen reached France, the king ordered the French minister in London to leave England. At the same time, the British government issued letters of general marque and reprisal. And, perceiving no prospect of a peaceful termination of difficulties, the English monarch, on the seventeenth of May, published a declaration of war against the king of France.* The gauntlet was taken up by Louis on the ninth of June, and soon the fleets and armies of the two nations were in motion.

At this time the Anglo-American colonies presented a curious political spectacle. They were separate provinces, having individual and isolated interests, and yet there was a strong bond of union, wrought by common commercial and other interests and by common dangers, which was strengthening every hour. Left to their own resources in the pursuits of industry and of practical jurisprudence, and separated from the old dynasties by a stormy ocean three thousand miles in breadth, democratic ideas had taken vigorous root and were growing apace in every part of the continent where English settlements existed, unshadowed by feudal institutions and untrampled by military despotism. Sagacious statesmen in the mother-country, proud of Britain's power, perceived and deprecated this growth; and loyal minds, who regarded the integrity of the British realm with reverence, already began to have forebodings of future discontents in America, and predicted the final independence of the colonies. It was even proposed to send over a member of the royal

* On hearing of this event, Washington inquired of the governor of Virginia — "If war is to be declared at this place [his headquarters at Winchester], I should be glad if your honor would direct the manner. I know there is ceremony required, but the order I am ignorant of." Dinwiddie answered: "The method, by which you are to declare war, is at the head of your companies, with three volleys of small-arms for his majesty's health and a successful war."

house, to become a viceroy or an absolute sovereign of all the English colonies in America, in order to prevent a total political dissolution.

The northern expeditions planned by the council of governors at New York, near the close of 1755, were set in motion as early as circumstances would allow. To excite the colonists to fresh and stronger efforts, Parliament voted one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds sterling (over half a million of dollars) as a reimbursement to the provinces whose men and treasure were employed in the defeat of Dieskau. Other parliamentary grants, for a similar purpose, were promised, and the king was authorized to cause the enlistment in America of a corps composed of four battalions of one thousand men each, to be named the Royal American regiment. He was also authorized to appoint seventy officers in this regiment from among the foreign protestants settled and naturalized in America, and to confer power upon them to enlist indented servants by paying their masters.* These latter measures produced much dissatisfaction in the colonies, because the provincial officers, who were generally natives, would not be chosen, and because equal enlistment privileges were not given to them. Washington urged Governor Dinwiddie to authorize such enlistment by Virginia officers. "If we had this privilege," he said, "we could soon complete the regiment; and I doubt not but his majesty would order them to be paid for, if we enlist them, as soon as for the regulars; nay, should he not, the ten pounds' fine† through the country would go a considerable way towards it. And this we may depend upon, if we have not this liberty granted us, the servants will all run off to the regular officers, who are recruiting around us." But Dinwiddie refused to listen to these suggestions, being more desirous of pleas-

* These servants were European immigrants, whose services were purchased for a term of years, from themselves, or from the masters of vessels who brought them over, and to whom they were indebted for their passage-money. If they were above nineteen years of age, they could be required to serve only five years, except in specified cases; if under nineteen, the term of such service was limited to the age of twenty-four years. They were exempt from military duty during such service, and upon no account could they be sold as slaves. — See Hening's Statutes of Virginia, vi, 356.

† This was a fine imposed upon such drafted militia as refused to march. It was so low, that many of the drafts preferred to pay it, and stay at home. — Sparks's Writings of Washington, note, ii., 169.

ing the crown than of benefiting the colony. On the contrary, he endeavored, but unsuccessfully, to prevail on the assembly to draft militia for the Royal regiment.

Although the earl of Loudoun* had been appointed to the chief command in America as early as February, some hinderances on the part of the government, and his habits of procrastination, prevented his departure until May, and he did not arrive until July. And April was almost gone before General Abercrombie, Loudoun's lieutenant, who had been ordered forward with troops to take temporary command, sailed from England. He arrived at New York in June, and was met by strong recommendations of Colonel Washington as worthy of promotion in the British establishment. But jealousy of the provincials made England confide more in foreigners than in Americans; and the merits of Colonel Washington found in the arrogant officials who came over no generous appreciation and response. Their faces were always turned toward the sun of royalty, in whose beams they basked, and autocracy was their highest ideal of power. "I find," Abercrombie said to Alexander Colden, "you will never be able to carry on anything to any purpose in America, till you have a viceroy or superintendent over all the provinces." At that very moment the young Virginian of less than four-and-twenty summers, whose brilliant achievements in the midst of obstacles were the admiration of his countrymen, was a far wiser and more skilful military commander than the conceited Scotchman of middle age who affected a contempt for all provincial officers—wiser and more skilful, indeed, than the old titled commander-in-chief, who was to "produce a great change in affairs."

* John Campbell, fourth earl of Loudoun, was one of the sixteen Scotch peers, and was born in the year 1705. He succeeded to the title of his father in 1731, and in 1745 he raised a regiment of Highlanders for the crown, to oppose the young Pretender. He was appointed colonel of the regiment in April of that year, but his services appear to have been of little use. In February, 1755, he was appointed major-general, and in December following he received the commission of colonel of the Royal American regiment of four thousand men to be raised in America. His career during his stay in the colonies was marked by arrogance and inefficiency; and yet, lacking as he was in military skill, courage, and even in integrity it is said, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general in 1758. It was fortunate for the colonies that he was recalled to England. A few years later he was appointed governor of Edinburgh castle; and in 1770 he became colonel of a regiment of foot guards, and a general in the army. Lord Loudoun was never married. He died at Loudoun castle in Ayrshire, in April, 1782, at the age of seventy-seven years.

Abercrombie, like his superior, moved slowly. He loitered in New York awhile, and toward the close of June he reached Albany, where Major-General Winslow, a great-grandson of the second governor of Plymouth, who had been appointed to command the expedition against Crown Point, was anxiously awaiting his arrival, with about seven thousand provincial troops. This number was inadequate for the service, and he hoped that the reinforcement of the three thousand regulars who came with Abercrombie would enable him to march immediately toward Lake Champlain. A road through the forests had been cut the previous year, and there seemed nothing to prevent a successful attack upon Crown Point. But Winslow was doomed to disappointment and mortification. The haughty Abercrombie, who outranked and superseded Shirley, resolved that regular officers alone should command the provincials, and that the English troops should be quartered in the houses of the inhabitants. These measures were very offensive to the military and the people; and Winslow assured Abercrombie that if his resolution respecting rank and command should be adhered to, he might expect very extensive desertions from the army. Abercrombie was obstinate, and the difficulties growing out of this matter caused much delay. These had just been compromised, when the earl of Loudoun arrived at New York, with a commission that gave him power almost equal to that of a viceroy. There he also loitered, and with haughty words sought to awe the provincials into submission to his demands concerning rank. He soon perceived that he was dealing with men—men of thought and manly independence—and not with mere fighting-machines. They respectfully but firmly informed his lordship that they were willing to act in conjunction with the royal forces, but not under the control of the subordinate royal officers, and entreated him to allow them to act separately, so far as might be consistent with the interests of his majesty's service. This was finally granted, and all disputes were satisfactorily settled.*

While precious time was thus wasted in disputations and personal

* Graham's Colonial History of the United States, ii., 259.

affairs, the public service had greatly suffered, and the French, profiting by the delay, had secured vast advantages. They had been busy in making preparations for a desperate struggle for supremacy, and, while the English were literally slumbering, they were at work. They had erected a chain of forts in the West, from the lakes to the Mexican gulf;* and at this time they had no less than sixty stockades and other smaller fortifications in Canada, the most of them having flourishing settlements around them. The French had been busy, too, in strengthening their bonds of alliance with various Indian tribes, and in weakening the faith of others, who seemed to be disposed to remain neutral, in the friendship of the English.

The marquis de Montcalm, a descendant of a noble French family, and who had been promoted by degrees to the dignity of a field-marshal, had succeeded Dieskau in the chief command of the French forces in Canada. He was small in stature, but had a deservedly high reputation for vigor and military ability; and his movements, like his conversation, were rapid and nervous.

Before Montcalm's arrival at Quebec, small parties of French troops at Montreal had penetrated the country south and east of Lake Ontario, and hovered around the passes of the Onondaga river to intercept supplies for the English garrison at Oswego. In spite of these, the brave and energetic Bradstreet, of New York, who had been appointed commissary general, had thrown into the fort there sufficient provisions for five thousand men for six months, and a great quantity of military stores. In these perilous labors he was accompanied by Philip Schuyler, the great patriot of the Revolution, who then took his earliest practical lessons in the art of war. This service was all accomplished early in July, and Shirley urged Abercrombie to send forward two battalions for the protection of Oswego. But that tardy and overbearing general was thinking more of his

* According to Governor Pownall, who drew his facts from letters of Governor Vaudreuil, the French employed about two thousand soldiers in the western forts and settlements. At New Orleans, there were three hundred French and seventy-five Swiss soldiers. At Mobile, the French and Swiss numbered four hundred and seventy-five. In the Illinois country, there were three hundred; in Arkansas, fifty; in Natchez, fifty; in Natchitoches, fifty; at Point Coupé, fifty; and in a German settlement, fifty. These had great influence over the western tribes; and Vaudreuil says that at annual meetings or treaties three thousand Indians would sometimes be present.

own authority than the security of important posts; and he actually ordered a survey of Albany, that it might be ditched and stockaded, while the necessities of the frontier were urging him thither.

Thus left exposed, Oswego became an object of prey for the active and far-sighted Montcalm. While the English army, ten thousand strong, lay idle at Albany, suffering from small-pox and want of provisions, that active officer ascended the St. Lawrence from Montreal, with five thousand regulars, Canadians, and Indians; and, crossing Lake Ontario from Frontenac (now Kingston), he landed stealthily behind a wooded cape a few miles below Oswego.

As early as 1727, Governor Burnet had built and armed at his own expense a small fort at Oswego, and then, for the first time, the British flag was seen upon the shores of Lake Ontario. The French and the Six Nations demurred, but the English flag was never struck from that time until 1756, and had floated over a competent garrison and well-armed fortress during that whole period. In the meanwhile, the French had built Fort Niagara, and also Fort Frederick on Lake Champlain. In 1755, Governor Shirley strengthened the post at Oswego. The old fort was a strong stone building, on the west side of the harbor, surrounded by a heavy wall, and flanked by four bastions. Shirley erected another of huge logs on the high eastern bank of the harbor, made a wide and deep ditch and heavy wall around it, and called it Fort Ontario. This new fortification had barracks for three hundred men, and full that number were now in garrison there.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mercer was the commander at Oswego. When he discovered Montcalm, he sent out a brigantine and other armed vessels to keep the French from approaching Oswego by water. The brigantine was driven ashore in a gale, and the heavy guns of the invaders compelled the other vessels to retire. In the meanwhile, the French besieging cannons were transported to within a short distance of Fort Ontario, and Montcalm's motley army pressed steadily through the woods to invest that post. At midnight, on the twelfth of August, trenches were opened under cover of thirty-two pieces of cannon and several mortars and howitzers, and at dawn

the garrison commenced a fire upon the besiegers. All day the contest raged, and ceased not until eleven o'clock at night, when the scanty ammunition of the garrison was exhausted. Perceiving no possibility of longer defending the post, they spiked the guns, and fled across the river at midnight to the old fort, without losing a man.

Montcalm took possession of Fort Ontario on the morning of the fourteenth, and opened a heavy cannonade upon the doomed fortress on the opposite side of the harbor. In the meantime, twenty five hundred Canadians and Indians had crossed the Oswego river by swimming, and cut off all communication between its mouth and Fort George, a small stockade four miles above, commanded by Colonel Schuyler. The English at Oswego could now make but little resistance. At eight o'clock a round shot killed Colonel Mercer, and at ten a white flag, in token of submission, was hoisted upon the walls of Fort Oswego, and the drums of the garrison beat a *chamade*, or parley.* A capitulation was soon agreed upon. The terms were honorable to both parties. The English were to be exempted from plunder, treated with humanity, and conducted in safety to Montreal. "They shall be shown all the regard the politest nation can show," said Montcalm; and he added—"The English are an enemy to be esteemed, and none but a brave nation would have thought of defending so weak a place so long."† About sixteen hundred brave Englishmen, of the regiments of Shirley and Pepperell, became prisoners-of-war; and a large quantity of arms, ammunition, and stores, with vessels in the harbor, passed into the hands of the French.

Montcalm immediately demolished the forts at Oswego. For thirty years the English flag, floating over an armed trading-station, had been an object of uneasiness to the Six Nations. Montcalm knew this, and, with the policy of a sagacious mind, he swept every vestige of English power from the country of the Iroquois con-

* Montcalm's despatch.

† Graham says that Montcalm was faithless; that he "instantly delivered up twenty of his prisoners to the Indians who accompanied him, as victims to their vengeance for an equal number of their own race who had perished in the siege." He adds that almost all of the prisoners were plundered, many were scalped, and some murdered. — Colonial History of the United States, ii., 259.

federacy. With his prisoners and followers he went down Ontario and the St. Lawrence, leaving the Indians in full possession of their domain. This act caused the Six Nations to become neutral; and ere long four members of the confederacy—the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas—were wholly seduced from the British interest by French emissaries.

The capture and destruction of Oswego alarmed the English commander, and all aggressive movements were suspended. The plans of Lord Loudoun, if he had any definite ones, were all thrown into confusion; and, after a season of indolence and indecision, he ordered an abandonment of the proposed expedition against Crown Point. Finally, the provincials were disbanded and sent home, the regulars were placed in winter quarters, and the French were allowed to proceed in the erection of Fort Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain, without molestation. Small garrisons were placed in Forts Edward and William Henry, and a thousand regulars were marched to New York and quartered gratuitously upon the inhabitants. The projected expedition up the Kennebec terminated in a mere exploration of the country by a harmless scout; the enterprise against Fort Duquesne, as we have seen, was not carried into effect; and the inefficiency of British commanders, reflecting the imbecility of the imperial government at that time, interfered with the wiser counsels and zealous aspirations of the provincials, defeated every cherished purpose of the campaign, and brought disgrace upon the English name.

CHAPTER XXIV.

WASHINGTON MISREPRESENTED — DINWIDDIE'S FEARS — WASHINGTON'S LETTER TO LORD LOUDOUN — HE ATTENDS THE COUNCIL AT PHILADELPHIA — HIS DISAPPOINTMENT — CHARACTER OF LORD LOUDOUN — WASHINGTON RETURNS TO WINCHESTER — HIS DISGUST WITH THE SERVICE — IS PLACED UNDER THE COMMAND OF COLONEL STANWIX — STILL ANNOYED BY THE GOVERNOR — DINWIDDIE'S DISCOURTESY AND WASHINGTON'S DIGNITY — A SLANDER REPELLED — THE REGIMENT WEAKENED — DISTRESS OF THE INHABITANTS — WASHINGTON'S FAILING HEALTH — HE RETIRES TO MOUNT VERNON — LONG SICKNESS — DEPARTURE OF DINWIDDIE.

WE have already noticed the order of Loudoun respecting Fort Cumberland, which contained an implied censure of Washington. That young commander felt it keenly, and was satisfied that misrepresentations had been made to his lordship. Late in December, he wrote to Dinwiddie: "I have read that paragraph in Lord Loudoun's letter, which you were pleased to send me, over and over again, but am unable to comprehend its meaning. I see with much regret, that he seems to have prejudged my proceedings, without being thoroughly informed of the springs and motives that actuated my conduct. How far I have mistaken the means to recommend my services, I know not; but I am certain of this, that no man ever intended better, or studied the interests of my country with more zeal, than I have done; and nothing gives me greater uneasiness and concern than that his lordship should have imbibed prejudices so unfavorable to my character, as to excite his belief that I was capable of doing anything 'that will have a bad effect as to the Dominion,* and no good appearance at home.'" In this letter,

* "The Dominion" was a term frequently applied to Virginia in colonial times, and we now hear it called "The Old Dominion." This term originated in the fact that Governor Berkeley, in 1660, on hearing of the probable restoration of Charles the Second to the throne of his father, proclaimed him king of England, Scotland, France, Ireland, and *Virginia*. Charles was therefore made king, in Virginia, by the supreme authorities of the colony, before he actually became so in

Washington expressed a desire to see Lord Loudoun as early as possible, and repeated his request for permission to meet his lordship at Alexandria, on the occasion of his expected visit to Virginia. To this the governor was averse, for he evidently felt a consciousness of guilt, and a fear that his own hand would be chiefly and palpably seen in the work of misrepresentation. For this reason he sought to apply a palliative to soothe the feelings of the injured young soldier. "The paragraph of Lord Loudoun's letter," he wrote to Washington, "was entirely confined to Fort Cumberland; he was afraid you would have evacuated and dismantled that fort before his letter reached me; nor can you think that he either prejudices or has a bad opinion of your conduct."

This half-apologetic and suspicious answer did not satisfy Washington, and he determined to seek an opportunity of placing everything pertaining to his command in a proper light before the earl. Having been informed that his lordship had appointed a meeting with several of the southern governors, to be held at Philadelphia in March, 1757, to consult about measures for the defence of their respective provinces, he asked permission of Governor Dinwiddie to attend it. Leave was ungraciously given. "I can not perceive," wrote the governor in reply, "what service you can be of, in going there; as the plan concerted will, in course, be communicated to you and the other officers. However, as you seem so earnest to go, I now give you leave." This reply confirmed the suspicions of Washington and his friends that Dinwiddie had made false representations to the earl, and was desirous that they should not meet.

In February, about a month before the appointed meeting, Washington addressed to Lord Loudoun a long and able letter, occupying some fifteen pages of manuscript, in which he gave a brief history of military events in Virginia, and of the part he had acted in them.

England. When the Virginians were informed that Parliament was about to send a fleet to reduce them to submission, they despatched a messenger in a small ship to Charles, then at Breda, in Flanders, to invite him to come over and be king of Virginia. He was on the point of sailing, when he was called to the throne of England. In gratitude to Virginia, he caused the arms of that province to be quartered with those of England, Scotland, and Ireland, as an independent member of the empire. From this circumstance, Virginia received the name of "The Dominion." Coins with these quarterings were made as late as 1773.

This letter was a lucid exposition of affairs; concise yet perspicuous, modest yet dignified. After giving a narrative of events, he proceeded to point out the serious defects of the militia system, the confusion which its practical operations engendered, and the total inadequacy of the policy pursued by the Virginia government to restore peace and security to the frontiers. He then spoke modestly of himself, his services and his grievances. He mentioned the ambiguity of the governor's orders, and the uncertainty in which he was frequently left, concerning very important matters, while he was held responsible for "consequences, and blamed without the privilege of defence."—"This, my lord," he said, "I beg leave to declare, is at present my situation. Therefore it is not to be wondered at, if, under such peculiar circumstances, I should be sick of a service which promises so little of a soldier's reward. I have long been satisfied of the impossibility of remaining in this service, without loss of honor. Indeed, I was fully convinced of it before I accepted the command a second time, seeing the cloudy prospect before me; and I did, for this reason, reject the offer, until I was ashamed any longer to refuse, not caring to expose my character to public censure. The solicitations of the country* overcame my objections, and induced me to accept it."

"Another reason," continued Washington, "has of late operated to continue me in the service until now, and that is, the dawn of hope that arose, when I heard your lordship was destined by his majesty for the important command of his armies in America, and appointed to the government of his dominion of Virginia. Hence it was, that I drew my hopes, and fondly pronounced your lordship our patron." After mentioning the delay of the Virginia authorities in making a promised and much-needed reorganization of the military establishment, and the assurances of preferment made to him by General Braddock, Washington continued: "I do not know, my lord, in what light this short and disinterested relation may be received; but it is offered with the utmost candor and submission.

* In this connection, as in several other letters of Washington from which we have quoted, the word "country" signifies the members of the Virginia assembly.

It contains no misrepresentations, nor aggravated statements of facts, nor unjust reflections. Virginia is a country young in war, and, until the breaking out of these disturbances, has remained in the most profound and tranquil peace, never studying war nor warfare. It is not therefore to be imagined, that she can fall into the proper measures at once. All that can be expected at her hands, she cheerfully offers—the sinews of war—and these only want your lordship's ability and experience to be properly applied and directed."

This able letter, which exhibited the developing germs of a sagacious statesman and skilful soldier, was an influential herald of the young commander's appearance before the earl of Loudoun. It reached the earl, at New York, on the twenty-seventh of February, and his secretary, in acknowledging the receipt of it, wrote—"His lordship seems very much pleased with the accounts you have given him of the situation of affairs to the southward." Washington was present at the council held in Philadelphia a little later, when he was very graciously received by Lord Loudoun. The southern governors, too, who were present, and who were familiar with his character and services, treated him with marked respect; and Dr. Franklin and his friends cordially welcomed the noble young Virginian among them.

Lord Loudoun consulted Washington concerning the future disposition of the forces on the frontiers of the southern colonies, and seemed to attach more weight to his opinions on military affairs than to those of any one present. Yet his wishes for the equitable organization of his regiment, so as to have it on the same footing as the regular army, and the desire to have his own and his officers' commissions given by the king, were not gratified. Nor were his cherished plans and earnest recommendations for an invasion of the enemy's country, especially in the direction of Fort Duquesne, considered favorably. But his views in regard to Fort Cumberland—that bone of contention between himself and the governor—were adopted; and it was agreed that that post should be garrisoned by Maryland forces, and that the Virginia troops, provisions, and stores, should be removed to Fort Loudoun.

Washington experienced great disappointment in his personal interview with Lord Loudoun, and he went back to Virginia with a heavy heart. At the close of that interview, instead of regarding his lordship as the destined savior of the colonies, he was constrained to feel that their cause, in such keeping, was a hopeless one. In this feeling the best men in America sympathized with him. Already Loudoun's conduct at New York, and in the council composed of the governors of Nova Scotia and the New England provinces, which was held at Boston in January, had provoked the contempt, jealousy, and disgust, of the colonists. He was imperious and undignified; always hurried and hurrying others, yet making little progress in the despatch of business; quick, and forward to project and threaten, but infirm, remiss, and mutable, in pursuit and execution; impotent against the enemy he was sent to vanquish, and formidable only to the spirit of liberty which pervaded the colonies, and which he could not appreciate.* "He is like St. George upon a sign-post," said a gentleman to Franklin—"always on horseback, but never advancing." Afterward, in referring to Loudoun and his operations, Franklin said: "On the whole, I wondered much how such a man came to be intrusted with so important a business as the conduct of a great army; but having since seen more of the great world, and the means of obtaining and motives for giving places and employments, my wonder is diminished."†

Washington returned to Winchester, from the conference at Philadelphia, and resumed his duties, but not without feelings of regret that such unwise counsels controlled the affairs of his country. Confined to comparatively inactive service without respite, to the serious injury of his private affairs, his situation became irksome in the extreme. In a letter to his kinsman and correspondent in London, written in April, 1757, giving him reasons for long silence, Washington wrote: "I have been posted, then, for twenty months past, upon our cold and barren frontiers, to perform, I think I may say, impossibilities; that is, to protect from the cruel incursions of a

* Graham's Colonial History of the United States, i., 262.

† Memoirs of Benjamin Franklin, written by Himself

crafty, savage enemy, a line of inhabitants more than three hundred and fifty miles in extent, with a force inadequate to the task. By this means I am become, in a manner, an exile."

Although tired and often disgusted with the service, Colonel Washington's love of country and estimate of true honor outweighed all personal considerations, and he remained at his post of duty, faithful and vigilant, until near the close of the year. During all that time, he was continually harassed and perplexed. Refused a position in the regular army, he was nevertheless placed, in a measure, under the commands of Colonel Stanwix, who was stationed in the interior of Pennsylvania with five companies of the Royal American regiment, to defend the frontiers of that colony. But so ambiguous were the instructions of Dinwiddie concerning this relationship to the regular service, that Washington was at a loss to know to what extent he must obey Stanwix rather than the governor of Virginia, when their orders should conflict. Finally, in reply to the urgent request of Washington that he should be explicit, Dinwiddie wrote, in June: "Colonel Stanwix being appointed commander-in-chief of the middle and southern provinces, you must submit to his orders without regard to any you may receive from me; he being nearer the place [Fort Cumberland], can direct affairs better than I can." This letter gave Washington great pleasure. He knew Colonel Stanwix to be a gentleman of culture, urbanity, generosity, and delicacy of feeling; above all, he was an educated military man, and could understand the needs and difficulties of the service in which the young Virginian was engaged.

Washington now fondly hoped to be rid of the vexatious interference of the weak Dinwiddie. But this hope proved fallacious. That functionary seemed to take special delight in annoying Colonel Washington. Notwithstanding his explicit order just quoted, he continued to harass him with despatches which conveyed commands, required returns, or uttered complaints, until the patience of Washington was well-nigh exhausted. Unmanly peevishness and ungenerous censoriousness characterized many of his despatches. At one time he complained that Washington wrote to him "in a

loose manner;" at another, the explicit and earnest recommendations of the young soldier were considered impertinent; and when Washington asked permission, after long and laborious service, to visit Mount Vernon, for the purpose of attending to some private affairs, the reasonable request was peremptorily denied with words of discourtesy that no true gentleman would use. And finally, in the autumn, when Dinwiddie was making preparations to leave the province, and Washington wrote—"I should be glad of liberty to go down to Williamsburg toward the last of this month [October], or first of the next, if nothing should intervene, to settle some accounts with you and the committee, which may not be done in so satisfactory a manner after you are gone"—the unmannerly governor replied: "I can not agree to allow you to come down at this time. You have been frequently indulged with leave of absence. You know the fort is to be finished, and I fear when you are away little will be done; and surely the commanding officer should not be absent when daily alarmed with the enemy's intentions to invade our frontiers, and I think you were wrong in asking it. You have no accounts that I know of to settle with me; and what accounts you may have to settle with the country may be done at a more proper time."

And yet, after having, from the hour of Washington's appointment as commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces, exhibited an unfriendly spirit towards him; had sought to disparage him and drive him into private life, and had harassed him with almost unceasing annoyances in the prosecution of his military duties, Dinwiddie had the effrontery to write: "My conduct to you from the beginning was always friendly; but you knew I had great reason to suspect you of ingratitude, which I am convinced your own conscience and reflection must allow." To this insinuation, Washington replied: "I do not know, that I ever gave your honor cause to suspect me of ingratitude, a crime I detest, and would most carefully avoid. If an open, disinterested behavior causes offence, I may have offended; because I have all along laid it down as a maxim, to represent facts freely and impartially, but not more so to others,

sir, than to you. If instances of my ungrateful behavior had been particularized, I would have answered them. But I have long been convinced, that my actions and their motives have been maliciously misrepresented. . . . To give a more succinct account of affairs," he said, "than I could in writing, was the principal, among many other reasons, that induced me to ask leave to come down. It was not to enjoy a party of pleasure, that I asked leave of absence. I have indulged with few of those, winter or summer." It was in dignified language like this that Washington always replied, even to the most vexatious letters of the governor.

A little earlier than this, Washington received a letter informing him that a slanderer had been at the ear of the governor, and had made coarse and severe reflections upon his veracity and honor. That accuser had asserted that Washington had sent to Williamsburg false reports respecting the alarm of the people, for the purpose of causing the assembly to make large levies in men and money. These slanders, the writer alleged, were believed; and he asserted that Speaker Robinson had declared that "that piece of deceit, or imposition, had lessened the governor's and some of the leading men's esteem for him."

Washington immediately enclosed a copy of the letter to Dinwiddie, and said: "I should take it infinitely kind, if your honor would please to inform me, whether a report of this nature was ever made to you; and in that case, who was the author of it. It is evident, from a variety of circumstances, and especially from the change in your honor's conduct towards me, that some person, as well inclined to detract, but better skilled in the art of detraction, than the author of the above stupid scandal, has made free with my character. For I can not suppose, that malice so absurd, so barefaced, so diametrically opposite to truth, to common policy, and, in short, to everything but villany, as the above is, could impress you with so ill an opinion of my honor and honesty." To this letter the governor replied: "I never heard of it [the slander] before, nor did I ever conceive that you would ever have sent down any alarm without proper foundation." Under other circumstances, this disclaimer

would have been sufficient; but Washington and his friends had just reason to believe that the governor was utterly insincere.

In addition to these vexations, Colonel Washington was made to feel keenly his impotence as the defender of his country, because of a lack of means. Instead of having been strengthened, as the danger appeared more formidable, he had been weakened. The convention at Philadelphia decided to draw four hundred men from Washington's regiment for the protection of the frontiers of the more southern colonies, then menaced by a cloud of excited savages among whom French emissaries had been for some time working with success. And this weakening of his regiment was done at a time when the French and Indians in the Ohio region were again in motion, and threatening the inhabitants west of the Blue Ridge with a repetition of former horrors. During the latter part of the summer, and until late in autumn, the settlements along the Virginia frontiers were continually excited by a sense of impending danger.

At that time, Washington with his reduced regiment could have easily captured Fort Duquesne, and established peace and security on the western borders of his province, for the garrison had been weakened by large drafts for the defence of the Canadian frontier, and many of the Indians were upon the war-path in the North. But Washington's urgent advice in the matter was unheeded; and the savages, emboldened by the inactivity in Virginia and Pennsylvania, were continually breaking into and plundering the more remote settlements. The provisions for defensive measures were inadequate. "I do not know," Washington wrote to Speaker Robinson, in October, "on whom these miserable, undone people, are to rely for protection. If the assembly are to give it to them, it is time that measures were at least concerting, and not when they ought to be going into execution, as has always been the case. If they are to seek it from the commander-in-chief, it is time their condition was made known to him; for I can not forbear repeating again, that while we pursue defensive measures we pursue inevitable ruin, the loss of the country being the inevitable and fatal con-

sequence. There will be no end to our troubles, while we follow this plan, and every year will increase our expense. This, my dear sir, I urge not only as an officer, but as a friend, who has property in the country, and is unwilling to lose it. This it is, also, that makes me anxious for doing more than barely to represent these matters, which is all that is expected of an officer commanding." To Colonel Stanwix he wrote: "I exert every means in my power to protect a much-distressed country, but it is a task too arduous. To think of defending a frontier of more than three hundred and fifty miles' extent, with only seven hundred men, is vain and idle, especially when that frontier lies more contiguous to the enemy than any other. I am, and have for a long time been, fully convinced, that, if we continue to pursue a defensive plan, the country must be inevitably lost." But Colonel Stanwix had no power to order an invasion, and Washington was left to protect the inhabitants as well as he could with his feeble force.

The hardships he had endured, the vexations he had experienced at the hands of Dinwiddie, and the incessant toils and anxieties to which he was subjected, now seriously affected the spirits and bodily health of Colonel Washington. To his friend Robinson he complained, toward the close of October, and it was evident that he contemplated a resignation of his commission. The speaker, in reply, after alluding to the expected departure of the governor, said: "Till that event, I beg, my dear friend, that you will bear, so far as a man of honor ought, the discouragements and slights you have so often met with, and continue to serve your country, as I am convinced you have always hitherto done, in the best manner you can with the small assistance afforded you."

Whatever may have been the desires of Colonel Washington to continue in the service at that critical time, when he knew that the inhabitants of the frontier rested their hopes of protection upon his leadership, he was compelled to go home early in November. He had suffered from dysentery for some time, and now his malady alarmingly increased. His physician and friend, Doctor Craik—his companion-in-arms in the dreadful battle on the Monongahela, and

the attendant at his death-bed forty-four years later—warned him that his life was in danger, and that rest and quiet alone would preserve it. Under these circumstances he proceeded to Mount Vernon, where his disease settled into a fever which confined him four months.

In the meanwhile, the administration of Governor Dinwiddie* came to an end, and he sailed for England in January, 1758, leaving behind him an unenviable name. He was arrogant and narrow-minded; and his large acquisitiveness made him not only sordid and extortionate, but dishonest in the use of the public money committed to his care.† The contrast between this haughty official of the crown, and the Virginia colonel called into service by the popular voice, was palpable to every unprejudiced mind; and while few pleasant thoughts went after Dinwiddie upon the stormy ocean, from a thousand Virginia homes fervent prayers ascended to the throne of God in behalf of the admired and beloved young Washington, who was suffering in his quiet retreat upon the banks of the Potomac.

* Governor Dinwiddie died in 1770, at the age of eighty years.

† He was charged with applying to his own use twenty thousand pounds sterling, sent to defray the expenses of Virginia for the public service.

CHAPTER XXV.

LORD LOUDOUN'S OFFENSIVE SPEECH AT BOSTON — ASSEMBLING OF TROOPS AT NEW YORK — EXPEDITION AGAINST LOUISBURG — THE PROVINCIAL TROOPS IN GARRISON — AN EMBARGO AND ITS EFFECTS — DEPARTURE FOR THE EAST — DELAY AT HALIFAX — EXPEDITION ABANDONED — SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF FORT WILLIAM HENRY — GENERAL ALARM — RECALL OF LOUDOUN — WILLIAM PITT AND HIS MEASURES — RESPONSE IN THE COLONIES — WASHINGTON'S RECOVERY — RESUMPTION OF DUTIES — DELAYS AND DANGERS — GENERAL FORBES — INDIAN DEPREDACTIONS — FORWARD MOVEMENT.

WE must now take a brief retrospection of events apart from the theatre upon which Washington was an immediate and prominent actor, that we may possess a clear understanding of his character and services; for these events, forming a part of the history of his times, have an important relation thereto. We have already done so. in the course of our narrative, and shall continue to do so, when circumstances may seem to require it.

We have referred to a council which was held at Boston in January, 1757, composed of Lord Loudoun and the governors of Nova Scotia and of the New England provinces. In that council the earl made a speech full of insolent insinuations and false and absurd assertions. He magnified the services of the English officers and soldiery, and diminished those of the colonies; and he had the effrontery to ascribe the public safety to the regulars, and all of the recent successes of the French to the bad conduct of the American troops or the colonial governments. This was said at a time when his own imbecile conduct, and the disgraceful defeats of the English commanders and troops, were causes for universal and anxious concern throughout the colonies. That speech created much indignation, but the murmurs it excited were soon silenced because of the moderation of his requirements. He asked of all New England only

four thousand troops for the ensuing campaign, and an equal number from New York and New Jersey.

With the foolish display congenial to small minds, Loudoun drew a curtain of mystery around his plans, when there was no occasion for concealment from those who were to co-operate with him; and when he required the New England troops to assemble at New York, there to be joined by those of the other two provinces, he condescended to reveal only the fact that they were to be conducted by him to an enterprise of great importance. These levies were speedily raised, and early in the spring of 1757 his lordship found himself at the head of more than six thousand provincial troops, all animated by the hope and expectation of being led against the French on Lake Champlain, and perhaps to an invasion of Canada. But they were doomed to bitter disappointment.

We have seen how Washington's urgent recommendation to attack Fort Duquesne was unheeded. Loudoun had resolved to make the campaign a defensive one, so far as the western and southern frontiers were concerned, and to gather upon his own brow all the laurels of aggressive warfare. And the same policy was adopted in regard to the northern frontier. If the earl originally contemplated an expedition against the French in the North, it was not avowed, and the idea was abandoned; and, to the amazement and deep regret of the wisest and best men in the colonies, he finally resolved, late in summer, and after a great deal of senseless bustle, upon an expedition against Louisburg, on the island of Cape Breton, in the far East. He appears to have had such an expedition in contemplation for some time, but his determination was not fixed until he heard of the departure from England, for Halifax, of a powerful squadron under Admiral Holborne and Commodore Holnes, bearing five or six thousand English troops commanded by George, Viscount Howe.

The provincial troops who were assembled at New York on the first of June, instead of being "conducted to an expedition of importance," were ordered to the North, and were placed in garrison at Forts Edward and William Henry for the security of the frontier

in that direction. Then, without an object that was apparent to the public, Loudoun laid an embargo on all the ships in North American ports, to the great injury of the merchant, the planter, and the laborer. He thought, by this means, to prevent intelligence of his intended expedition against Louisburg reaching the French; forgetting, or not knowing, that such intelligence was generally communicated by the swift Indian couriers, against whom he could make no provision except celerity of movement. Another object was to prevent exportation, and thus make provisions abundant and cheap for the supply of the army and navy. That effect was realized. The crops of cereals that year were wonderfully abundant in America, and grain became a drug in the colonies; while England, then in dread of famine, was deprived of relief from that source.* No one was benefited by this ill-judged and ill-timed embargo but the contractors who supplied the army and navy with flour. These put immense sums of money into their pockets, and in their profits Loudoun no doubt shared.

Having been reinforced from England, Lord Loudoun sailed for Halifax, early in July, with six thousand regular troops. There he was joined by the fleet of Holborne and the army of Howe. Instead of pressing forward to the attack upon Louisburg, the earl, with his usual procrastination, landed at Halifax, laid out a parade, planted a vegetable garden, and exercised his fine army in mock battles and sieges. "When August came," says Bancroft,† "and the spirit of the army was broken, and Charles Lee,‡ a subaltern, grew frantic with indignation at the general's imbecility, and Lord Charles Hay, a major-general, expressed contempt so loudly as to be arrested,|| the troops were embarked as if for Louisburg." But alarm for Loudoun had come upon the wings of the wind. Reconnoitring-vessels brought intelligence that, while he was loitering at Halifax, Admiral De Bois de la Mothe had arrived at Louisburg with one ship more

* Entick's General History of the Late War—London, 1763, ii., 391.

† History of the United States, iv., 258.

‡ A major-general in the continental army, under Washington, twenty years later.

|| Lord Charles Hay said that Loudoun was "keeping the courage of his majesty's soldiers at bay, and expending the nation's wealth in planting cabbages, when they ought to have been fighting the enemies of their king and country, in reality."—Entick, ii., 392

than the English fleet numbered, and a strong land force.* The garrison there was said to be much stronger than was anticipated; and Loudoun, fearing defeat, turned his back upon the French, and sailed for New York. He arrived there at the close of August, to hear of defeat and disgrace on the northern frontier, the result of his own ignorance and utter unskilfulness.

When the vigilant Montcalm heard of Loudoun's departure from New York, he left Montreal with a few followers, and hastened toward Ticonderoga. He sent out subalterns and Indian runners in every direction to gather the scattered Canadians and roving savages, and toward the close of July he was at the head of an army of almost nine thousand men, including the garrisons of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. With these, and a heavy train of artillery, he marched to the siege of Fort William Henry, at the head of Lake George. A like undertaking, on St. Patrick's day, a few months before, had failed; now, the promises of success were abundant.

Fort William Henry was garrisoned by three thousand provincial troops, commanded by Colonel George Monro, a brave old English officer, who felt strengthened in his position by the close proximity of his chief-in-command, General Webb, who was at the head of more than four thousand troops at Fort Edward, only fifteen miles distant. But his confidence in his commanding general was sadly misplaced. On the first of August, the French came up the lake, a part in a fleet of boats and swarms of Indian canoes, and a part on foot along its rugged shores; and two days afterward, when all was ready for a siege, the instant surrender of Fort William Henry was demanded by Montcalm. Colonel Monro boldly refused, for he knew the mettle of his own men, and had sent an express to General Webb for relief. Then the huge cannons of the besiegers dealt heavy blows upon the weak fortress. Monro still refused submission. For five successive days the veteran withstood the attack, with apparently undiminished strength, and every hour he expected

* Entick (ii., 392) says that a French packet, bearing an exaggerated account of the strength of Louisburg, threw itself in the way of the English fleet, was captured, and thus Loudoun's information was obtained.

to see, upon the adjacent hills, strong reinforcements from the camp of Webb. But they came not. His cowardly chief, overrating the forces of the enemy, not only withheld all succor, but sent Monro a letter, advising him to surrender.

Webb's letter was intercepted by Montcalm at the moment when that general was about to abandon the siege and return to Ticonderoga. He sent it to Monro, with a peremptory order for him to surrender immediately. The gallant veteran fought on, until his cannons were nearly all disabled, and his ammunition spent; and then, perceiving no hope of relief from Fort Edward, he hung out a flag of truce. A capitulation was soon agreed upon. Admiring the valor of Monro, the French commander offered him very honorable terms, and promised a safe escort for his army to Fort Edward. But he promised more than he could perform. The Indians thirsted for blood and coveted plunder, and, being two thousand strong, they could not be restrained. When the English had left the fort, and had entered the forests, the savages fell upon them with great fury, slaughtered a large number, plundered their baggage, and pursued them to within cannon-shot of Fort Edward. Montcalm afterward asserted that he beheld this massacre with grief, but he could do nothing.* When the garrison had all disappeared, and the Indians came back from their foray upon them, he demolished the fort with blows and fire, and hastened back to Ticonderoga, a complete victor. The fort was never rebuilt, and its site is now occupied by a public house for the accommodation of summer visitors.

This deadly blow, when there was no army to face the enemy, filled every mind with fear for the common safety. Nothing but the hopes of success at Louisburg appeared to keep up the spirits of the Americans; and when the fate of that expedition was known, the very existence of the English colonies, menaced as they were upon every hand, seemed to be imperiled. "God only knows where

* It is hard to believe that a commander so eminent for his humanity and many virtues, should have left any effort unused to prevent the massacre and plunder of men who relied upon his solemn promises for protection. Historians of that day say that he had promised the Indians plenty of plunder, and found himself compelled to fulfil these promises. Their accounts of the cruelties of the Indians — their massacre of women and children — are truly dreadful. About fifteen hundred persons, in all, were murdered

this will end," wrote a prominent citizen of New York, in August; "the French execute almost everything they attempt; we neither execute nor attempt anything but noise and a prohibition to the printers to tell the world what they will and do not know without their information."

With the return of Loudoun's expedition from the East, all active military operations ceased, and the colonists stood in the attitude of defence, only, for the remainder of the year. "Such was the inglorious campaign of the year 1757, in North America," says a contemporary English historian*—"a campaign which, by the preparations made for it, promised a total ruin to the enemy; but which, by procrastination in England, and mismanagement in America, left the security of our provinces and the interests of our allies in a much worse situation than they were in the foregoing year."

Let us now turn to the invalid at Mount Vernon. Although Colonel Washington was suffering severely at the time, brighter prospects opened for him as well as for his country, with the dawn of 1758. The imbecile Loudoun, too much engaged in military affairs to assume the duties of civil government, had never offended Virginia by his presence as her chief magistrate; and after making himself ridiculous and odious in New England by a collision with the government of Massachusetts, which refused to quail before his official frowns, he was recalled, and was superseded in command by his lieutenant, General Abercrombie. This was a part of the first fruits of the salutary change in administrative affairs which had recently occurred in England. Mortified by the disgraces which had fallen upon the British name by successive failures in arms and diplomacy, the spirit of the nation had been for some time kindling. Finally, the people spoke with power. Disgusted with a weak ministry, and perceiving the palpable decline of Britain's puissance under the management of inefficient and corrupt members of the aristocracy, they resolved that the control of public affairs should be directed by wiser heads and more active hands.

For a long time, William Pitt, the greatest commoner in England,

* Entick.

had bravely combated, with his powerful rhetoric and majestic eloquence, the policy of the government; and every thoughtful man in Britain had learned to admire his real greatness, and to love him for his genuine patriotism. Therefore, contrary to the wishes of the king who feared his inflexible virtue, and the intrigues of powerful placemen who felt dwarfed by his superior genius, he was, in compliance with the irresistible will of the nation, placed at the head of the British ministry. He had received this appointment in the spring of the preceding year, was dismissed at the close of May, and now, in the autumn, he was reinstated in it more firmly than before. His elevation was hailed with enthusiastic delight as an omen of good for the realm. "Assuming power, he bent all factions to his authoritative will."*

American affairs engaged Pitt's earliest attention, and he resolved to prosecute the war there against the French with great vigor. Lord Loudoun was recalled, because the prime minister "could never ascertain what he was doing;" and better and braver generals than Abercrombie were appointed to the command of separate expeditions. Pitt arranged the plan of the campaign of 1758 with consummate skill and remarkable forecast. Three expeditions were proposed: the first against Louisburg and the French generally in the East; the second against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the third against Fort Duquesne.

On the thirtieth of December, 1757, Pitt wrote a circular letter to the governors of Pennsylvania and the southern colonies, requesting a hearty co-operation from their respective governments in aid of General Forbes, who had been appointed to the command of the expedition against Fort Duquesne. He agreed to provide the colonial troops, that might be raised for this purpose, with arms, ammunition, tents, and provisions, in the same manner as the regular forces, at the expense of the imperial government; leaving the colonies to bear only the charge of recruiting, clothing, and paying the men. The governors were also authorized to issue commissions to all provincial officers, from colonel downward; and these were to

* Bancroft, iv., 275.

hold rank, in the allied army of regulars and provincials, according to their commissions.

These liberal and enlightened measures excited much enthusiasm in America, and the heart of Washington was made exceeding glad by the prospect of having his long-cherished plans for the invasion of the Ohio country speedily consummated. Weak and feeble as he was at the close of January, he resolved to go to Williamsburg to settle his accounts with the committee and prepare for the campaign. He advised Mr. Blair, the president of the council, who was acting governor after the departure of Dinwiddie, of his intention; and for that purpose he left Fredericksburg, where he was tarrying with his mother. But, on the twentieth of February, he was compelled to write to President Blair: "I set out for Williamsburg, the day after the date of my letter, but found I was unable to proceed, my fever and pain increasing upon me to a high degree; and the physicians assured me, that I might endanger my life by prosecuting the journey." Twelve days afterward he wrote to Colonel Stanwix, from Mount Vernon: "I have never been able to return to my command, since I wrote to you last, my disorder at times returning obstinately upon me, in spite of the efforts of all the sons of *Æsculapius* whom I have hitherto consulted. At certain periods, I have been reduced to great extremity, and have now too much reason to apprehend an approaching decay, being visited with several symptoms of such a disease. I am at this time under a strict regimen, and shall set out to-morrow for Williamsburg, to receive the advice of the best physicians there. My constitution is much impaired, and nothing can retrieve it, but the greatest care and the most circumspect course of life. This being the case, as I have now no prospect left of preferment in the military way, and despair of rendering that immediate service which my country may require from the person commanding its troops, I have thoughts of quitting my command, and retiring from all public business, leaving my post to be filled by some other person more capable of the task, and who may, perhaps, have his endeavors crowned with better success than mine have been."

From this time, Colonel Washington's health steadily improved. He visited Williamsburg, as he proposed, settled all of his accounts with the committee, held personal conferences with many of the leading men of Virginia, who were in attendance upon the assembly then in session, and in the first week in April he returned to his command at Fort Loudoun. The assembly, in the meanwhile, had promptly responded to the wishes of Minister Pitt. It authorized an augmentation of the forces of the colony to two thousand men; offered the tempting bounty of ten pounds for every new recruit, and made provisions for a company of rangers. The troops were formed into two regiments, the first of which was placed under the command of Colonel Washington, and the second under Colonel William Byrd, of Westover, who had been appointed one of the commissioners to treat with the southern Indians toward the close of 1755. These troops were all to be placed under the direction of Brigadier-General Forbes, the commander-in-chief of the middle and southern division of his majesty's forces. The fond hopes of Washington now appeared on the point of realization, and, breathing freer in the atmosphere of pleasant anticipations by which he was surrounded, he forgot all of his past disappointments and vexations. In fact, his spirits were uncommonly exuberant. To Major Halket, his companion-in-arms at Braddock's defeat, who was now the aid of General Forbes, he wrote on the twelfth of April, in a strain that exhibited his joyful emotions: "My dear Halket," he said, "are we to have you once more among us? And shall we revisit together a hapless spot, that proved so fatal to many of our former brave companions? Yes; and I rejoice at it, hoping it will now be in our power to testify a just abhorrence of the cruel butcheries exercised on our friends, in the unfortunate day of General Braddock's defeat; and moreover, to show our enemies that we can practise all that lenity of which they only boast, without affording any adequate proofs."

At the beginning of April, Colonel Stanwix was commissioned a brigadier-general, and was ordered to take post in the Indian country between the upper waters of the Mohawk river and Oneida lake.

and erect a fort there. In a letter to that officer, written on the tenth of April, after congratulating him upon his promotion, Washington made the modest request that he might be "mentioned in favorable terms" to General Forbes; "not," he said, "as a person who would depend upon him for further recommendation to military preferment" (for he served in the campaign merely for the purpose of using his best endeavors to bring matters to a conclusion), "but as a person who would gladly be distinguished in some measure from the *common run* of provincial officers;" adding—"I understand there will be a motley herd of us." General Stanwix was glad to find an opportunity to speak favorably of an officer so meritorious; and General Forbes, who was fully informed concerning the skill and gallantry which Washington had displayed on the day when Braddock fell, was very desirous of securing his counsels. In the campaign that ensued, Washington enjoyed the fullest confidence of that officer.

April was passing rapidly away, and yet Washington saw few actual preparations for the expedition against Fort Duquesne. Remembering the disastrous results of procrastination in previous years, he became impatient; and, on the twenty-third of April, he wrote to General Forbes, then at Philadelphia, and urged an early campaign, giving, as one special reason for its necessity, the fact that seven hundred friendly Indians were then in readiness to accompany such expedition. He knew that the approach of the planting season would make them restiff, and that delay might cause the loss of their services. But his urgent recommendations were in vain. General Forbes moved slowly; and his excessive caution and strict method became actual incapacity for the important service in which he was engaged.

Confiding implicitly in Washington's judgment and discretion, the president of the Virginia council had, in the meanwhile, given him unrestricted power to draft the militia, with whom the forts were to be garrisoned while the regular troops were on the proposed expedition. This commission he accepted unwillingly, and thus early did he instinctively control that strong passion, the love of power

which was a marked trait in his character through life. He well knew that he must often appear as an oppressor to his countrymen, and he was unwilling to face the discontents which even the most judicious exercise of this power would certainly engender. Yet he shrunk not from the performance of his duty, and commenced the task.

The Virginia assembly was very tardy in its movements, and the delay of the civil authority gave Washington much concern. He found himself obliged not only to perform arduous military duties, but to suggest to the provincial government the proper modes of proceeding in relation to the army. The forces which he was assembling were sadly in want of arms, tents, field-equipage, and ammunition. He had made frequent representations, by letter, of the destitute condition of the Virginia troops, and the necessity of prompt action, but without avail. Finally, late in May, he went down to Williamsburg, by the express order of Sir John St. Clair, General Forbes's quartermaster-general, for the purpose of enlightening the government. While there, he addressed quite a long letter to the president of the council, in which he laid before him all necessary information touching the wants of the public service in connection with military affairs. Having thus discharged his duty, he added: "I must now conclude by once more begging that your honor will hasten some speedy determination on these several matters. From what Sir John St. Clair has written, from my orders, and from the statements here made, I conceive it must sufficiently appear, that the greatest despatch is necessary. The success of our expedition will, in a manner, depend on its early commencement. Every delay, therefore, may be attended with pernicious consequences."

These anticipations of pernicious consequences were speedily realized. The civil authorities remained strangely apathetic, when the very existence of the Virginia colony depended upon quick and vigorous action. Emboldened by the delay, a large body of French and Indians came from the Ohio, broke into the settlements in Augusta county, murdered threescore persons, ravaged the whole

region, and recrossed the Alleghanies with plunder, prisoners, and scalps, before the troops could be assembled to oppose them. The Cherokees, who had been induced to join the expedition, by promises of rich presents from the king and plunder from the enemy, grew weary of waiting; and at length, informed that much more delay was probable, they departed in great ill-humor, but promising to return at a proper time. The troops which, for some time. Colonel Washington had been collecting and training at Winchester, became disorderly, for idleness was constantly breeding mischief. The people, who were compelled to provide food for them, began to murmur because of the heavy burden imposed; and Washington was on the point of going down to Williamsburg to confer with Governor Fauquier, who arrived from England in June, when he received with joy an order to march his regiment from Winchester to Fort Cumberland. This was the first forward movement in the invasion.

While these preparations had been slowly progressing, the expeditions against Louisburg and the fortresses on Lake Champlain had been advancing. As these had ended while the army under General Forbes was yet eastward of the Alleghanies and had accomplished almost nothing, we will here leave the expedition against Fort Duquesne for awhile, and take a brief view of stirring events in the North and East, for they have a mutual relationship of great importance.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GATHERING OF PROVINCIAL TROOPS—SACRIFICES OF THE PEOPLE—COMPARISON OF THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH—SECOND EXPEDITION AGAINST LOUISBURG—BRAVERY OF WOLFE—THE SIEGE AND CAPITULATION—EFFECTS OF THE TRIUMPH—EXPEDITION AGAINST TICONDEROGA AND CROWN POINT—ABERCROMBIE AT LAKE GEORGE—NIGHT-VOYAGE ON THE LAKE—SKIRMISHES, AND DEATH OF LORD HOWE—ATTACK ON TICONDEROGA—IMPULSE OF THE ENGLISH—BRADSTREET'S EXPEDITION AGAINST FRONTENAC.

DETERMINED to strike a deadly blow at the root of troubles in America, instead of gently lopping off the branches, Pitt, in arranging the campaign of 1758, contemplated the conquest of Canada, and the utter demolition of French dominion in the New World. For these purposes ample preparations were made. The liberal promises of the prime minister elicited a corresponding liberality on the part of the colonists. In every province where requisition was made, men came forward in abundance, ready to bear arms; and the people, filled with enthusiasm, submitted to taxation—enormous taxation in some instances—with cheerfulness. In Boston, individual merchants paid taxes that year to the amount of two thousand dollars; and Massachusetts, alone, made advances in the aggregate of not less than a million of dollars. The tax on real estate in that province was equal to two thirds of the whole income; and not less than seven thousand men were raised there for the army.

From Virginia northward each province raised ample supplies of men and money. The Royal American regiment, sent to protect the Carolinas, was recalled, to co-operate with the provincials. Large reinforcements of regular troops came from England; and when he was ready for action, Abercrombie had fifty thousand men at his disposal. Of these, twenty-two thousand were regulars, and

the remainder were provincials. The French were much weaker, in men and means. The whole male population of Canada, able to bear arms, did not exceed twenty thousand, while the regular troops numbered not more than five thousand. Tillage having been curtailed by the employment of cultivators in the ranks of the army, Canada was menaced with famine that year. But the French had strong and numerous allies among the Indian tribes, and active and skilful military leaders.

The first blow struck by the English fell upon Louisburg. For that purpose, large preparations had been made. Major-General Sir Jeffery Amherst, a soldier of well-earned distinction, who had been in military service ever since his fourteenth year, was the commander-in-chief of the expedition. He arrived at Halifax, near the close of May, with more than thirteen thousand well-disciplined troops. His second in command was Brigadier-General James Wolfe, a young man of less than two-and-thirty years, but having had eighteen years of military experience. This army, well officered and supplied, was borne by a fleet of twenty-two ships-of-the-line and fifteen frigates, commanded by Admiral Boscawen, then in the maturity of manhood's prime, and honored for his skill and experience in naval warfare. With such preparations and such materials, the English commanders felt confident of victory; and Boscawen remarked, when told at Halifax that several French men-of-war and transports had gone into the harbor of Louisburg: "I am glad of it; if all the fleet of France goes in, I will follow them; there is room enough for us all;—the more we find there, the more captures we will make."* This was no idle boast.

The English left Halifax on the twenty-eighth of May, and on the second of June the fleet anchored in Gabarus bay, a few miles from Louisburg. Behind strong outworks and in the main fortress which

* Knox's *Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America, for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760*: i., 134. The Honorable Edward Boscawen was the third son of Hugh, first Viscount Falmouth. He was made admiral of the blue in February, 1758, and appointed to command the naval forces sent to America. He had already distinguished himself at the taking of Porto Bello, at Carthage, and at the engagement with the French fleet off Cape Finisterre. He died of a fever, in 1761, in his fiftieth year.

guarded the doomed town, were twenty-five hundred French regulars and six or seven hundred Canadian militia and Indians, under the command of the experienced and brave Chevalier de Drucour. In the harbor were five French ships-of-the-line and five frigates, three of the latter being sunken at the entrance to the basin, to prevent the ingress of Boscawen's vessels. For a week after the arrival of the English, a heavy storm of wind swept along the coast, and the surf dashed so violently upon the rocky shore, that no boat could reach it without encountering fearful perils. At length the intrepid Wolfe, becoming impatient, obtained permission to attempt landing with a strong detachment, to attack the French outworks. After a fierce struggle with the waves, the young leader and his followers landed before dawn on the morning of the eighth of June; and in spite of the severe fire of the French, and the ramparts of felled trees that lay in their way, they took the advanced batteries and drove the enemy into the main works. The other division effected a landing during the morning, and before night Louisburg was formally invested. The conduct of Wolfe and his detachment in opening the way to conquest, was applauded in highest terms of eulogium, and commended him to Pitt as a worthy leader against Quebec the following year. By his side was young Montgomery, from the north of Ireland, then just arrived at manhood. Eighteen years afterward, he espoused the cause of the American patriots, and fell a martyr to liberty at the foot of Cape Diamond, below the citadel of Quebec.

Slowly but surely the English approached Louisburg, under cover of mortars and siege-guns. The French kept up an incessant fire from their batteries and ships, but with little effect. For almost fifty days the conflict went on. Then a bombshell fell upon one of the largest of the French ships and set it on fire. Two others were consumed; and very soon the remainder of the vessels in the harbor were captured or destroyed. Yet the gallant Drucour fought on, until the fortress and half the town were heaps of ruins, and forty of his fifty-two cannon were dismounted. At last, yielding to the prayers of the people and a sense of the utter futility of further

defence, Drucour capitulated, and he and his garrison became prisoners-of-war. On the twenty-sixth of July, Louisburg, and with it the islands of Cape Breton and St. John (now Prince Edward's), passed into the possession of the English; and where the grand fortress—the "Gibraltar of America"—once stood, a few fishermen's huts are now seen. Almost six thousand prisoners were sent to England; and the brother of General Amherst,* who preceded the fleet and bore the first intelligence of victory to the king, carried with him also eleven standards taken from the French. These were hung as choice trophies in St. Paul's cathedral, after being borne in triumph through the streets of London, accompanied by a parade of horse and foot, while all England was vocal with rejoicings. By this victory, the French dominion in America was greatly weakened, and the English became masters of the coast almost to the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

The troops destined for the expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point had rendezvoused at Albany; and before Amherst and Wolfe had achieved their great victory in the East, Abercrombie was at the head of Lake George with almost sixteen thousand men, and a heavy train of artillery. Of these, more than six thousand were regular troops; the remainder were levies from the provinces of New England, New York, and New Jersey. Among the subaltern provincial officers were Putnam and Stark, who afterward became famous in the War for Independence. The soul of the expedition was the young Lord Howe, who seemed to regard his titular distinction less as a proof of noble nature than as an incentive to noble action, and he was truly beloved by all the soldiers. Although Abercrombie, a friend of the earl of Bute (a pedantic Scotch courtier of much influence with the king), was nominally the commander-

* Major-General Amherst entered the army in 1731, and acted as aid-de-camp to Sir John Ligonier at the battles of Dettingen, Fontenoy, and Roucoux. He was also aid to the duke of Cumberland at Lafeldt and Hastenbeck. In 1756, he became major-general; and in 1760 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. In 1772, he was made lieutenant-general of ordnance; in 1776, was created Baron Amherst of Holmesdale; in 1778, appointed commander-in-chief of the land forces in Great Britain; in 1788, created Baron Amherst of Montreal, in Kent; and, in 1796, he was promoted to the rank of field-marshal. He died in 1797, at the age of eighty-one years.

in-chief, Pitt had selected Lord Howe as his lieutenant, with the full conviction that he alone could lead the troops to victory.

In a little more than a thousand small boats, and with the artillery mounted upon rafts, Abercrombie and his army embarked upon Lake George on the fifth of July. That flotilla, led by Lord Howe in a large boat, made a grand display, with its banners flying, and martial music awakening the echoes of the hills which enclose that beautiful sheet of water. At twilight the whole army landed upon a grassy cape on the western shore, and after midnight* the entire flotilla was again in motion. The sky was clear and starry, and not a breeze ruffled the dark waters as they slept quietly in the shadows of the mountains. The oars were all muffled; and so silently did the vessels move in the darkness, that not a scout upon the hills observed them. Day dawned just as they were abreast of the Blue mountain, four miles from their landing-place at the foot of the lake; and the first intimation which the French pickets had of the approach of the English was the full blaze of their scarlet uniforms which burst upon their sight as the army swept around a point and prepared to land.

Montcalm was yet in the general command of the French in Canada, and was at Ticonderoga with four thousand troops. M. de Levi was hourly expected with three thousand more; and having strengthened Fort Carillon,† and cast up strong breastworks across the neck of the peninsula of Ticonderoga, Montcalm felt confident of success against assailants. When, on the fifth, a white flag upon the mountains informed him that the English had embarked upon Lake George, he sent forward a battalion to occupy a breastwork of logs near the foot of the lake and oppose the landing of the British. That oppo-

* It was Saturday when the troops went down Lake George. As it was past midnight, and really Sunday morning, when they re-embarked, Abercrombie named the cape where they had landed Sabbath-day Point. While on the point, Lord Howe called around him several of the young provincial officers who accompanied the expedition, and made many anxious inquiries about Ticonderoga, its strength, etc. Captain Stark was invited to sup with him, and that officer believed, from many things said by the young nobleman that night, that he had a presentiment of the fate that awaited him the next day.

† This is a French word that had the same reference to rapid, rushing, noisy waters, as the Indian word *Cheonderoga*, applied to the same spot. Tionderoga, and not Ticonderoga, is doubtless the correct orthography. The English letter-writers of that period, and later, wrote it without the *na* and *sh*.

sition was futile; and as the army of Abercrombie, moving in four columns (the regulars in the centre and the provincials on the flanks), commenced their march toward Ticonderoga, the French set fire to and abandoned their breastwork. As they destroyed the bridges in their retreat, Abercrombie pressed forward without his artillery. The forest was dense, and marshes abounded. Deficient in reliable guides, the army was soon in great confusion. Then scouts came with intelligence that the advanced guard of the French were near. These were the retreating battalion, who, lost in the deep forest, had been wandering for many hours, endeavoring to find their way back to their lines. Major Putnam, with a hundred rangers, immediately advanced as a scouting-party to reconnoitre. Lord Howe, eager to engage in the first attack, joined Putnam. They dashed through the woods, and in a few minutes were engaged in a hot skirmish with the French. Lord Howe was instantly slain by a bullet, but the French were repulsed with a loss of more than four hundred in killed and wounded. Dismayed at the death of Howe, and still in great confusion, the English fell back to the landing-place. There was deep grief at the loss of the young commander. "With him," said Mante, "the soul of the army seemed to expire." Captain Philip Schuyler conveyed his body to Albany, and placed it in his family vault; and now the remains of the gallant soldier repose beneath the chancel of St. Peter's church in that city. He was less than thirty-four years of age, yet he had won imperishable distinction; and, in testimony of her appreciation, Massachusetts appropriated a thousand dollars for the erection of a monument to his memory in Westminster abbey.*

Early on the following day, Colonel Bradstreet advanced and took possession of some fortified mills, and repaired the bridges. The engineer was sent to reconnoitre the French lines on the neck, and on his reporting that the works were unfinished, and might

* George Augustus, Viscount Howe, was an elder brother of Richard and William, one a naval and the other a military commander in America, during a part of the War for Independence. Richard succeeded to the title and estates of his deceased brother. Abercrombie wrote: "He was the first man that fell; and as he was, very deservedly, universally beloved and respected throughout the whole army, it is easy to conceive the grief and consternation his untimely fall occasioned."

easily be taken by storm, Abercrombie moved forward with the whole army, and took post within two miles of Ticonderoga. There he was joined by Sir William Johnson, with almost five hundred warriors of the Six Nations, from the Mohawk river.

Anxious to make the assault before the garrison could be reinforced, Abercrombie pressed forward on the eighth, without waiting for his cannon, when it was found that the breastworks were full eight feet in height, very strong, and completely sheltered by a deep *abatis*. Behind this the whole French force lay, awaiting the orders of the vigilant and skilful Montcalm, whose quick eye was upon every point. At the proper moment his order was given, and a heavy fire of artillery was opened upon the assailants. Yet in the face of this terrible storm the regulars pushed gallantly forward, determined to scale the works, and carry them by force of the sword and bayonet. The grenadiers, and Lord John Murray's Scotch Highland regiment, made charge after charge for three hours. Many officers endeavored to hew their way through the prostrate branches with their swords, while scores of brave men were falling around them. Never did troops show bolder courage or more obstinate persistence against fearful obstacles; and when at length, shattered and in confusion, some of the British battalions fired upon each other and a retreat was sounded, nineteen hundred and forty-four brave soldiers lay dead or wounded on that battle-field. During all that contest of more than four hours, Johnson's Indians looked on with stolid indifference; while the cowardly Abercrombie remained in safety at the mill, and could not be found when most needed to rally the flying troops, bring up his artillery, and secure a victory at the last, for he had still more than four times as many soldiers as Montcalm. At length he appeared, and, agitated by extreme fear, he hurried the troops to the foot of Lake George with so much precipitancy, that nothing but the cool courage and manliness of Bradstreet prevented a disastrous rush into the boats. All were embarked on the morning of the ninth; and that evening the disgraced commander, with trailing banners, was comforted by the fact that the lake was between himself and Montcalm.

Intelligence of this disaster grieved Pitt sorely. He well knew that the chief blame rested upon the incompetency of Abercrombie, and he chid himself for listening to Bute, and giving such an officer the chief command. The shallow Bute, desirous of sustaining his dishonored friend, wrote to the premier: "I think this check, dear Pitt, affects you too strongly. The general and the troops have done their duty, and appear, by the numbers lost, to have fought with the greatest intrepidity; to have tried all that men could do, to force their way. The commander seems broken-hearted with being forced to retreat."* And the young prince George, then in his twenty-first year, wishing to say something to please somebody, wrote: "I fear this check will prevent Abercrombie's pushing to Crown Point; but in this, as in everything else, I rely entirely on Providence, and the gallant spirit of my countrymen. Continuing to trust in that superior help, I make no doubt that, if I mount this throne, I shall still, by restoring the love of virtue and religion, make this country great and happy."† These men, breathing the atmosphere of a corrupt court, could not comprehend the genius of Pitt, nor the magnitude of the events about which they were uttering such miserable commonplaces; and their words increased the keenness of the pangs which they were intended to alleviate.

Abercrombie sent his artillery and ammunition to Albany for security, and then commenced the erection of a military work at the head of the lake, which he called Fort George. While his troops were thus engaged, the active partisans of Montcalm were out in every direction, harassing the provincials and terrifying the scattered settlers. Opposed to these were the vigilant Rogers and his bold border rangers, and the cool and persistent Putnam with his equally brave scouts. They beat back the French and their dusky allies. At length, Putnam was made a prisoner; was prepared for the fire-torture in the deep forest; was saved by a providential shower which quenched the flames, and the generous arm of Molang, his enemy in the field; and, bruised and half-naked, he was carried a captive to Montreal. The stolid Abercrombie finally marched,

* Correspondence of the Earl of Chatham, i., 335.

† Ibid., i., 336.

with his whole army of regulars, to Albany, and put them into winter quarters. Then he returned to England, where he calumniated the Americans in order to screen his own imbecility; and, as a member of Parliament, his vote was always given in support of those oppressive measures which finally drove the colonists to rebellion.

While Abercrombie was at the head of Lake George, Colonel Bradstreet, who had obtained permission to lead a detachment against Fort Frontenac, situated at the foot of Lake Ontario, where Kingston now stands, was nobly accomplishing his purpose. He had long contemplated such an expedition, and it had been warmly approved by the fallen Howe. Frontenac was a post of great importance. There the Indian tribes resorted for traffic, and there plans and alliances between the French and the savages who were hostile to the English were put in operation. It was also a magazine of supplies for the more southern French forts.

With a few men, the gallant Bradstreet went up the Mohawk valley to the Oneida carrying-place, where Brigadier-General Stanwix was engaged with a strong provincial force in erecting a fort. That officer, perceiving the importance of Bradstreet's expedition, placed more than twenty-nine hundred men at his disposal.* He was also joined by some warriors of the Six Nations, led by Red Head, a powerful Onondaga chief. With eight pieces of cannon and two mortars in charge of a small detachment of the Royal artillery, this little army pushed on through the forest to Oswego, and there embarked upon Lake Ontario.

On the twenty-fifth of August, Bradstreet landed within a mile of Fort Frontenac. It was a work of considerable magnitude and strength, being built of stone, quadrangular in form, with four bastions, and almost three fourths of a mile in circumference. Upon it were mounted sixty pieces of cannon and sixteen mortars, but there was a garrison of only one hundred and ten men and a few Indians, to use them. These, dismayed by the formidable appearance of

* These troops, according to Mante, consisted of one hundred and thirty-five regulars, eleven hundred and twelve New York provincials, four hundred and twelve from New Jersey, six hundred and seventy-five from Boston, three hundred and eighteen from Rhode Island, and three hundred batteaux-men.

Bradstreet's army, fled or surrendered at discretion on the twenty-seventh; and the fort, with an immense quantity of stores destined for Forts Niagara and Duquesne, and nine armed vessels in the harbor, fell into the hands of Bradstreet. It was a complete and almost a bloodless victory; but a malignant fever, which broke out in Bradstreet's camp before he left, swept away five hundred of his men. He demolished the fort, burned seven of the vessels, destroyed such stores as he could not carry away, and returned to Lake George by way of Oswego, leaving his troops to complete Fort Stanwix, where the village of Rome now stands. Among the officers who accompanied Bradstreet was Woodhull, who perished on Long Island at the beginning of the Revolution; and also Van Schaick, who became a colonel in the New York continental line.

Bradstreet's victory was of great importance at that moment, for the expedition against Fort Duquesne was in motion. It secured the dominion of Lake Ontario, and cut off the chief source of supplies for the southern fortresses of the enemy. It alarmed the Indians; and the Canadians, exhausted by the war, and seeing no hopes of protection for the French frontier from Lake George to the Ohio, were clamorous for peace. Montcalm was disturbed. He saw the full significance of the victory and the power of its influence, and he wrote to Vaudreuil: "I am not discouraged, nor are my troops; we are resolved to find our graves under the ruins of the colony."

CHAPTER XXVII.

COMPOSITION OF THE ARMY UNDER GENERAL FORBES—MARCH OF VIRGINIA TROOPS TO FORT CUMBERLAND—BOQUET AT RAYSTOWN—ADOPTION OF THE INDIAN COSTUME—BRADDOCK'S ROAD—A NEW ROUTE PROPOSED—UNWISE SCHEMES ABANDONED—WASHINGTON OPPOSES THE NEW ROUTE—HIS INTERVIEW WITH COLONEL BOQUET—HISTORY OF BRADDOCK'S ROAD—NEW ROUTE ADOPTED—WASHINGTON'S DISAPPOINTMENT—HIS ELECTION TO THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES—HIS MATRIMONIAL ENGAGEMENTS—TARDY MOVEMENTS OF THE ARMY—GRANT'S DISASTROUS EXPEDITION—WASHINGTON'S ADVANCE AGAINST FORT DUQUESNE—END OF THE CAMPAIGN—WASHINGTON RETURNS HOME.

THERE was great joy in the heart of Washington when, late in June, orders came from General Forbes for the Virginia troops to commence their march toward Fort Duquesne. The army destined for this expedition numbered between six and seven thousand men, consisting of twelve hundred Highlanders from the Carolinas; three hundred and fifty of the Royal American regiment, recalled from the South; about twenty-seven hundred Pennsylvania levies; sixteen hundred Virginians, in two regiments; between two and three hundred men from Fort Frederick, in Maryland; and two companies of North Carolina militia, under Major Waddell, who afterward became conspicuous in that province, in the difficulties known as the Regulator War, in 1771.

The Virginia regiments marched from Winchester to Fort Cumberland in detachments, except a small garrison left at Fort Loudoun, and a strong party under Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Stephen. These detachments were safe convoys for wagons and pack-horses on the way. They were all assembled at Cumberland early in July, and officers and troops, confident of success, were in high spirits.

At Raystown (now Bedford), in Pennsylvania, thirty miles from Fort Cumberland, lay Colonel Boquet, with a corps of regulars.

He was an active and ambitious officer; and having been appointed to the command of the advanced division, he made Raystown the headquarters of the gathering army of invaders. Thither Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen marched, by way of Shippensburg, in Pennsylvania, with six companies of the first Virginia regiment; and toward that point the Pennsylvania and other troops slowly approached.

Washington continued to be annoyed by the remissness of the civil authorities in furnishing his troops with necessary supplies. From his camp near Fort Cumberland he wrote to Colonel Boquet on the third of July, apprising him of his arrival there, and adding: "My men are very bare of regimental clothing, and I have no prospect of a supply. So far from regretting this want during the present campaign, if I were left to pursue my own inclination, I would not only order the men to adopt the Indian dress, but cause the officers to do it also, and be the first to set the example myself. Nothing but the uncertainty of obtaining the general approbation causes me to hesitate a moment to leave my regimentals at this place, and proceed as light as any Indian in the woods. It is an unbecoming dress, I own, for an officer; but convenience, rather than show, should be consulted. The reduction of bat-horses alone would be sufficient to recommend it; for nothing is more certain than that less baggage would be required, and the public benefited in proportion." This sensible suggestion received a sympathetic response from Boquet. But others of the regulars demurred. It could hardly be expected that the British officers, trained to blind obedience of orders, would turn from the deep rut of precedence and routine at the suggestion of a provincial colonel. Like Braddock, they preferred to walk according to the straight rules of military tactics, though treading at every step upon common sense and wise expediency, than to adapt themselves and their followers to the exigency of the occasion. Yet Washington tried the experiment, and it was successful. He equipped two companies in this way, and sent them to headquarters. The weather was extremely hot, and the light costume pleased all wearers. Colonel Boquet wrote: "The dress takes very well here, and, thank God, we see

nothing but shirts and blankets." This was the origin of the Indian-like dress of the American riflemen.

From Fort Cumberland stretched the open road through the wilderness to the Monongahela, widened by Braddock in '55, at a great expense of toil and money, and along that road Washington expected soon to march. It was broad enough for artillery and wagons, and it required but slight repairs to put it in good condition. But General Forbes, then ill at Carlisle, influenced by Pennsylvania land-speculators and Indian traffickers of that province, had decided to open a new road along the track of the northern traders, from Raystown to Fort Duquesne. This decision was communicated to Washington, late in July, by Colonel Boquet, who requested his opinion upon the subject. Washington was amazed and distressed. Already he had been compelled to cast his opinion in the way of a proposed expedition, which he knew would be disastrous. The French and Indians were continually harassing the almost idle camps, and Forbes had proposed to send a strong detachment over the mountains, to keep the enemy employed in their own country while the invading army should move on. Concerning this, Boquet asked Washington's opinion. He modestly replied: "Such an enterprise, sir, at this juncture, when we may suppose the enemy have collected, or are collecting, their whole force at Fort Duquesne, would require a formidable detachment, the supplying of which with provisions would be too difficult and cumbersome to be effected undiscovered, as the enemy's parties are continually watching our motions. It is more than likely, therefore, that the enterprise would terminate in a miscarriage, if not in the destruction of the party. I should think it more eligible to defer such an attempt, until the army approaches more nearly to the enemy." These and other suggestions prevailed, and the ill-judged enterprise was abandoned.

Washington's opinion was equally decisive against the proposed new road. In reply to Colonel Boquet, he wrote, like a true soldier, on the twenty-fifth of July: "I shall most cheerfully work on any road, pursue any route, or enter upon any service, that the general or yourself may think me usefully employed in, or qualified for

and shall never have a will of my own, when a duty is required of me. But since you desire me to speak my sentiments freely," he added, "permit me to observe, that after having conversed with all the guides, and having been informed by others, who have a knowledge of the country, I am convinced that a road, to be compared with General Braddock's, or, indeed, that will be fit for transportation even by pack-horses, can not be made. I have no predilection for the route you have in contemplation for me, not because difficulties appear therein, but because I doubt whether satisfaction can be given in the execution of the plan. I know not what reports you may have received from your reconnoitring parties; but I have been uniformly told, that, if you expect a tolerable road by Rays-town, you will be disappointed, for no movement can be made in that way, without destroying our horses." To this, Colonel Boquet, who had been told that the Virginians were selfish in wishing to prevent a new route being opened to the Indian country, replied: "Nothing can exceed your generous disposition for the service. I see, with the utmost satisfaction, that you are above the influences of prejudice, and ready to go heartily where reason and judgment shall direct. I wish seriously that we may all entertain one and the same opinion; therefore I desire to have an interview with you at the houses built half-way between our camps."

The proposed interview took place on the first of August. Washington found Boquet strongly in favor of the new road. They discussed the matter long and pleasantly, but could not agree. On his return to camp the next day, Washington addressed a letter to Boquet, to be laid before General Forbes, in which he restated his objections to the new road. He set forth that when the Virginians and Pennsylvanians opened a trade with the Indians on the Ohio, many years before, they offered a reward for information concerning the best route for a road over the mountains. Stimulated by this, some of the most intelligent and experienced Indian hunters indicated routes, and in 1753 the Ohio Company built a road upon the line of the most eligible one. The little army under Washington in 1754 repaired it, and it was widened and completed to within

six miles of Fort Duquesne, by Braddock, in 1755. He showed that forage was more plentiful along Braddock's road than on the proposed route, pointed out many other advantages of the former over the latter, and urged, as a principal reason in favor of his own opinion, that the season was too far advanced to allow a waste of time in making a new road.

Washington was equally opposed to a scheme which had been suggested of dividing the army and marching by the two different routes. Having been requested to give his opinion, also, as to the best mode of advancing by deposits of provisions and stores, he recommended an order of march by Braddock's road, which, he estimated, would bring the army before Fort Duquesne in thirty-four days, with a supply of provisions for eighty-six days. He expressed the confident opinion that the campaign might be effected by the middle of October.

Perceiving the strong bias of Colonel Boquet in favor of Forbes's plans, Washington scarcely hoped that his opinions would be received favorably. Conscious that his views were correct, and that the regular officers were incompetent to engage properly in Indian warfare, he was exceedingly anxious. To Major Halket, the aid-de-camp of General Forbes, he thus wrote, on the same day when he prepared his long letter to Boquet, for the general: "I am just returned from a conference with Colonel Boquet. I find him fixed, I think I may say unalterably fixed, to lead you a new way to the Ohio, through a road, every inch of which is to be cut at this advanced season, when we have scarce time left to tread the beaten track, universally confessed to be the best passage through the mountains. If Colonel Boquet succeeds in this point with the general, all is lost,—all is lost indeed—our enterprise will be ruined, and we shall be stopped at the Laurel hill this winter; but not to gather *laurels*, except of the kind that covers the mountains. The southern Indians will turn against us,* and these colonies will be

* The Catawbas had already behaved very badly. Early in July, Colonel Boquet wrote to Washington: "The Catawbas, under the command of Captain Johnny, are gone to Winchester. They have behaved in the most shameful manner, and run away like a parcel of thieves, rather than warriors. They have never killed even a deer, and there is the strongest reason to suspect that the

desolated by such an accession to the enemy's strength. These must be the consequences of a miscarriage; and a miscarriage is the almost necessary consequence of an attempt to march the army by this new route. I have given my reasons at large, to Colonel Boquet. He desired that I would do so, that he might forward them to the general. Should this happen, you will be able to judge of their weight."

The remonstrances and arguments of Washington were unavailing. The officers of the regular army had read the despatches of Braddock, wherein he had described his road as "lying across mountains and rocks of an excessive height, vastly steep, and divided by torrents and rivers;" and their fears were enhanced by the tales of interested Pennsylvania traders, who described the new route as a paradise, in comparison with the other. At length, late in August, the new route was adopted, and sixteen hundred men were immediately set to work upon it, in advance of Raystown. Washington was mortified, and the Virginia assembly resolved to recall their troops, and place them on their own frontier. These resolves were revoked when intelligence came that the expedition was actually in progress, for its failure would be ascribed, and perhaps justly, to such withdrawal of the Virginia regiments. It was well they were not withdrawn, for the final success of the expedition was achieved by those very troops.

Washington was yet in camp at Fort Cumberland, with sickly and dispirited troops, on the first of September, and was as impatient as a hound in the leash. "That appearance of glory," he wrote to Speaker Robinson, "which we had once in view, that hope, that laudable ambition of serving our country, and meriting its applause, are now no more; all is dwindled into ease, sloth, and fatal inac-

scalp, which they pretend to have taken, was an old one. I think it very necessary to send a message to their nation, to complain of their conduct, and know at once if they are friends or enemies." Washington had urged the necessity of keeping the Indians employed, by sending them out in small parties, to annoy similar small parties of the hostile savages. He also recommended their going out alone, to fight in their own way, but Colonel Boquet insisted upon sending large numbers of white men with them. These, Washington represented to be encumbrances to the Indians, caused disasters, and discouraged them. But the English officers must have fighting done according to precedent, or not at all, and lost instead of winning.

tivity. In a word, all is lost, if the ways of men in power, like certain ways of Providence, are not inscrutable. But we, who view the actions of great men at a distance, can only form conjectures agreeably to a limited perception; and, being ignorant of the comprehensive schemes, which may be in contemplation, might mistake egregiously in judging of things from appearances, or by the lump. Yet every fool will have his notions—will prattle and talk away; and why may not I? We seem then, in my opinion, to act under the guidance of an evil genius. The conduct of our leaders, if not actuated by superior orders, is tempered with something, I do not care to give a name to. Nothing now, but a miracle, can bring the campaign to a happy issue."

Washington had ample excuses for impatience. A desire to serve his country faithfully—a laudable thirst for military renown—the calls of duty to civil station, and the powerful attractions of affection toward one who had promised to become his wife—all conspired to make him anxious to carry on vigorously, and finish speedily, the campaign in which he was engaged.

Intelligence of the victory at Louisburg had reached the camp toward the close of July, and produced great rejoicings. Washington was desirous of striking a blow at the South, against the French dominion, equally brilliant; and had his counsels prevailed at the beginning, or even at that time, Fort Duquesne might have been an English possession before the summer heats had departed, or at least by the autumnal equinox. But now, when that strong army should have been wearing the laurels of military triumph beyond the mountains, and chanting songs of victory on the banks of the Ohio, it presented the humiliating spectacle of a huge company of road-builders, not yet arrived at the eastern base of the Alleghanies.

Official station in civil life awaited Washington's return from the camp, and this made him impatient. Having resolved to leave the army at the close of the present campaign, he became a candidate for the house of burgesses, to represent Frederick county. The election came on at the close of July, and his friends urged him to be at Winchester on the occasion. But no force of personal consid-

eration could draw him from his post of duty, and the election was carried through without his presence. It was then customary for the candidate to be at the polls during the voting. His friend, Colonel Wood, was his proxy on the occasion, and he was chosen by a large majority over all of his competitors. Colonel Wood was carried about the town in the midst of general applause and loud huzzas for Colonel Washington. This election was significant, for it uttered the praises of a people in the midst of whom he had been in military command in the worst of times. It was a noble comment upon his faithfulness. "That poll," says Sparks, "cost the new burgess thirty-nine pounds and six shillings. Among the items of charge, which have been preserved, are a hogshead and a barrel of punch, thirty-five gallons of wine, forty-three gallons of strong beer, cider, and dinner for his friends."*

Another, and not the least powerful of the causes of Washington's impatience at that time, was the love he bore for one of the best of Virginia's daughters. The story of that love is simple, yet full of romance. The passion was awakened while, in the previous spring, Colonel Washington was on the journey to Williamsburg from his camp at Winchester, at the request of Sir John St. Clair, to lay before the civil authorities the pressing needs of his regiment, preparatory to the expedition on which he was now engaged. No better words can paint the picture of that love and brief courtship than those employed, in after-years, by a grandson of the lady.† "It was in 1758," he says, "that Washington, attired in a military undress, and attended by a body-servant, tall and *militaire* as his chief, was crossing Williams's ferry over the Pamunkey river, a branch of the York river. On the boat touching the southern, or New Kent side, the soldier's progress was arrested by one of those personages who give the beau-ideal of the Virginia gentleman, of the old *régime*, the very soul of kindness and hospitality. It was in vain the soldier pleaded the urgency of his presence at Williams-

* Writings of Washington (*note*), ii., 297.

† George Washington Parke Custis. Mr. Custis, on the death of his father, was adopted as a son by Washington. He yet (1857) lives at Arlington House, near the banks of the Potomac, opposite Washington city. He is the sole surviving executor of the will of Washington.

burg. Mr. Chamberlayne, on whose domain the *militaire* had just landed, would hear of no excuse. Colonel Washington was a name and character so dear to all Virginians, that his passing by one of the castles of the Old Dominion, without calling and partaking of the hospitalities of the host, was out of the question. The colonel, however, did not surrender at discretion, but stoutly maintained his ground till Chamberlayne, bringing up his reserve, in the intimation that he would introduce his friend to a young and charming widow, then beneath his roof, the soldier capitulated, on condition that he should dine—only dine—and then, by pressing his charger and borrowing of the night, he would reach Williamsburg before his excellency could shake off his morning slumbers. Orders were accordingly issued to Bishop, the colonel's body-servant and faithful follower, who, together with the fine English charger, had been bequeathed by the dying Braddock to Major Washington, on the famed and fated field of Monongahela. Bishop, bred in the school of European discipline, raised his hand to his cap, as much as to say, 'Your orders shall be obeyed.'

"The colonel now proceeded to the mansion, and was introduced to various guests (for when was a Virginia domicile of the olden time without guests?) and, above all, to the charming widow. Tradition relates that they were mutually pleased, on this, their first interview; nor is it remarkable. They were of an age when impressions were strongest. The lady was fair to behold, of fascinating manners, and splendidly endowed with worldly benefits. The hero was fresh from his early fields, redolent of fame, and with a form on which

'Every god did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man.'

"The morning passed pleasantly away; evening came, with Bishop, true to his orders and firm at his post, holding the favorite charger with one hand, while the other was waiting to offer the ready stirrup. The sun sunk in the horizon, and yet the colonel appeared not. 'Strange, very strange,' thought Bishop; surely he was not wont to be a single moment behind his appointments, for he was the most punctual of men.

“Meantime, the host enjoyed the scene of the veteran at the gate, while the colonel was so agreeably employed in the parlor; and proclaiming that no visiter ever left his home at sunset, his military guest was, without much difficulty, persuaded to order Bishop to put up the horses for the night. The sun rode high in the heavens the ensuing day, when the enamored soldier pressed with his spurs his charger’s side, and speeded on his way to the seat of government, where, having despatched his public business, he retraced his steps, and, at the White House, the engagement took place, with preparations for marriage.”

The “charming widow” was Martha Custis, daughter of John Dandridge, whose husband, John Parke Custis, had been dead about three years. He had left her with two young children, and a very large fortune in lands and money. Her residence, “the White House,” was in New Kent county, not far from Williamsburg; and there, before the soldier returned to his camp, he and the widow were betrothed, and they agreed to marry at the close of the campaign. “And much,” continues Mr. Custis, “hath the biographer heard of that marriage, from the gray-haired domestics who waited at the board where love made the feast and Washington the guest. ‘And so you remember,’ I said to old Cully, my grandmother’s servant, when in his hundredth year—‘and so you remember when Colonel Washington came a-courting your young mistress?’—‘Ay, master, that I do,’ said Cully. ‘Great times, sir, great times—shall never see the like again.’—‘And Washington looked something like a man, a proper man, hey, Cully?’—‘Never seed the like, sir—never the like of him, though I have seen many in my day—so tall, so straight, and then he sat on a horse and rode with such an air! Ah, sir, he was like no one else! Many of the grandest gentlemen, in the gold lace, were at the wedding; but none looked like the man himself.’”^{*} All through the tedious and perilous campaign of that year, which continued until the late autumnal snows had fallen, Washington and his affianced were in constant epistolary correspondence.

^{*} National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans, vol. I.

On the first of September, as we have observed, Washington was yet at Fort Cumberland. His troops had been idle most of the summer. A small detachment, under Colonel Mercer, had opened a road from his camp to Raystown, and he had sent out scouts from time to time, to reconnoitre the enemy. These now brought intelligence which increased his impatience. They had obtained positive information that the garrison of Fort Duquesne did not contain more than eight hundred men, Indians included, at the middle of August, the time when the expedition, six thousand strong, might have been west of the mountains. "See," he wrote to Speaker Robinson, "how our time has been misspent. Behold how the golden opportunity has been lost, perhaps never more to be regained! How is it to be accounted for? Can General Forbes have orders for this? Impossible. Will, then, our injured country pass by such abuses? I hope not. Rather let a full representation of the matter go to his majesty. Let him know how grossly his glory and interest, and the public money, have been prostituted."

A few days after this letter was written, General Forbes, with the powers of life fast ebbing, arrived in a litter at Raystown, and took command of the army.* The new road was then completed to Loyal Hanna, a distance of forty-five miles, where Colonel Boquet, with the advanced party of twenty-five hundred men, was constructing a fort and place of deposite for stores. On his arrival at Raystown, General Forbes ordered Washington to join him with his troops. The order was obeyed with alacrity, and Washington was highly gratified by the marked deference which the general paid to his opinions concerning the future operations of the army. Although he had strenuously opposed the scheme of making a new road, yet, it having been adopted, Washington now used every exertion to carry the work forward. He was consulted on all occasions, attended

* It is related that while General Forbes was on his way from Carlisle to Raystown, borne in a close litter, an embassy from unfriendly Indians came to the army. They were greatly puzzled when they perceived that all commands came from that litter, and eagerly inquired about it. Knowing that the Indians would despise the English if they knew that their general was sick, the British officers told them that in that litter was their great commander, a man so fierce and strong, that he found it necessary to keep himself bound, hand and foot, and lie still until he came to the enemy's country, lest he should do the ambassadors, or even his own men, much mischief. The alarmed savages soon fled in terror to the mountains, glad to escape from the presence of such a warrior.

all councils of officers, and, at the request of the general, he drew up a line of march and order of battle, by which the army might advance with facility and safety through the woods. Remembering the fate of Braddock, Forbes was now willing to yield his opinions and prejudices to the experience and judgment of the young provincial whose skill and powers were so signally displayed on the field of Monongahela.

It was now the middle of September, and the main army was about to move forward, when intelligence of serious disaster reached the camp. Colonel Boquet, without the knowledge of his superior, had sent forward Major Grant, of Montgomery's battalion, with eight hundred Highlanders, and a part of Washington's regiment under Major Lewis, to reconnoitre the vicinity of Fort Duquesne, and ascertain the strength and position of the enemy. Grant, eager for personal distinction, executed his orders, and acted with inexcusable foolhardiness by inviting an attack. He reached a hill near the fort, in the night, and appeared to take special pains to reveal his presence. A party of observation burnt a log-house at a short distance from the fort; and the next morning, having detached Major Lewis, with a baggage-guard, two miles in his rear, he sent an engineer, with a covering party, within full view of the fort, to draw a plan of the works. Not content with this bravado, he ordered the *réveille* to be beaten in several places. Yet, with all this parade, he elicited no attention, apparently. Not a gun was fired, and Grant mistook this silence for fear. His vain-glory proved his ruin. While in fancied security, and off his guard, the enemy made a sortie and fell upon the Britons, and at the same time clouds of arrows, from ambushed Indian warriors, pierced their flanks. For a time the Highlanders fought bravely, but the terrible yells of the savages, and their sharp arrows, at length produced confusion and a fearful panic.

At the first sound of battle, Major Lewis left Captain Bullitt, with fifty Virginians, in charge of the baggage, and with the remainder of his command he pressed forward to the relief of Grant. It was too late. With gleaming knives and heavy tomahawks, the Indians

rushed from the thickets and fell upon the invaders with terrible effect. Hand to hand they fought, when, overpowered by numbers, Lewis and Grant saved their lives by surrendering to a French officer. At that moment the whole detachment fled in dismay, pursued by the exasperated savages.

The fugitives were rallied by Captain Bullitt, who, after sending back the most valuable baggage with the strongest horses, made a barricade of the baggage-wagons. Behind these he placed his men and took a forlorn stand. It was their only chance for safety, for the savages were rushing wildly on. A volley from behind the wagons checked the fierce current for a moment, but, gathering strength by increment of numbers, it pressed forward more terrible than before. At that perilous juncture, Bullitt, with quick thought and action, made a signal of capitulation, and advanced as if to surrender. When within twenty-five feet of the enemy, he gave a signal, and his men all raised their pieces and poured a destructive shower of bullets upon the foe. The Indians fled in dismay; and before they recovered from the shock, Bullitt and his men had gathered up their wounded, and, with the scattered fugitives, retreated with speed beyond the bounds of danger. In fragments the broken detachment came back to Boquet's camp, having left upon the battlefield, or in the hands of captors, twenty-one officers and two hundred and seventy-three privates. Of the detachment from Washington's regiment, six officers and sixty privates were lost. Majors Grant and Lewis were taken to Montreal as prisoners.

This "irruption into the enemy's country," which Washington had uniformly opposed as dangerous, resulted precisely as he had predicted. And yet it was the means of exalting the character of his regiment, and increasing the faith of the regulars in his mode of training, for the gallantry displayed by Captain Bullitt and his men elicited the greatest admiration. General Forbes publicly complimented Washington on the good conduct of his troops; and soon afterward Bullitt was rewarded with a major's commission.

Slowly the main army and the artillery now moved along the new but wretched road, and reached Loyal Hanna on the fifth of

November. The hills were hoary with snow, and frost was binding the waters in the valleys. The soldiers were scantily clothed and fed, yet knew that immense toil and exposure would be required of them, because fifty miles of the dreary wilderness was still before them, and scarcely a furlong of the road over which they were to travel was constructed. No wonder that the troops were dispirited, or that the officers had gloomy forebodings.

Placing great reliance upon Colonel Washington's judgment, General Forbes appeared desirous of doing all in his power to please him. Indeed, like young Howe in the North, Washington was "the soul of the army" in the West. Anxious to make his experience of border warfare profitable to his country, he had, toward the close of July, requested Colonel Boquet to use his influence with the general to get himself and his regiment included in the advanced division. "If any argument is needed to obtain this favor," he said, "I hope without vanity I may be allowed to say, that, from long intimacy with the woods and frequent scouting in them, my men are at least as well acquainted with all the passes and difficulties as any troops that will be employed." At Loyal Hanna this request was gladly complied with, and Washington was placed at the head of a division of one thousand provincials, who were to move in front of the main army and act as pioneers, scouts, and patrols, to prevent surprises, and to cast up entrenchments wherever they appeared necessary as a security to the deposits of provisions. This corps constituted a brigade, and Washington had the temporary rank of a brigadier-general.

Sick, wearied, and discouraged, the feeble commander-in-chief called a council of war, and it was resolved not to proceed any farther on account of the lateness of the season, the difficulties of the way, and a rumored reinforcement of the garrison at Fort Duquesne. The prediction of Washington, in August, that "we shall be stopped at the Laurel hill this winter," appeared about to be verified, when a scout brought in three prisoners. From these it was ascertained that the garrison at Duquesne was very weak, their provisions almost exhausted, and that the Indians, dispirited by the fall of Frontenac

and the approach of the British, were deserting the French in great numbers. This intelligence revived the hopes of Forbes, and, to the great joy of Washington and his men, he issued orders for the army to move on.

Celerity of movement was important, and, without tents or heavy baggage, and with a train of light artillery, they advanced rapidly. Washington led the van, and detached Colonel Armstrong with a numerous party to keep in advance as a corps of observation. The provincials, and especially the Virginians, worked cheerfully by the side of their beloved leader. On the fifteenth of November, Washington was at Chestnut Ridge; on the seventeenth he was at Bush Run, and the next day he had opened the road to Armstrong's camp, three miles in advance. "All the men," he wrote to his general, "are in fine spirits and anxious to go on," notwithstanding all along their line of march, as they approached Fort Duquesne, the bones of those who were slaughtered at Braddock's defeat were visible.

Anxious to know the condition of the fort, General Forbes now offered a reward of forty pounds to any man who would capture a hostile Indian. This was soon accomplished by a sergeant of the North Carolina militia; and that prisoner informed the general that the Indians, terror-stricken at the approach of the British, had fled in a body from Fort Duquesne, declaring that the Great Spirit had evidently withdrawn his protection from the French. He further affirmed that the French, deprived of expected supplies from Frontenac, disheartened by the victory of Bradstreet at that place, and alarmed at the approach of the British, had just abandoned and set fire to the fort, and fled down the Ohio in their boats. Encouraged by this information, Washington and his party pushed forward, and on the following day, the twenty-fifth of November, he unfurled the British flag over the still smoking ruins of that formidable fortress in the wilderness, from which, for three years, had issued the terrible frontier scourges. Three days afterward he had the pleasure of writing to Governor Fauquier: "The enemy, after letting us get within a day's march of the place, burned the fort, and ran away

by the light of it, at night, going down the Ohio by water, to the number of about five hundred, according to our best information.”*

After the first burst of joy at this consummation of their hopes and toils, the whole army, officers and privates, engaged in the pious work of burying the remains of those who were slain at the defeats of Braddock and Grant. When this duty was performed, the fort was repaired. Then, with waving banners and peals of artillery, the event was celebrated, and the post was named Fort Pitt, in honor of the illustrious statesman whose wise and liberal measures, in making provisions for this campaign, had been instrumental in greatly enhancing the glory and puissance of the British realm. Upon that spot, the large and growing city of Pittsburgh now stands, a noble monument to the memory of England's greatest prime minister.

The Indians, as usual, paid their devotions to the rising sun—bowed submissively to the conquering power. Treaties were speedily concluded with all the tribes between the Ohio and the lakes, and the French dominion in the West now became a part of the history of the past. All of this might have been accomplished long before, if the opinions of Washington could have controlled the councils of his province.

Ever mindful of the comfort of his troops, it was with great reluctance that Washington left a portion of his command to garrison Fort Pitt, in obedience to the orders of General Forbes. At Loyal

* When General Forbes was on the eve of starting for Fort Duquesne, it was resolved to employ a trustworthy man to go among the western Indians, who were becoming distrustful of the French, and endeavor to draw them over to the interest of the English. It would be a mission of great peril, yet a man was found to undertake it. That man was Christian Frederick Post, a Moravian who had married a native woman and had lived among the savages seventeen years. He left Philadelphia on the fifteenth of July, proceeded up the Susquehanna river, passed the French post at Venango three weeks afterward, and held conferences with the Indians at various places. On the twenty-fourth of August, he was with some Indian friends opposite Fort Duquesne, where he had a talk with many of the leading men. He found the Delawares and all the western tribes wavering in their affection for the French. He made a favorable impression upon their minds, yet they complained bitterly of the encroachments of the English. “Your heart is good,” they said to Post—“you speak sincerely; but we know there is always a great number who wish to get rich; they have enough. Look! we do not want to be rich, and take away what others have.”—“The white people think we have no brains in our heads,” said an old chief. “They are big, and we a little handful; but remember, when you hunt for a rattlesnake you can not find it, and perhaps it will bite you before you see it.” But Post persevered, and concluded quite a definite treaty with some of the most influential chiefs. After enduring many hardships in the midst of perils, he returned to Philadelphia early in September. No doubt this mission did much toward the victory at Fort Duquesne, in causing the Indians to desert the French.

Hanna he wrote a circular letter to the inhabitants of the frontier, urging them to take provisions and clothing to the men at the fort; and from the same place he addressed a letter to Governor Fauquier, in which he remarked: "Our men are in such a miserable condition, having hardly rags to cover their nakedness, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather in this rigorous season, that, unless provision is made by the country for supplying them immediately, they must perish."

And now, for a time, the military career of Washington, after five years of laborious service, was ended. Having assisted in giving peace and security to his country, and abandoned all hope of obtaining rank in the regular army, he proceeded to Williamsburg, by way of Mount Vernon, to surrender his commission, and report to the civil authorities. General Forbes, in the meanwhile, led his troops back to Philadelphia; and in that city, worn out with sickness and the fatigues of the campaign, he lingered until the following March, when, on a quiet sabbath, he died.*

* John Forbes was a native of Petincrief, Fifeshire, Scotland, and was educated for a physician. He entered the army in 1745, and advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was quartermaster-general under the duke of Cumberland, and was appointed brigadier in 1757, and ordered to America. He died at Philadelphia, as above stated, on the thirteenth of March, 1759, at the age of forty-nine years.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

WASHINGTON VISITS WILLIAMSBURG AND THE WHITE HOUSE—RESIGNATION OF HIS COMMISSION—ADDRESS OF HIS OFFICERS—VALUE OF HIS EXPERIENCE—HIS MARRIAGE—WASHINGTON IN THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES—HIS RETIREMENT FROM PUBLIC LIFE—CAMPAIGN OF 1759—CAPTURE OF FORT NIAGARA—THE BRITISH ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN—EVENTS AT QUEBEC—DEATH OF WOLFE AND MONTCALM—CAPITULATION OF QUEBEC—ITS RECAPTURE ATTEMPTED—SURRENDER OF MONTREAL—COMPLETE CONQUEST OF CANADA—END OF THE FRENCH DOMINION.

WASHINGTON did not remain long at Mount Vernon. Sick and wearied, he coveted and obtained a few days of repose, and then hastened to Williamsburg on an errand of duty, and to the White House on an errand of affection. He went to the former to lay down his military rank at the feet of the civil power from which he received it, and to settle all matters pertaining to his command; and he went to the latter to meet his waiting bride, and to make arrangements for marriage at an early day.

It was late in December when Colonel Washington arrived in Williamsburg. He was received with public and private greetings on every side; and never had young hero greater cause for being proud of well-earned fame than he. At an appointed time he formally resigned his commission to Governor Fauquier, when his officers, making that the occasion, presented him with a most affectionate address. After speaking of the value of his discipline, they remarked: "Judge, then, how sensibly we must be affected with the loss of such an excellent commander, such a sincere friend, and so affable a companion. How rare is it to find these amiable qualities blended in one man! How great the loss of such a man!..... It gives us additional sorrow," they continued, "when we reflect, to find our unhappy country will receive a loss no less irreparable than



our own. Where will it meet a man so experienced in military affairs—one so renowned for patriotism, conduct, and courage? Who has so great a knowledge of the enemy we have to deal with? who so well acquainted with their situation and strength? who so much respected by the soldiery? who, in short, so able to support the military character of Virginia?" Then requesting him to name a fit successor, they added in conclusion: "Frankness, sincerity, and a certain openness of soul, are the true characteristics of an officer, and we flatter ourselves that you do not think us capable of saying anything contrary to the purest dictates of our minds. Fully persuaded of this, we beg leave to assure you that, as you have hitherto been the actuating soul of our whole corps, we shall at all times pay the most invariable regard to your will and pleasure, and will always be happy to demonstrate by our actions how much we respect and esteem you."—"This opinion," says Marshall, "was not confined to the officers of his regiment. It was common to Virginia, and had been adopted by the British officers with whom he served. The duties he performed, though not splendid, were arduous; and were executed with zeal and with judgment. The exact discipline he established in his regiment, when the temper of Virginia was extremely hostile to discipline, does credit to his military character; and the gallantry his troops displayed, whenever called into action, manifests the spirit infused into them by their commander."* And the knowledge, discipline, and experience, which the young soldier then acquired, were of vast benefit not only to himself, but to his country and to mankind. His five years' military service on the frontier—a service most complicated and peculiar—were the school-days of the future commander of patriot armies—the liberator of his country—the champion of universal liberty.

Colonel Washington was married to Mrs. Custis, at her residence in New Kent, on the sixth of January, 1759. Tradition alone has preserved a record of the festivities on that occasion. It was an event long to be remembered by those who participated in it. The beauty, accomplishments, and ample fortune of the bride, and the

* Life of Washington, second edition, i., 27.

social position and proud military distinction of the bridegroom, drew together the best of Virginia's aristocracy on the peninsula and its vicinity, at that period composing the most refined society in America.

Colonel Washington resided with his wife, at the White House, for three months after marriage, for his duties as a member of the house of burgesses required his presence at Williamsburg a considerable portion of that time. Soon after the meeting of that body, in January, it was resolved to return their thanks to Washington, in a public manner, for the distinguished services which he had rendered to his country. His tried friend, Mr. Robinson, was yet the speaker, and upon him devolved the duty. The scene on the occasion, as related by Mr. Wirt, on the authority of an eye-witness,* was a memorable one. "As soon as Colonel Washington took his seat," says Wirt, "Mr. Robinson, in obedience to this order, and following the impulse of his own generous and grateful heart, discharged the duty with great dignity, but with such warmth of coloring, and strength of expression, as entirely to confound the young hero. He rose to express his acknowledgments for the honor; but such was his trepidation and confusion, that he could not give distinct utterance to a single syllable. He blushed, stammered, and trembled for a second; when the speaker relieved him, by a stroke of address that would have done honor to Louis the Fourteenth in his proudest and happiest moment. 'Sit down, Mr. Washington,' said he, with a conciliatory smile, 'your modesty is equal to your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess.'"†

When the business of the session was ended, Washington returned to Mount Vernon, taking with him the future mistress of that mansion, where, as was said by a writer a few years afterward: "Your apartments were your home, the servants of the house were yours, and, while every inducement was held out to bring you into the general society of the drawing-room, or at the table, it rested with yourself to be served or not with everything in your own cham-

* Edmund Randolph.

† Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry.

ber.”* Then he laid aside all ambition for service in public life, except when his country should demand a sacrifice; and he resolved to pass the remainder of his days in that quiet retreat on the banks of the Potomac, employed in the noble pursuit of agriculture, of which he was so fond. Although the war in which, thus far, he had been a conspicuous actor, went on, it was far from the borders of his own dear Virginia, and he was not drawn from his happy home, by necessity, while it lasted. Yet he was not an indifferent spectator of its shifting scenes, but watched with intense interest those final acts in the great drama of the Seven Years’ War, in America, which led to the prostration of the French dominion on this continent, and the burying of the hatchet of many a fierce tribe of the dusky children of the forest. As these closing scenes held intimate relationship to Washington’s after-life, we will leave him in his happy home for awhile, and briefly consider them.

The campaign of 1758 was highly honorable and propitious to Great Britain, notwithstanding the misfortune and disgrace at Ticonderoga. The Indian power, which was a strong element in the French colonial strength, had become almost paralyzed, and successes in the East and West gave increased energy to the English and the colonists. “The British nation,” says Graham,† “first aroused by resentment, and now inflamed with success and ambition, regarded the recent American campaign as the pledge and harbinger of further and more signal triumphs in the same quarter.” Supported by this sentiment, Pitt made every necessary arrangement for a vigorous campaign, so as to close the war, during the year 1759, by the complete conquest of Canada. Parliament, with but one dissenting voice, voted for the year sixty millions of dollars, and provided for additional forces by sea and land to an extent hitherto unknown, and even unimagined, in England. “This,” exclaimed Lord Chesterfield, “is Mr. Pitt’s doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. He declares only what he would have Parliament do, and they do it.”‡

* The Marquis de Chastellux’s Travels in North America, translator’s note, ii., 163.

† Colonial History of the United States, ii., 284.

‡ Correspondence of the Earl of Chatham, i., 403.

General Amherst was appointed to the chief command in America, and, disregarding seniority in rank, Pitt selected, as other leaders, the best officers in the army. The plan of the campaign embraced several distinct operations, all having in view the reduction of Montreal and Quebec as the final result of their efforts. General Stanwix was to complete the conquest and occupation of the French posts in the Ohio country from Fort Pitt to Lake Erie, and to scout along the southern shores of Lake Ontario; General Prideaux, assisted by Sir William Johnson, was to reduce Fort Niagara; General Wolfe was to ascend the St. Lawrence with a fleet and army, and capture Quebec; and General Amherst was to advance with the main body to Lake Champlain, and take possession of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

Prideaux's expedition was first accomplished. It was very important. Fort Niagara was the key to the West and South, and its possession by the English would cut off all communication, by the French, with Louisiana. When that should be effected, Prideaux was to descend Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, make himself master of Montreal, and there unite his forces with those of Amherst and Wolfe in the reduction of Quebec. Prideaux embarked at Oswego on the first of July, with a large number of regulars and provincials, accompanied by a considerable body of warriors from the Mohawk valley under Sir William Johnson. They landed within three miles of the fort on the sixth, and completely invested it the following day. It was a strong fortress, with bastions and ravelins, ditches, covered way, and drawbridge, and other excellent appointments. The garrison was six hundred strong, and a reinforcement was daily expected.

Prideaux commenced a cannonade on the seventh, and began the siege by regular approaches. While in the trenches, directing operations, on the fifteenth, he was killed by the bursting of a cohorn, when the command devolved upon Sir William Johnson. When Amherst was informed of the death of Prideaux, he despatched Brigadier-General Gage, the leader of Braddock's advance, to conduct the siege; but he did not arrive until all was over. His ser-



vices were not needed, for Johnson, though uninstructed in the art of war, conducted operations with singular skill and courage, and pushed on the entrenchments with more vigor than Prideaux had done. These were nearly completed, when, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of July, scouts brought intelligence that twelve hundred French troops, drawn from Venango, Presqu' Isle, and Detroit, and a considerable body of southern Indians, were approaching from Niagara falls, led by Colonel D'Aubrey, a gallant officer who was at Ticonderoga the previous year. Johnson immediately sent out some grenadiers and light infantry, and a few of the Mohawk Indians, to meet them. Some of the Mohawks advanced to parley with the French Indians, but were received with the significant war-whoop as a signal for attack. The French and their allies then rushed wildly upon the English, with shouts and yells, and were received with cool courage, while the Mohawks, eleven hundred in number, fell fiercely upon the flanks of the enemy. The conflict, carried on within sound of the sullen roar of the great cataract, was severe, and many fell. In less than an hour, however, the French and their savage allies, thoroughly routed, were flying in confusion through the woods, closely pursued and terribly smitten by the English and Mohawks. D'Aubrey and seventeen of his officers were made prisoners, and his defeat was complete. There was no longer any hope for the garrison, and a capitulation was signed the next day. The troops marched out with the honors of war, fully protected from Johnson's Indians, and were sent prisoners to New York. The women, at their own request, were sent with their children to Montreal, and the sick and wounded were treated with tender care. These humane acts of the victors appeared in forcible contrast with the cruel events at the surrender of Oswego and Fort William Henry. Encumbered with his prisoners, and unable to procure a sufficient number of vessels for the purpose, Johnson could not proceed to Montreal, according to the original plan; so he garrisoned Fort Niagara, and returned home.

The fall of Niagara made the French extremely solicitous concerning the safety of Montreal, and M. de Levi was despatched

from Quebec, with a considerable force, to strengthen Fort Presentation at Oswegatchie (now Ogdensburgh), and there defend the passage of the St. Lawrence.

Amherst, in the meanwhile, had assembled twelve thousand men at the head of Lake George. His excessive caution made his progress slow; and had not the quicker movements of Wolfe, which brought him early before Quebec, caused Montcalm to draw largely upon the garrisons at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, his enterprise would doubtless have been as unsuccessful as that of Abercrombie the year before. The extreme weakness of the enemy, caused by these drafts, gave Amherst advantages, and toward the close of July he was in possession of Ticonderoga. Bourlamarque, who commanded the garrison, had been instructed to retreat from post to post, if necessary, until he should reach Canada, rather than risk a defeat and capture. After making a slight resistance on the approach of Amherst, and perceiving no chance for a successful defence, he dismantled Fort Carillon and retreated to Crown Point on the twenty-sixth of July. Amherst left a garrison to repair and occupy the works at Ticonderoga, and pursued the fugitives. On the first of August, the French abandoned Crown Point also, and fled down Lake Champlain in boats to Isle Aux Noix, in the river Sorel, where, on the borders of Canada, they resolved to make a stand for the defence of the province. Had Amherst still pursued, he might have followed them to Montreal and Quebec, gathering laurels of victory on the way; but he wasted all the precious days of August, September, and a part of October, in laying the foundations of costly fortifications at Crown Point, which could be of no service if, as all confidently expected, the conquest of Canada should be achieved. When Wolfe had performed a great work without his aid, and Amherst had again commenced a pursuit of the French, he was met by a messenger from Quebec, with intelligence of victory. Instead of pushing forward to Montreal, and making the conquest of Canada the grand result of the campaign, by an easy capture of that city, he pleaded the dangers of mid-autumn storms upon the lake, and, returning to Crown Point, went into winter quarters there.

During that season, his army constructed that strong fortress whose picturesque ruins, after the lapse of more than a hundred years, yet attest its strength. Amherst was a brave and faithful officer, but his perceptions were dull, and he had but few resources.

Pitt and the English people relied more upon Wolfe and his operations, for victory in the New World, than upon Amherst and all the others engaged in the campaign.* Nor were they disappointed. The conduct of Wolfe at Louisburg had made his name synonymous with that of gallantry and skill; and when, late in November, he wrote to Pitt—"I take the freedom to acquaint you, that I have no objections to serving in America, and particularly in the river St. Lawrence, if any operations are to be carried on there"—the hint was gladly received, and a few days afterward he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and placed at the head of the forces destined to act against Quebec. He embarked, early in February, with eight thousand men, on board a fleet commanded by Admiral Saunders. There were men in that armament who subsequently occupied conspicuous places in history. On one of the ships was Jervis, afterward the celebrated Earl St. Vincent; and the master of another was Captain James Cook, the renowned circumnavigator. Wolfe's adjutant-general was Isaac Barré, an Irishman with quick wit and eloquent tongue, who, when in Parliament, a dozen years later, lifted up his voice nobly in defence of the oppressed American colonists. At the head of the grenadiers was Guy Carleton, afterward governor of Canada; and William Howe, the commander-in-chief of the British army in America during the earlier years of our War for Independence, commanded a corps of light infantry. Besides these, there were Brigadiers Monckton, Townshend and Murray, young and brave like Wolfe himself, and already

* "Considering," says Walpole, "that our ancient officers had grown old on a very small portion of experience, which by no means compensated for the decay of fire and vigor, it was Mr. Pitt's practice to trust his plans to the alertness and hopes of younger men. This appeared particularly in the nomination of Wolfe for the enterprise on Quebec. Ambition, industry, passion for the service, were conspicuous in him. He seemed to breathe for nothing but fame, and lost no moments in qualifying himself to compass his object. He had studied for his purpose, and wrote well. Pre-sumption on himself was necessary to such a character, and he had it. He was formed to execute the designs of such a master as Pitt."—*Memoirs of George II.*, ii., 345.

made wise by experience in arms; and scores of subalterns, full of the spirit of their commander, inspired the rank and file with life, hope, and deep earnestness.

When the ice moved from the St. Lawrence, Wolfe embarked his army at Louisburg, and, borne by a fleet of twenty-two ships-of-the-line, and an equal number of frigates and smaller armed vessels, commanded by Admirals Saunders and Holmes, they arrived at the isle of Orleans, a little below Quebec, on the twenty-sixth of June. They debarked the next day, and pitched scores of tents in the midst of fertile and well-cultivated fields around the pleasant church of St. Laurent; and there, under the direction of Sir Guy Carleton, some strong batteries were erected. Up the river a few miles, upon and around a lofty promontory at the confluence of the St. Lawrence and St. Charles rivers, stood Quebec, not then so strengthened by the hand of art as now, yet very strong in its grand declivities, on the summit of which stood the citadel. In that city, and in a strongly-entrenched camp upon the heights of Beauport, extending from the St. Charles to the Montmorenci rivers, was an army of thirteen thousand men, under the command of the brave and accomplished Montcalm. His force consisted of six battalions of regulars, and the remainder of Canadians and Indians. His headquarters were at Beauport, the centre of his camp, and in front were two batteries placed upon hulks sunk in the channel of the St. Lawrence.

The tents of the English army were just arranged at sunset on the day of the debarkation, when a furious thunderstorm swept down the St. Lawrence with terrible power. Upon its wings, at midnight, came a squadron of flaming fire-ships, sent to destroy the English vessels. The British seamen grappled them without fear, towed them away from the menaced fleet, and allowed them to pass harmlessly down the river with the storm.

Finding Orleans to be too far away to operate with bombs and cannon-shot upon the city, Wolfe sent General Monckton, on the twenty-ninth, to take possession of and fortify Point Levi, nearly opposite Quebec. This was done without much opposition; and,

from the batteries of mortar and cannon erected there, Monckton hurled shells and red-hot shot upon the city. Fifty houses were set on fire in one night, and the lower town was laid in ruins; but the citadel, crowning the lofty declivity, remained unscathed.

Wolfe, eager for results, and conscious that little progress had been made, resolved to lead his division across the north channel of the St. Lawrence, below the Montmorenci, and erect batteries there within cannon-shot of the left wing of the French camp. This he accomplished on the tenth of July, in the face of fierce opposition. Still, Quebec was too far distant to be further harmed by any of his works; and so well guarded were the banks of the Montmorenci by steep declivities, all fortified, that he could make no impression there. Finally, on the eighteenth, he boldly passed up the river, above Quebec, to reconnoitre. The banks were steep, and bristling with entrenchments. The sleepless vigilance of Montcalm was everywhere visible, and Wolfe saw no access to the high plains of Abraham which stretched away from the weakest side of the town. He retired to his camp disappointed but not dispirited, and resolved to storm Montcalm's entrenchments below Beauport, at all hazards. Orders were accordingly given, and preparations were made.

The last day of July had dawned, when the troops at Point Levi, and a large number of grenadiers under Monckton, crossed the St. Lawrence in the boats of the fleet, and landed a little above the Montmorenci. At the same time, those below the Montmorenci, under Generals Townshend and Murray, crossed that stream by fording it near its mouth, at low water, and joined the other divisions upon the beach. In crossing, several boats ran aground, and much delay occurred, while the French made ample provisions for receiving the English. It was almost night when the two divisions met, and awaited orders from Wolfe, who was on the spot. Heavy thunder-clouds were then rolling up from the west. The grenadiers, impatient of restraint, rushed madly upon the enemy's works, before the other troops, that were to sustain them, had time to form. They were driven back to the beach with a severe loss and sought shelter

behind a redoubt which had been abandoned by the enemy. The French kept up a galling fire, till the gathering tempest burst with great fury upon the combatants. Night closed in while the storm was yet raging. The ocean-tide came roaring up against the current of the St. Lawrence with uncommon strength, and the British were compelled to retreat to their camp across the Montmorenci, to avoid submersion on the beach by the foaming waters. The loss of the English in that unfortunate attempt was more than four hundred men.

Wolfe now sent General Murray, with a detachment of twelve hundred men, to co-operate with Admiral Holmes in destroying the French shipping above Quebec, and in opening a communication with Amherst, from whom nothing had been heard. This expedition was almost fruitless, except in the destruction of a magazine; but Murray returned with the joyful intelligence that the French had been driven from Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point. This was a ray of light in the midst of the gloom, and Wolfe earnestly and anxiously expected the approach of Amherst every hour. But at that moment, when he should have been on a victorious march to assist in reducing Quebec, Amherst was repairing and building useless fortifications on Lake Champlain.

Wolfe was greatly dispirited by this repulse from the French works, for he was very sensitive to censure, and he expected much for this miscarriage. The emotions of his mind, co-operating with great fatigue of body, brought on a fever and dysentery, which nearly proved fatal, and it was almost a month before he was able to resume his command in person. Having recovered sufficiently to write, he drew up a despatch to Pitt on the second of September. After detailing the events, referring to his illness, and frankly confessing that he had called a council of war, to consult for the general safety, he said: "We have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose us. In this situation there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is

some hope of a favorable event." When this letter reached England, it excited consternation and anger. Pitt feared that he had been mistaken in his favorite general, and that the next news would be that he had either been destroyed or had capitulated.* But in the conclusion of his melancholy epistle, Wolfe had said that he would do his best; and that "best" turned out to be a miracle of war. He declared that he would rather die than be brought to a court-martial for miscarrying; and, in conjunction with his brigadiers and Admiral Saunders, he concerted, while stretched upon his bed in his tent, a plan for scaling the almost inaccessible Heights of Abraham, and gaining possession of that elevated plateau in the rear of Quebec.

The camp at Montmorenci was now broken up, and all the troops and artillery, except a garrison left on the island of Orleans, were conveyed to Point Levi, and there taken, by a part of the fleet, far up the river, while the remainder lingered and made feigned preparations for a second attack upon Montcalm's entrenchments at Beauport. De Bougainville was sent with fifteen hundred men to watch the movements of the British above Quebec, and so deceived was the French commander by their manœuvres, that he was fully persuaded that his camp was to be attacked.

Wolfe, though weak and suffering, resolved to lead the expedition, and he was with the troops that ascended the river. It was the twelfth of September, and the brief Canadian summer was over. After midnight, while clouds were gathering in the firmament, the army left the vessels, and in flat-boats, without oars or sails, they glided down noiselessly with the tide, followed by the ships soon afterward. Wolfe was in good spirits, yet there was evidently a presentiment of speedy death in his mind. At his evening mess on

* The news of the repulse reached England on the morning of the sixteenth of October, and was published in an extra "Gazette" of that date. The same evening, Captain Hale arrived, and brought intelligence of the triumph upon the plains of Abraham. The general grief was suddenly changed into great joy, and a day for public thanksgiving was set apart by the king. In describing this event, Horace Walpole wrote: "The incidents of dramatic fiction could not be conducted with more address, to lead an audience from despondency to sudden exultation, than accident prepared to excite the passions of a whole people. They despaired—they triumphed—and they wept, for Wolfe had fallen in the hour of victory."

the ship, he composed and sang impromptu that little song of the camp, commencing—

“Why, soldiers, why,
Should we be melancholy, boys?
Why, soldiers, why—
Whose business 'tis to die!”

And as he sat among his officers, and floated softly down the river at the past-midnight hour, a shadow seemed to come upon his heart, and he repeated, in low, musing tones, that touching stanza of Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*—

“The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour:
The path of glory leads but to the grave!”

At the close, he whispered: “Now, gentlemen, I would prefer being the author of that poem to the glory of beating the French to-morrow.”*

The flotilla reached a cove which Wolfe had marked for a landing-place (and which still bears his name), before daybreak, and there debarked. At the head of the main division, Wolfe pushed eagerly up a narrow and rough ravine; while the light infantry and Highlanders, under Colonel Howe, climbed the steep acclivity by the aid of the maple, spruce, and ash saplings and shrubs which covered its rugged face. The sergeant's guard on its brow was soon dispersed, and at dawn, on the thirteenth, almost five thousand British troops were drawn up in battle array on the plains of Abraham, three hundred feet above the St. Lawrence.

Montcalm could hardly believe the messenger who brought him intelligence of this marshalling of the English upon the weak side of the city. “It can be but a small party come to burn a few houses, and return,” he said; but he was soon undeceived. Then he saw the imminent danger to which the town and garrison were exposed; and he immediately abandoned his entrenchments, and

* This anecdote is given on the authority of Midshipman (afterward Professor) John Robinson, of Edinburgh, who was in the boat with Wolfe.

led a large portion of his army across the St. Charles, to attack the invaders. He sent messengers to call back De Bougainville, and at ten o'clock Montcalm was upon the plains of Abraham, and his army in battle line. The French had three field-pieces; the English had but one, and that was a light six-pounder which some sailors had dragged up the ravine.

Wolfe placed himself on the right, at the head of the Louisburg grenadiers, who were burning with a desire to wipe out the stain of their defeat at the Montmorenci. Montcalm was on the left, at the head of the regiments of Languedoc, Bearne, and Guienne. So the two commanders stood face to face. Wolfe ordered his men to load with two bullets each, and to reserve their fire until the French should be within forty yards. These orders were strictly obeyed, and their double-shotted guns did terrible execution. After delivering several rounds in rapid succession, which threw the French into confusion, the English charged upon them furiously with their bayonets.

While urging on his battalions in this charge, Wolfe was singled out by some Canadians on the left, and was slightly wounded in the wrist. He stanchd the blood with a handkerchief, and, while cheering on his men, received a second wound, in the groin. A few minutes afterward, another bullet struck him in the breast, and brought him to the ground, mortally wounded. At that moment, regardless of self, he thought only of victory for his troops. "Support me," he said to an officer near him; "let not my brave soldiers see me drop. The day is ours—keep it!" He was taken to the rear, while his troops continued to charge. The officer on whose shoulder he was leaning, exclaimed, "They run! they run!" The waning light returned to the dim eyes of the hero, and he asked, "Who runs?"—"The enemy, sir; they give way everywhere."—"What," feebly exclaimed Wolfe, "do they run already? Go to Colonel Preston, and tell him to march Webb's regiment immediately to the bridge over the St. Charles, and cut off the fugitives' retreat. Now, God be praised, I die happy!" These were his last words, and in the midst of sorrowing companions, just at the mo-

ment of victory, he expired.* Montcalm, who was fighting gallantly at the head of the French, also received a mortal wound. "Death is certain," said his surgeon. "I am glad of it," replied Montcalm; "how long shall I survive?"—"Ten or twelve hours, perhaps less."—"So much the better: I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec!" He wrote a letter to General Townshend, recommending the prisoners to the humanity of the British, and expired at five o'clock the next morning. Almost seventy years afterward, an English governor of Canada caused a noble granite obelisk to be erected in the city of Quebec to the memory of WOLFE and MONTCALM.

The command of the army now devolved on General Townshend; and, after the flight of the French, who had five hundred of their number slain on the field, he took a strong position on the plains of Abraham, and commenced the erection of redoubts, preparatory to storming the city. Some of the French officers were disposed to hold out, but the inhabitants said: "We have sacrificed our fortunes and our homes, without murmuring; but we can not expose our wives and children to destruction." Five days afterward, the city of Quebec capitulated; and the remnant of the grand army of the French, under M. de Levi, who succeeded Montcalm, retired to Montreal. General Murray was left to defend the battered and half-ruined city, and the British fleet, fearful of frost, weighed anchor and left the St. Lawrence, carrying away about a thousand prisoners. Thus brilliantly ended the campaign of 1759. But the conquest of Canada was not complete.

Early in the spring of 1760, De Levi marched upon Quebec with a motley army of ten thousand men, composed of French regulars, Canadians, and Indians, with a determination to retake the city.

* James Wolfe was born in Westerham, in Kent, England, on the second of January, 1727. He entered the army very young, and soon distinguished himself by skill, judgment, and bravery. His assault on Quebec was one of the boldest achievements ever attempted, and he fell at the age of thirty-two. His body was conveyed to England on board the *Royal William*, and buried at Greenwich, on the twentieth of November, 1759, where, in the family vault, the remains of the hero rest by the side of his father and mother. The British government erected a monument to his memory in Westminster abbey. The remains of Montcalm rest within the grounds of the Ursuline convent at Quebec.

Murray, with seven thousand troops, went out to attack him on the twenty-eighth of April, but was sorely defeated, lost all of his artillery, and came near being cut off in his retreat to the town. De Levi followed up his successes most vigorously; and as soon as the ice left the St. Lawrence, he brought up six French frigates, encamped his army upon the heights above Point Levi, and prepared to beleaguer the city by land and water. Fortunately for the English, Lord Colville arrived at this juncture, with two good frigates, and destroyed the French vessels in the presence of De Levi. Thoroughly alarmed at the suddenness of the event, and fearing that these two fast sailers were only the van of a powerful fleet, the French commander retreated precipitately to Montreal, leaving his artillery and stores behind. So rapid was his flight, that Murray, who started in pursuit, could not overtake him.

All was now lost to the French, except Montreal, where Vaudreuil, the governor-general of the province, had established his headquarters, cast up fortifications, and gathered around him all the military strength that was left. Amherst was again in the field, and during the summer he made extensive preparations to strike the final blow. Slowly, but surely, he concentrated his materials near the doomed city. At the head of almost ten thousand men, and a thousand warriors of the Six Nations under Sir William Johnson, he moved by the way of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, and appeared before Montreal on the sixth of September. On the same day, General Murray arrived from Quebec with four thousand troops; and the next day Colonel Haviland appeared with three thousand more, from Crown Point, having taken the Isle Aux Noix on the way. Against such a crushing force resistance would be vain; and, on the eighth, Vaudreuil signed a capitulation, by which Montreal and all Canada were surrendered to the English. General Gage was appointed governor of Montreal, and General Murray, with five thousand troops, garrisoned Quebec.

Thus ended the fierce struggle between the French and English for dominion in the New World. In Washington's encounter with De Jumonville, six years before, the first gun had been fired, and

the first blood had flowed. In this contest the colonists discovered their inherent strength and independence; and the experience gained by the young Virginia colonel, and a host of others, during the war, was of infinite value to their country in after-years, when the Americans fulfilled the prediction of the duke de Choiseul, who consoled himself for the loss of Canada by the full persuasion that it would be a fatal triumph to England. "They will no longer need her protection," he said; "she will call on them to contribute toward supporting the burden they have helped to bring on her, and they will answer by striking off her dependence."

Trouble yet lingered in the far South. The Cherokees had been powerfully stirred by French emissaries and by outrages committed upon a party of their warriors by a band of Virginians, and they lifted the hatchet in fierce indignation. In the spring of 1760, they spread destruction along the whole frontier of the Carolinas. Amherst sent troops thither under Colonel Montgomery, and they desolated the country of those brave mountaineers. But they were not subdued until the following year, when a strong party under Colonel Grant chastised them severely, and in June they humbly sued for peace. This was really the last blow given to French power in America.

CHAPTER XXIX.

WASHINGTON AT MOUNT VERNON—HIS TASTES AND PURSUITS—THE MANSION AND ESTATE OF MOUNT VERNON—THE VIRGINIA PLANTER—DESCRIPTION OF A LARGE ESTATE—PRODUCTS OF WASHINGTON'S FARMS—HIS BUSINESS HABITS—IMPORTATIONS OF CLOTHING—SOCIETY AND STYLE OF LIVING—AMUSEMENTS—ANECDOTE—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

It is delightful to turn from the contemplation of the dark visage of War, which presents the vices of camps, the tumults of sieges, and the clangor of battles, to that of the serene aspect of Peace, where scenes of contentment and repose, and the virtues and pleasures of domestic and rural life, appear like luminous pictures of the Land of the Blessed.

For awhile we have been studying the character of Washington in the lurid glare or painful glitter of war, and have seen in him the development of attributes which prophesied of a remarkable career. Now we may contemplate his life—his young and vigorous life—in the soft light and cool shadows of social and domestic pleasures and the charms of rural pursuits, varied only by the dignified and beneficent duties of a wise legislator in a time of tranquillity. Around his large and beautiful estate of Mount Vernon were clustered associations of deep interest for him. There he had passed many of the happiest days of his boyhood under the careful eye and friendly counsels of a brother who loved him tenderly; and the mansion and its broad acres, which he now came to occupy, were the gift of that brother when dying. It was therefore, to him, a consecrated spot; and deeper feelings than those inspired by the idea of possession, or the influence of natural beauties, made it always a retreat to be coveted when the weight of public duties pressed upon him. Agriculture was his delight; and at all times,

whether in the camp or in the presidential chair, there was no theme for contemplation that gave his mind more pleasure than this. With an ample fortune at his command, and a large estate,* his highest aims seem to have been to increase that fortune by exemplary management, and to sustain an irreproachable character as a country-gentleman, by a faithful performance of citizenship duties, and the cultivation of the domestic and social virtues. With such aims he wrote to a kinsman in London, a few months after his marriage: "I am now, I believe, fixed in this seat, with an agreeable partner for life, and I hope to find more happiness in retirement than I ever experienced amidst the wide and bustling world."

The mansion at Mount Vernon is yet standing, with several of its out-buildings, all bearing deep impressions of the tooth of time; but the aspect of the landscape around it is much changed, except in the contour of the hills and the expanse of the broad Potomac. It stands upon the brow of a high plateau, which was then crowned with the primeval forest, and commanded a magnificent view up and down the river, and of the opposite shores of Maryland. The grounds around it were arranged in accordance with the taste of English landscape-gardening at that time; and in different clearings of the forest which covered a great portion of the vast estate, were farms, each devoted to a special kind of culture, in which appropriate laborers were employed. System was everywhere the rule. The ground was picturesquely diversified; sometimes furrowed by deep ravines, or scarred by shaded dells scooped in the hillsides, wherein favorite game found shelter; and it was enlivened in every direction by streams of water. On the river-bank it was indented by estuaries in whose depths the finest table-fishes sported, and or

* The daughter of Lawrence Washington had recently died, and, according to the provisions of his will, the estate of Mount Vernon passed into the possession of his brother George. This was of itself an ample fortune for a prudent manager like Washington. The property of Mrs. Washington, added to this, made him rank among the wealthiest planters in Virginia. Her first husband had left her large landed property, and more than two hundred thousand dollars in money, consisting of certificates of deposit in the bank of England. The iron chest in which these certificates were kept (for there were no banks in America at that time), is now (1857) in the possession of Mrs. Washington's grandson, George W. P. Custis, of Arlington House. The property left Mrs. Custis was equally divided between herself and her two children, a boy of six and a girl of four years of age. By a decree of the general court, Washington was appointed the guardian of these children. He was always as a father to them, and he managed their property with discretion and fidelity.

whose surface stately swans and flocks of wild geese and ducks delighted to congregate. "No estate in United America," Washington once wrote, "is more pleasantly situated. In a high and healthy country; in a latitude between the extremes of heat and cold; on one of the finest rivers in the world—a river well stocked with various kinds of fish at all seasons of the year, and in the spring with shad, herrings, bass, carp, sturgeon, etc., in great abundance. The borders of the estate are washed by more than ten miles of tide-water; several valuable fisheries appertain to it: the whole shore, in fact, is one entire fishery." Such was the delightful home to which Washington conveyed his wife, in the spring of 1759.

But for the pleasures of social intercourse, which fostered a boundless hospitality, the occupation of a Virginia planter before the Revolution must have been extremely monotonous. The estates were large, the population was scattered, and the methods of communication were slow and inconvenient. "A large Virginia estate in those days," says Irving, "was a little empire. The mansion-house was the seat of government, with its numerous dependencies, such as kitchens, smoke-houses, workshops, and stables. In this mansion the planter ruled supreme; his steward, or overseer, was his prime minister and executive officer; he had his legion of house-negroes for domestic service, and his host of field-negroes for the culture of tobacco, Indian corn, and other crops, and for other out-of-door labor. Their quarter formed a kind of hamlet apart, composed of various huts, with little gardens and poultry-yards, all well stocked, and swarms of little negroes gambolling in the sunshine. Then there were large wooden edifices for curing tobacco, the staple and most profitable production, and mills for grinding wheat and Indian corn, of which large fields were cultivated for the supply of the family and the maintenance of the negroes. Among the slaves were artificers of all kinds, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, smiths, wheelwrights, and so forth."

Tobacco was the staple product of Washington's estate. He exported large quantities to England, shipping it in his own name, in vessels that came up the Potomac and received it from his wharves

He also raised large crops of wheat and Indian corn; and so noted for excellence was everything bearing his brand, that a barrel of flour stamped "George Washington, Mount Vernon," was exempted from the customary inspection in the West India ports.*

Unlike many of the Virginia planters, Washington did not leave the care of his estate wholly to his overseer. Active, methodical, and industrious, he exercised a general personal supervision. He was an early riser; and, after making a frugal breakfast upon a few Indian cakes and some tea or coffee,† he mounted his horse and visited every part of his estate where the current operations seemed to require his presence.

It was the practice in those days for the Virginia planters to send to London for all articles in common use, such as agricultural implements, and saddles, bridles, and harness, for their horses. Twice a year, Washington forwarded to his agent, in London, lists of articles that he desired, even of wearing-apparel for himself and family. He gave the names, ages, sizes, and general description, of the two children of Mrs. Washington. In an order sent to Richard Washington in 1761, he says, after referring to an invoice of clothes sent: "As they are designed for wearing-apparel for myself, I have committed the choice of them to your fancy, having the best opinion of your taste. I want neither lace nor embroidery. Plain clothes, with gold or silver buttons, if worn in genteel dress, are all that I desire. Whether it be the fault of the tailor or of the measure sent, I can not say, but, certain it is, my clothes have never fitted me well. I enclose a measure, and, for a further direction, I think it not amiss to add, that my stature is six feet; otherwise rather slender than corpulent."‡ Washington always required his agent to send him, in

* Speech of Robert C. Winthrop on laying the corner-stone of the Washington monument at Washington city.

† Washington's abstemiousness at breakfast appears to have been a marked exception to a general rule. The Reverend Andrew Barnaby, who travelled extensively in America in the years 1759 and 1760, and visited Mount Vernon several times during the first year of Washington's marriage, says: "In several parts of Virginia, the ancient custom of eating meat at breakfast still continues. At the top of the table, where the lady of the house presides, there is constantly tea and coffee; but the rest of the table is garnished out with roast fowls, ham, venison, game, and other dainties. Even at Williamsburg, it is the custom to have a plate of cold ham upon the table; and there is scarcely a Virginian lady who breakfasts without it."

‡ "In exact measure," says Sparks (i., 110), "his height was six feet, three inches."

addition to a general bill of the whole, the original vouchers of the shopkeepers and mechanics from whom purchases were made; and these, for many years, he carefully transcribed into books, with his own hand. He kept his own accounts, and with great accuracy; and every portion of his business was conducted with all the scrupulous care and nicety of mercantile operations. He usually drew up for himself all papers requiring legal knowledge and accuracy; and it was his habit through life, in private as well as in public transactions, not to rely upon others for what he could do himself.

Although plain in their persons, Washington and his family lived in a style not unlike that of the English aristocracy at that time. When abroad, he always appeared on horseback, with excellent equipments,* accompanied by Bishop, his favorite body-servant; and his stable was furnished with numerous thoroughbred horses, kept in the best condition, and honored with distinctive names. For Mrs. Washington and her lady-visitors, he kept a chariot and four horses, with black postillions in livery, and these were frequently seen and admired on the road between Mount Vernon and Alexandria, or the neighboring estates. He loved the society of persons of intelligence and refinement, and with Mrs. Washington he often visited Annapolis, the seat of government in Maryland, which was then distinguished as a resort of the wealthy, the fashionable, and the learned. Mr. Irving,† on the authority of an octogenarian who had resided there in his boyhood, gives a glimpse of fashionable society in Annapolis at that period. "In those parts of the country where the roads were too rough for carriages," said his informant,

* The following order given to his London agent will give the reader a general idea of his appearance, when fully equipped for the road:—

"1 man's riding-saddle, hogskin seat; large, plated stirrups, and everything complete. Double reined bridle, and Pelham bit, plated.

"A very neat and fashionable Newmarket saddle-cloth.

"A large and best portmanteau, saddle, bridle, and pilhon.

"Cloak-bag, surcingle; checked saddle-cloth, holsters, &c.

"A riding-frock of a handsome drab-colored broadcloth, with plain double-gilt buttons.

"A riding-waistcoat of superfine scarlet cloth and gold lace, with buttons like those of the coat.

"A blue surtout-coat

"A neat switch-whip, silver cap.

"Black-velvet cap for servant."

† Life of Washington, *note*, i., 322.

"the ladies used to ride on ponies, followed by black servants on horseback. In this way my mother, then advanced in life, used to travel, in a scarlet cloth riding-habit, which she had procured from England. Nay, in this way, on emergencies," he added, "the young ladies from the country used to come to the balls at Annapolis, riding with their hoops arranged 'fore and aft' like lateen sails; and, after dancing all night, would ride home again in the morning."

For fifteen years, Washington was continually a member of the Virginia house of burgesses, being chosen by large majorities at every election; and while there, he met on terms of great intimacy the governor and others of the most eminent men in the province. The civilities which he received when abroad were always returned, on a large and generous scale, at Mount Vernon. "When he was at home," says Sparks,* "a day seldom passed without the company of friends or strangers at his house. In his diaries the names of these visitors are often mentioned, and we find among them the governors of Virginia and Maryland, and nearly all the celebrated men of the southern and middle colonies, who were afterward conspicuous in the history of the country." The eminent George Mason, of Gunston Hall, who was his nearest neighbor, and the eccentric old Lord Fairfax, of Greenway Court, were frequent guests at Mount Vernon; and among the occasional visitors, whom Washington esteemed most highly, were Colonel Hugh Mercer, then quietly following the business of a druggist at Fredericksburg, and Doctor Craik, of Alexandria, his family physician. Both of them had been his companions-in-arms, and the campaigning recollections of the three were fruitful themes for discourse when they met. Indeed, every man, whether officer or private, who had been in military service with Washington, always received a cordial greeting at Mount Vernon.

Washington was fond of amusements, especially those of the theatre† and of the chase. The former was then a recent importation

* Writings of Washington, i., 111.

† The first theatrical performance in America was at Annapolis, in July, 1752. The players were part of a company under the direction of Lewis Hallam. In September of the same year the whole company were at Williamsburg, where they performed Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*.

from England. The attractive appointments of the drama in our day were then unknown, yet the performances were of considerable merit, and delighted the aristocracy of Virginia and Maryland, who were inexperienced in such matters, and had no data for criticism. But the chase was Washington's chief amusement, and at the proper season he would often go out two or three times a week with horses, dogs, and horns, in pursuit of foxes, accompanied by his neighbors or guests. He was a fine horseman, but not an expert sportsman, and the foxes frequently eluded him, only to fall a prey to a more skilful companion. But these failures never disturbed him. His chief objects, excitement and recreation, were fully attained, and he was satisfied.

Washington was also fond of fowling; and duck-shooting, upon the little bays along his river-front, was his special delight. At certain seasons of the year, he could gratify this passion to its fullest extent, for the water would frequently swarm with the fine canvass-backs, now such a luxury upon our tables. In connection with this sport, a story is related which illustrates the muscular strength, personal courage, and unwavering determination, of Washington. A lawless vagabond had annoyed him for a long time, by crossing the river from the Maryland shore in a canoe, and shooting ducks and other game in the vicinity of Mount Vernon. He had been warned off repeatedly, but answered by insulting words. One day, Washington heard the report of a gun, and mounting his horse, he rode in the direction of the sound. It was the gun of the reckless intruder. He discovered the approach of Washington just in time to jump into his canoe and push from the shore, when it became entangled in the reeds. As Washington dashed through the bushes toward him, the culprit raised his fowling-piece, cocked it, and took deliberate aim. Washington rode into the water, seized the bow-line of the canoe, drew it to the shore, leaped from his horse, snatched the gun and ruined it by bending the barrel over his knee, and then inflicted a severe chastisement upon the poacher. The

There Washington saw them perform frequently; and, when they left, Governor Dinwiddie gave Mr. Hallam his certificate that his company were good comedians.

punishment was effectual, and intruders upon the domain of Mount Vernon were few and cautious afterward.

Washington loved to be upon the bosom of the Potomac, and, like other Virginia gentlemen of the time, who lived near its banks, he kept a fine barge, and black, liveried oarsmen, for state occasions. Pleasant sailing-boats were frequently seen sweeping along the surface of the river, freighted with ladies and gentlemen going from mansion to mansion; and the mutual visitors at Belvoir and Mount Vernon were generally conveyed in this way from one place to the other, when the weather was fine. When at Annapolis or Williamsburg, Mr. and Mrs. Washington generally attended the balls and parties given by the *élite* of those provincial capitals, and they frequently joined in the dance. This was not a favorite amusement of Washington; and by the lips of one who was a belle and a bride while the Revolution was in progress, we have been assured that, after that event, either from disinclination or a sense of the dignity of his character, Washington never danced. She had seen him frequently at balls (for he loved to encourage the innocent amusements of the young), and he sometimes "walked a figure, but never danced."*

In rural occupations and pleasant social intercourse, Washington spent several years tranquilly and happily at Mount Vernon. He was childless, but his best affections were cultivated and gratified by the daily intercourse and filial attachment of Mrs. Washington's children, whom he tenderly loved and carefully instructed. Although he indulged freely in social pleasures, these were never allowed to interfere with his duties, public or private. As a legisla-

* About a month before his death, Washington wrote the following note in reply to an invitation from a committee of gentlemen, at Alexandria, for himself and Mrs. Washington to attend the dancing assemblies at that place:—

"To Messrs. Jonathan Swift, George Deneale, William Newton, Robert Young, Charles Alexander, jr., James H. Hoole, Managers.

"MOUNT VERNON, 12th November. 1799.

"GENTLEMEN: Mrs. Washington and myself have been honored with your polite invitation to the assemblies of Alexandria, this winter, and thank you for this mark of your attention. But alas! our dancing-days are no more. We wish, however, all those who have a relish for so agreeable and innocent an amusement, all the pleasure the season will afford them; and I am, gentlemen,

"Your most obedient and obliged

"Humble servant,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON"

tor, he was punctual and industrious; as a judge of Fairfax county, he was studious and prompt; and every matter of public concern engaged his earnest thoughts, and frequently his personal services.

Schemes for internal improvements, for facilitating the developments of the resources of the country, often occupied Washington's most serious attention. At about the time we are considering, he was engaged, with some other enterprising gentlemen, in a project to drain the Dismal swamp, an immense morass, lying partly in Virginia and partly in North Carolina, and extending thirty miles from north to south, and ten miles from east to west. Within its dark bosom, and nowhere appearing above its surface, are the sources of five navigable rivers and several creeks; and in its centre is a body of water known as Drummond's lake, so named from its alleged first discoverer. A great portion of the morass is covered with tall cypresses, cedars, hemlocks, and junipers, draped with long mosses and covered with creeping vines. In many places it is made impassable by fallen trees, thick brakes, and a dense growth of shrubbery. Thomas Moore, who visited it in 1804, has well indicated its character, in the following stanzas of his legendary poem, called *The Lake of the Dismal Swamp*:—

“Away to the Dismal swamp he speeds—
His path was rugged and sore,
Through tangled juniper, beds of reeds,
Through many a fen where the serpent feeds,
And man never trod before!

“And when on the earth he sunk to sleep,
If slumber his eyelids knew,
He lay where the deadly vine doth weep
Its venomous tears, and nightly steep
The flesh with blistering dew!”*

* “They tell of a young man,” says Moore, in his introduction to his poem, “who lost his mind upon the death of a girl he loved; and who, suddenly disappearing from his friends, was never afterward heard of. As he frequently said, in his ravings, that the girl was not dead, but gone to the Dismal swamp, it is supposed that he had wandered into that dreary wilderness, and had died of hunger, or been lost in some of its dreadful morasses.” The poet makes him say:—

“They made her grave too cold and damp,
For a soul so warm and true,
And she's gone to the lake of the Dismal swamp,
Where all night long by her fire-fly lamp
She paddles her white canoe

“And her fire-fly lamp I soon shall see,
And her paddle I soon shall hear
Long and loving our life shall be,
And I'll hide the maid in a cypress-tree,
When the footsteps of Death are near!”

Toward the southern portions of the swamp there is a tract covered with reeds, without any trees. These are continually green, and, as they wave in the wind, have the appearance of water. On that account it is called "The Green Sea." The eastern borders of the swamp are covered with tall reeds, closely interlaced with thorny bamboo-briers, and present an almost impassable barrier even to the wild beasts that prowl there. Into this dismal region Washington penetrated, on foot and on horseback, until he reached the lake in its centre. He circumtraversed this lake, in a journey of almost twenty miles, sometimes over a quaking bog, and at others in mud and water; and just at sunset he reached the solid earth on the margin of the swamp, where he passed the night. The next day he completed his explorations, and having observed the soil, its productions, the lake and its altitude, he returned home, convinced that the immense morass might be easily drained, for it lay considerably higher than the surrounding country. Through his influence, the Virginia legislature gave a charter to an association of gentlemen who constituted the "Dismal Swamp Company." Some, less sanguine of success than Washington, withheld their co-operation, and the project was abandoned for the time.

It was reserved for the enterprise of a later day to open the Dismal swamp to the hand of industry. A canal now passes through it from north to south, upon the bosom of which immense quantities of shingles and lumber are floated to accessible deposits. By that canal the swamp might easily be drained, and converted into fine tillable land. To every visiter there, the wisdom and forecast of Washington, in suggesting such improvement a hundred years ago, is remarkably manifest.

CHAPTER XXX.

TREATY OF PARIS—BRITISH PRIDE, AND THE SPIRIT OF THE COLONISTS—BOARD OF TRADE AND ITS OPERATIONS—TAXATION—WHAT THE COLONISTS HAD DONE—COMMERCIAL INFLUENCE—CANADA AND THE WEST INDIES—WRITS OF ASSISTANCE—OPPOSITION TO THEM—JAMES OTIS—WASHINGTON A COMMISSIONER TO SETTLE MILITARY ACCOUNTS—PONTIAC'S WAR—RENEWAL OF COLONIAL DISCONTENTS—THEIR INFLUENCE UPON WASHINGTON—REVENUE LAWS—GEORGE GRENVILLE—THE STAMP-ACT PROPOSED—EFFECTS OF THE PROPOSITION—PASSAGE OF THE STAMP-ACT.

THE war which commenced in America, finally spread over portions of western Europe and the West India islands, and Spain became a party in the quarrel, on the side of France. That contest was ended by a treaty signed at Paris on the tenth of February, 1763. By its provisions, the British possessions in America were made to extend from the Atlantic ocean to the Mississippi river, and from the gulf of Mexico to the Arctic circle. It was a conquest vast and immensely important, and Britain was justly proud of the extent and character of her dominions in the New World. That pride gave birth to intense desires for power, and a jealousy of her transatlantic children, in whom she had discovered so much strength and other palpable elements of independent growth. That pride and jealousy, quickened by this perception, had been active a long time before the close of the war, when the result was plainly foreshadowed, in endeavors to weave a bond of indissoluble union between the colonies and the mother-country. And it might have been indissoluble, if its texture had been composed of wise and just materials; for the Anglo-Americans were proud of their origin, and of their political connection with a government so powerful as that of Great Britain, strengthened as it was by many and important victories when the contest drew to a close

From the beginning, the colonists had evinced an impatience of arbitrary rule; and every manifestation of undue control by local magistrates or distant monarchs—every effort to abridge their liberties or absorb their gains—had stimulated the growth of democratic principles. These now permeated the whole social life in America, and finally evolved from the crude materials of royal charters, religious covenants, and popular axioms, that galaxy of representative governments which, having the justice of the English constitution, the truth of Christian ethics, and the wisdom of past experience for their foundation, were united, in “the fullness of time,” in that symmetrical combination of free institutions—the REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES.

The board of trade and plantations, through which the colonists were ruled, had been for a long time much troubled by the persistence of the colonial assemblies in claiming the right of free deliberation. It had finally resolved to make the colonies feel the superiority of the imperial government, and to bow submissively to its will; and to this end an alteration in the several colonial charters was determined upon in council, with the full concurrence of the young king.* The chief alteration—the strongest link in the chain of tyrannous measures now contemplated—was that which would make all of the government officials in America dependent upon the crown, and necessarily become supple instruments of its will. It was also resolved, in council, to establish episcopacy, as the government religion, in the colonies.† Under the direction of the earl

* King George the Second died on the twenty-fifth of October, 1760, and was succeeded by his grandson, Prince George, son of the deceased Frederick, prince of Wales. Young George was married in September, 1761, and in the same month their majesties were crowned. Among those present at that coronation was John Hancock, of Boston, who, a few years later, became an arch-rebel, and out of the pale of that monarch's clemency. King George was an honest but weak man, and during the earlier years of his reign he was controlled by weak and wicked advisers. Himself and his queen were pure in their morals, and their conduct gave such tone to society, that its influence for good was soon perceived. George was king almost sixty years, having ascended the throne in 1760 and died early in 1820. For two years (1787 to 1789) he was afflicted with insanity. The malady returned in 1801, and terminated his political life. He was in his eighty-second year when he died.

† Among other “reforms in the colonies” proposed by Bute and his associates was the curtailment of the dissenting influence in religious matters in America, by the establishment of episcopacy there. As early as 1748, Doctor Tucker, the archbishop of Canterbury, had offered the mitre to puritan divines, but they refused it. The colonists, viewing episcopacy in its worst light, as exhib-

of Bute, the king's confidential adviser, a cabinet was formed of materials appropriate for such work; and Charles Townshend, who was ever ready to assume large powers, and was thoroughly impressed with the omnipotence of Parliament, was chosen first lord of the board of trade, and chief instrument in the administration of the colonies. Associated with him in the work of binding the Americans, were the eminent Lord Mansfield, the great English jurist; George Grenville, author of the stamp-act at a later period; the Duke of Bedford, the representative of the landed aristocracy of Great Britain; and the hot-headed and unscrupulous earl of Egremont, who, before this, had sought to make some of the colonies tremble beneath the menaces of his official frowns.

Townshend was bold and honest, and despised dissimulation. He therefore announced explicitly, when the ministerial schemes were ripe, that there would be "no more requisitions from the king," but an immediate taxation of the colonists by Parliament, for revenue was wanted and must be created. The war had exhausted the British treasury; and the ministry, having observed the resources of the colonists, as manifested by their efforts during the recent struggle, looked to them for aid in replenishing the exchequer. But instead of asking it as a *favor*, it was demanded as a *right*; instead of inviting the colonial assemblies to levy taxes and make appropriations, government assumed the right to tax their expanding commerce, and levy heavy tribute upon their industry. For more than a hundred years that commerce and industry had felt the restrictions of the board of trade. Yet the colonists had struggled up, unaided and alone, from feebleness to strength. They had

ited in the early days of the American settlements, had been taught to fear such power, if it should happen to be wielded by the hand of a crafty politician, more than the arm of civil government. They knew that if Parliament had power to create dioceses among them, and appoint bishops, it would introduce tithes, and crush heresy. For years, controversy upon this subject ran high in America, and much acrimony appeared on both sides. The most prominent American writers on the subject were William Livingston, afterward governor of New Jersey, and Doctor Chandler, and Samuel Seabury, the latter of whom was subsequently made a bishop. The former wrote against episcopacy, the two latter in favor of it. Episcopacy was introduced into America, but not as a national establishment. It took root, and flourished. When the Revolution broke out in 1775, there were many of its adherents (Washington among them) found on the side of liberty; though generally, so intimate was its relation to the throne, through the mother-church, that its loyalty became a subject of reproach and suspicion, for the episcopalian clergy, as a body, were active or passive loyalists

built fortifications, raised armies, and fought battles, for England's glory and their own preservation, without England's aid, and often without her sympathy.* Compelled to be self-reliant from the beginning, they were made strong by the mother's neglect; and when to that neglect she finally added oppression and scorn, they felt justified in using their developed strength in defence of their rights, and in regarding the restrictions of the board of trade, now sought to be vigorously enforced, as mere ropes of sand. Now was commenced the fulfilment of the Duke de Choiseul's prediction, made when Canada fell.

In the British councils, everything was compelled to bend to the commercial interests of the realm. The influence of the merchants was omnipotent. The depreciation of the paper currency issued by some of the colonies, had caused them some loss, and, on their memorializing the board of trade on the subject, it was ordered that no paper issued by colonial assemblies, should thenceforward be a legal tender in payment of debts. This measure excited great indignation in America. "This stir of the merchants," wrote Washington, "seems to me, ill-timed, and can not be attended with any good effects, but, I fear, the contrary." Even before the treaty of Paris, the suggestions of the commercial interests were more powerful than considerations favorable to the colonists, and it was resolved by the British ministry to restore Canada to the French, and retain the English conquests in the West Indies, if both could not be secured. This unjust compliance with temporary expediency, to the sacrifice of everything for which the colonists had so faithfully contended, awakened their strongest fears, and Dr. Franklin wrote, and widely disseminated, a pamphlet, entitled *The Interests of Great Britain considered with regard to the Colonies, and the Acquisition of Canada*

* The French and Indian War cost the aggregate colonies full twenty millions of dollars, besides the flower of their youth; and, in return, Parliament had granted them, through the liberality of Pitt, about five and a half millions of dollars. Georgia alone received parliamentary aid in its settlement. In all the other colonies, where vast sums were expended in fitting out expeditions, purchasing the soil of the Indians, and sustaining the settlers, neither the crown nor parliament ever contributed a farthing of pecuniary aid. The settling of Massachusetts alone cost private individuals a million of dollars. Lord Baltimore spent two hundred thousand dollars in colonizing Maryland, and William Penn became deeply involved in debt in his efforts to settle and improve Pennsylvania.

and Guadeloupe. This pamphlet met with a warm response; and so heartily did Washington's feelings sympathize with its sentiments, that he used every means in his power to lay it before men of influence in his own and in other colonies.

The first measure of the government which aroused the colonies to a lively sense of their danger, was the issuing of writs of assistance, as they were called, in 1761. The officers appointed to collect revenue from customs, in America, had been instructed to be vigilant and rigorous in the performance of their duty. They found opposition among the people on every hand; and, on the petition of one of their officials, the supreme court of judicature issued warrants to customhouse officers, giving them, and their deputies, a general power to violently enter houses or stores where it might be suspected that contraband goods were concealed; and sheriffs and others were compelled to assist in the work. The idea of such latitude being given to "the meanest deputy of a deputy's deputy," created general indignation and alarm. It might cover the grossest abuses, and no man's privacy would be free from the invasion of these ministerial hirelings. The practical idea contained in the British constitution, that "every man's house is his castle," would thus become a mere abstraction. Open resistance was resolved upon, if necessary. The legality of the measure was at once questioned, in Massachusetts, and the matter was brought before a court held in the old town-hall in Boston. The advocate for the crown argued, that as Parliament was the supreme legislature for the whole British nation, and had authorized these writs, no subject had a right to complain. He was answered by James Otis, the younger, then advocate-general of the province. On that occasion the intense fire of his patriotism beamed forth with inexpressible brilliancy, and he boldly called upon the people to breast any storm of ministerial vengeance that might be aroused by opposition here. His eloquence was like lightning, far-felt and consuming. "He was a flame of fire," said John Adams, afterward. "The seeds of patriots and heroes were there and then sown, and when the orator exclaimed: 'To my dying day I will oppose, with all the power

and faculties God has given me, all such instruments of slavery on one hand, and villany on the other,' American independence was there and then born. Every man of an immense crowded audience appeared to me to go away, as I did, ready to take up arms against writs of assistance."* The assembly sided with Otis, and even Governor Bernard was opposed to the measure. From that day began the triumphs of the popular will. Very few writs were issued, and these were ineffectual.

In these political movements Washington took a lively interest, not only as a legislator, but as a private citizen who loved his country. He anxiously watched the progress of events, and when the voice of Otis found a ready response, in spirit if not yet in words, in the Virginia assembly, no member of that body more warmly sympathized with the opposition to oppressive measures in Massachusetts, than Colonel Washington. And when the definitive treaty was signed at Paris, and Canada was secured to the English, he expressed his gratification in all his letters at that time. Then he was called upon to perform an arduous public duty. He was appointed one of the commissioners to settle the military accounts of the colony, which were numerous and very complicated. His method, his complete knowledge of the subject, and the great sympathy which he felt for his companions-in-arms, and others who had served his country, caused him to execute this difficult task faithfully and judiciously, and to the satisfaction of all parties.

At the close of the war the colonists looked forward to long years of repose and prosperity, for they regarded the power of the Indians as completely paralyzed. As there appeared to be safety for settlers west of the mountains, emigration began to pour its living streams over those hitherto barriers of civilization. But, at that

* Later than this (1768), Otis, writing to a friend in London, said: "Our fathers were a *good* people; we have been a *free* people, and if you will not let us remain so any longer, we shall be a *great* people, and the present measures [various taxation schemes] can have no other tendency but to hasten, with great rapidity, events which every good and honest man would wish delayed for ages." Otis evidently referred to the future independence of the colonies. That event he did not live to see. His clear mind was clouded, in 1769, by a blow on the head, given by a bludgeon in the hands of a government official, which kept reason from its throne most of the time. All through the Revolution which his eloquence had helped to kindle, he was an almost indifferent spectator; and, in May, 1782, he was killed by lightning, in accordance with his often-expressed desire.

very moment, imminent danger to their peace and existence was impending. Pontiac, a sagacious Ottawa chief, who, like Philip of Pokanoket, saw no future for his nation, and who had been an early ally of the French, went secretly from tribe to tribe among the Algonquins, and obtained their solemn pledges to a confederation, whose object was the expulsion of the English from the country west of the Alleghanies. After the fall of Montreal he had professed an attachment to the English, and quieted every suspicion. So adroitly were his plans matured, that the commanders of the western forts had no suspicion of his conspiracy until it was fully ripe, and the first blow had been struck, in June, 1763. Then it was discovered that the Shawnees and Delawares, those with whom Washington was most familiar, were the chief conspirators. Even some of the chiefs who had been his allies, were now upon the war-path; and, practising treachery on every hand, they were the worst foes of the English. They massacred traders whom they had invited among them, and seized their property; and large scalping-parties advanced to the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, spreading death and desolation in their track. They boldly attacked the English outposts almost at the same moment; and, within a fortnight all of these west of Oswego, except Niagara, Fort Pitt, and Detroit, fell into their hands.

These successes gave heart to more remote tribes, and a general Indian war, extending from Canada to the gulf, was apprehended. Even the Six Nations, so long the firm friends of the English, were anxious to burst the bonds of treaties, and engage in an exterminating war; and nothing but the potential influence of Sir William Johnson kept the warriors of that powerful confederacy in neutral quietude. For a moment, the stoutest hearts quailed before the threatenings of the rising storm, for no one could estimate its probable extent, and destructive energies. The inhabitants on the Virginia border, remembering the horrors of the past, were exceedingly distressed by fear. "Another tempest has arisen upon our frontiers," Washington wrote to a friend, "and the alarm spread wider than ever. In short, the inhabitants are so apprehensive of

danger, that no families remain above the Conococheague road, and many are gone below it. The harvests are in a manner lost, and the distresses of the settlements are evident and manifold. In Augusta many people have been killed, and numbers fled. Confusion and despair prevail in every quarter." No doubt the sympathetic heart of Washington made him yearn to be in the field, to oppose this wave of desolation, but his duties as a legislator, and enterprises of public importance now engaged his active mind, and kept him from the rough conflicts of war with the savages.

Fortunately for the English, the Indians could not garrison the forts they had taken, and they yet held the three most important ones. Amherst, still in command in America, had a force too small to attempt the re-establishment of the lost posts, so he directed all of his efforts to the salvation of Niagara, Fort Pitt, and Detroit, and was successful. In July, Detroit was closely besieged by Pontiac, and Fort Pitt by Shingis, the celebrated Delaware chief. A considerable force was sent to the relief of the former, and Colonel Boquet, with five hundred men, proceeded to reinforce the latter, and drive the besieging savages back into the wilderness. The Indians came forward to meet him, and he was severely attacked at Bushy Run, on the fifth of August. A general battle ensued, and ended only with the day. The Indians resumed it the next morning, but were finally compelled to flee to the deep wilderness for safety. Four days afterward Boquet reached Fort Pitt, and it was saved. Niagara was not attacked; and Detroit, after sustaining a siege for almost twelve months, was relieved by a force under Colonel Bradstreet, in May, 1764. The Indians were now speedily subdued. Their power to harm the English was completely broken, and the hostile tribes sent their chiefs to humbly ask for pardon and peace. But the haughty Pontiac refused to bow to stern necessity. He went to the country of the Illinois, where he was treacherously murdered by a Peoria Indian, who was bribed by an Englishman to perform the wicked deed. The pay was a barrel of rum. The place of his death was Cahokia, on the east side of the Mississippi, a little below St. Louis. He was buried at the

latter place, and his grave is beneath that populous city of the West.

The discontents of the Americans, which had been awakened by the unwise measures of Great Britain, had been lulled for awhile in the presence of the more tangible trouble of an Indian war. When that had ceased, the popular mind became again excited by the movements of the British ministry which were inimical to liberty in America. The exhausted treasury was yet importunate, and ministers turned their covetous eyes upon the bountiful products of American industry as their last hope.

We have already observed the effects of writs of assistance, and the real impotency of the imperial government in enforcing its arbitrary revenue laws contrary to the will of the colonists. These laws, enacted from time to time during a hundred years, had shut their ports against all but English vessels, compelled the colonists to export only to countries belonging to the British crown, and allowed them to import goods from England only, and in English ships. They had also laid a heavy hand upon domestic industry by prohibitions which discouraged manufactures. In a word, the policy of Great Britain toward her colonies had been a restrictive commercial one from the beginning, and alienated the affections of the Americans from the mother-country.

A crisis now approached, and the political events which succeeded the peace of 1763 introduced Washington to a broader and more important field of action. The current of transition from the quiet of his home at Mount Vernon to the struggles of that grand arena where the prizes of nations are contended for, was gradual—almost imperceptible—in its flow, but steady and powerful. He was keenly alive to everything concerning the honor of his country, and he saw with regret and alarm the rapid growth in England of the idea of absolute colonial subserviency. He perceived with indignation, what Pitt afterward so happily expressed, that “even the chimney-sweepers of the streets talked boastingly of their *subjects* in America;” and when the admiralty enjoined all naval commanders—men whose authoritative habits made them unfit agents for such a se-

vice against such a people—to execute the revenue laws, he felt that a deliberate blow was levelled against the best interests of his country. Vessels engaged in contraband trade were seized and confiscated by these men, and the colonial commerce with the West Indies was almost annihilated. “They fell,” wrote Burke, “so indiscriminately on all sorts of contraband, or supposed contraband, that some of the most valuable branches of trade were driven violently from our ports, which caused a universal consternation throughout the colonies.”

Unable to resist these measures by force, the colonists adopted the most efficient plan of retaliation in their power. They resolved not to purchase British fabrics; and they commenced the home manufacture of clothing very extensively. This measure touched the English people in a tender point, the commercial interest. The demand for British goods in the colonies fell off immensely, and the English merchants became, through self-interest, the powerful advocates of the Americans.

And now a bolder scheme of taxation was proposed. Bute resigned the premiership in the spring of 1763, and was succeeded by George Grenville, who, for awhile, had fought shoulder to shoulder with Pitt in the maintenance of his wise policy, but had deserted him to hold the office of chancellor of the exchequer under the Scotch earl. He was an honest statesman, but his vision of duty did not extend beyond the line of official routine, and he was unable to estimate the results of untried measures. Upon him was laid the necessity of replenishing an exhausted treasury. The English people had been heavily taxed already, and were loudly complaining of the burden. Grenville feared to increase its weight, and he looked to the American colonies for relief. He conceived the *right* to draw a revenue from them to be undoubted; and Parliament, by a formal vote, confirmed the opinion. Thus supported by his conscience and the voice of the nation's representatives, he submitted to the house of commons, on the fifth of May, 1764, the famous stamp-act. He then assured the colonial agents in England that he would not urge its adoption at that session, but leave the

subject open for deliberation. He required the colonies to pay into the national treasury a million of dollars a year in some shape, and he agreed to leave it to them to devise a better measure than the stamp-duty, if possible.

A stamp-duty for revenue was not an idea original with Grenville. It had been promulgated almost forty years before. Sir William Keith had advised the policy as early as 1728. During the administration of Robert Walpole, in 1732, a stamp-duty was proposed, but that sagacious statesman said, "I will leave the taxation of America to some of my successors who have more courage than I have." Such a measure was urged by the London merchants a little later; and the recommendation of Douglas, a writer on British America in 1750, to levy a stamp-duty on all legal writings and instruments, was regarded favorably by Doctor Franklin, as just and equitable. Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, was in favor of it in 1754; and, in 1755, Lieutenant-Governor Delancy spoke in commendation of such a method for raising a revenue, in the New York assembly. In 1756, Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, recommended Parliament to authorize a stamp-tax, and it was proposed to Pitt in 1757. That enlightened statesman would not listen to it, for, like Walpole, he preferred to draw money into the imperial treasury by the exercise of a liberal commercial policy toward the Americans.

When intelligence of Grenville's scheme reached the colonies, the popular feeling was aroused against it with great intensity. The colonial assemblies deliberated upon the matter, and it was the generally-expressed sentiment of the people that Parliament had no right to tax them, unless they were permitted to have representatives in the national legislature. Then was boldly enunciated that grand postulate that TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION IS TYRANNY. This became the fundamental doctrine of their political creed; this was the touchstone of all parliamentary measures; this was the strong rock upon which the patriots of the Revolution, which soon broke out, anchored their faith and hope. The press and the pulpit denounced the scheme as a wicked one; the people met in excited

assemblies and boldly expressed their indignation; associations called *Sons of Liberty* appeared in every colony, pledged to oppose the practical workings of the measure; petitions and remonstrances were sent to the king and Parliament by different colonies, and Doctor Franklin, as leader of the agents for Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and South Carolina, appeared in London to deprecate the measure, for he now saw, that what appeared to him harmless fifteen years before, was a bared rod of oppression in a strong hand.

The stamp-act was called up in the house of commons early in February, 1765. William Pitt was there, and he opposed it with all his might. In the warmth of the debate, Grenville, addressing Mr. Pitt in reference to the fact, that government knew not where to levy another tax, said: "Why does he not tell us where we can levy another tax?" and repeated with emphasis, "Let him tell me where—only tell me where!" Pitt, though not much given to joking, hummed, in the words of a popular song, "Gentle shepherd, tell me where!" The house burst into a roar of laughter, and christened Grenville, "the gentle shepherd."* The measure was strongly denounced by Barré, the brave soldier who stood by Wolfe in the trenches at Louisburg, and on the Plains of Abraham. He taunted the house with its ignorance of American affairs. This taunt called to his feet Charles Townshend, who prided himself upon his extensive knowledge of America and Americans. After speaking of the equity of the stamp-tax, he said: "And now, will these American children, planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy burden under which we lie?" Barré instantly replied, his eyes flashing with indignation—"They planted by *your* care! No; your oppression planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated, inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable.... They nourished up by *your* indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you

* Pictorial History of the Reign of George the Third, i. 34.

began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies to some members of this house, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them.... They protected by *your* arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence; have exercised a valor amid their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument."

Others denounced the bills, in strong terms, but after a "languid debate," as Burke says, which continued until March, it passed the house, after a single division, by a majority of two hundred and fifty to fifty. On the twenty-second of March, the king gladly gave his assent to the bill by signing it, and the famous stamp-act—the entering wedge for the dismemberment of the British empire—became a law.* That night Doctor Franklin wrote to his friend, Charles Thomson, who afterward became the permanent secretary of the Continental Congress: "We might as well have hindered the sun's setting: that we could not do. But since 'tis down, my friend, and it may be long before it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can. We may still light candles. Frugality and industry will go a great way toward indemnifying us. Idleness and pride tax with a heavier hand than kings and parliaments; if we can get rid of the former, we may easily bear the latter."†

* It provided that every skin, or piece of vellum, or parchment, or sheet, or piece of paper used for legal purposes, such as bills, bonds, notes, leases, policies of insurance, marriage licenses, and a great many other documents, in order to be held valid in courts of law, was to be stamped, and sold to public officers appointed for that purpose, at prices which levied a stated tax on every such document. The Dutch had used stamped paper for some time, and it was familiar to English merchants and companies, but in America it was almost wholly unknown. The stamps were upon blue paper, and contained a representation of the national arms of Great Britain, together with the value of the particular stamp. This was attached to one corner of the document. For a picture and description of the famous stamp, see Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*: Supplement ii. 671.

† Vide Bancroft's *History of the United States*, v. 306, *note*.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE KING AND PARLIAMENT—EFFECTS OF THE STAMP-ACT IN AMERICA—PATRICK HENRY IN THE VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY—HIS REBELLIOUS RESOLUTIONS—WASHINGTON IN THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES—HIS OPINION OF THE STAMP-ACT—MASSACHUSETTS CIRCULAR—VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY DISSOLVED—COLONIAL CONGRESS—OPPOSITION OF THE PEOPLE—STAMP DISTRIBUTORS—DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES—FRANKLIN BEFORE A COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT—REPEAL OF THE STAMP-ACT—JOY OF THE PEOPLE—WASHINGTON'S OPINION—HIS RELIGIOUS VIEWS—POHICK CHURCH.

THE passage of the stamp-act and its ratification by the king, present one of those strange chapters in history which disturb our faith in human sagacity and forecast. But few earnest voices, in or out of Parliament, were raised against the measure; and Doctor Franklin, who well knew the temper of the Americans, was almost the only man in England who seriously believed that they would resist it, notwithstanding it struck at one of the dearest rights of Britons—trial by jury.* And contemporary writers inform us, that when the king signed that instrument, he was laboring under the first paroxysms of that malady of the brain which, in after-years, unfitted him for the duties of the throne. It was the hand of an insane man that gave vitality to the measure which, above all others, most powerfully aroused the independent spirit of the Americans. The ministry who were the sponsors of that act, seemed almost as insane as the king; and there is little palliation for their offence against human liberty, except the fact of their admitted ignorance of the true character of the Americans, and their lack of clear perceptions of right. They could not, or would

* The act provided, that all offences against it could be tried in any royal, marine, or admiralty court throughout the colonies, however distant from the place where the offence had been committed. This interfered with the cherished right of trial by jury.

not understand the proposition, that *taxation* without *representation* is *tyranny*. "We have the *power* to tax the Americans, and we will tax them," said one of the ministry; and the people, provoked by the claims of independence of Parliament set up by the colonists, concurred in the sentiment. Little did they know of the volcano of mighty energies they were thus uncapping!

Intelligence of the passage of the stamp-act set the colonies in a blaze of excitement. Massachusetts and Virginia—the *head* and *heart* of opposition to ministerial measures, were foremost and loudest in their denunciations, while other colonies, even those who would be least affected by the act, were almost as conspicuous for boldness and generous zeal. New York had already resented a blow at the independence of its judiciary, and now its assembly opened a correspondence with those of other colonies concerning the grievances of the stamp-act and cognate oppressive measures. This correspondence led to the proposition for a general colonial congress, put forth by the Massachusetts assembly, in a circular letter sent to the speakers of other assemblies, in June, 1765. Already the alarm bell of the Revolution had been sounded by Patrick Henry, in the Virginia legislature. That young man, less than thirty years of age, had but recently emerged from utter obscurity. He came like lightning from a cloud. His eloquence was brilliant and meteor-like, and all Virginia was then gazing upon him in wonder. He took his seat in the house of burgesses in the spring of 1765. That body was in session in the old capital at Williamsburg, when intelligence of the passage of the stamp-act reached it. The members all *talked* boldly in private, but none were willing to *act* bravely in public, until near the close of the session, when Henry, the youngest member of the assembly, and who had occupied his seat but a few days, arose in his place, and offered a series of five resolutions on the subject of the stamp-act. These were drawn up on a scrap of paper torn from the fly-leaf of an old copy of "Coke upon Lyttleton." The fifth resolution, in which was summed up the essentials of the four preceding ones, declared "That the general assembly of the colony have the sole right and power to levy taxes

and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any other person or persons whatsoever, other than the general assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom."

The effect of these resolutions upon the house of burgesses, was electrical. The boldest were astonished; the timid were alarmed; the loyal few were amazed and indignant. Many threats were uttered, and those who were willing to submit to Parliament, abused Mr. Henry without stint. A violent debate ensued, and Henry's genius was aroused in all its sublime majesty. Sometimes deeply pathetic, at other times full of denunciatory invective, his eloquence, like thunder-peals, shook that assembly. In the midst of his harangue, he summoned warning events from past history, and exclaimed, in clear bell-tones, "Cæsar had his Brutus—Charles the First his Cromwell; and George the Third—" "*Treason!*" cried the excited speaker, Robinson; and "*Treason! treason!*" resounded from every part of the house. Henry did not falter for a moment. Rising to a loftier altitude, and fixing his beaming eyes upon Robinson, he concluded his sentence with the words, "may profit by their example. Sir, if this be treason, make the most of it!"*

When Henry was seated, Pendleton, Bland, Randolph, Wythe, and others, who afterward became the boldest and most ardent opposers of British power, arose and denounced the resolutions as disloyal, and dangerous to the public welfare. Their hearts were with the ardent Henry, but they adjudged his course to be premature and injudicious. Henry again took the floor, and his eloquence, like a mountain torrent, seemed to sweep before it every obstacle of opposition, and the resolutions were adopted—the fifth by a majority of only one. During Henry's absence from the house, the next day, the resolutions were reconsidered and modified, and the fifth—the soul of the whole—was stricken out. But manuscript copies were already on their way to other colonies, and the timidity of the Virginia assembly did not soften their force. These formed the first gauntlet of positive defiance that was cast at the

* Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry.

feet of the British monarch by the offended colonists. "The resolves of the assembly of Virginia," wrote a correspondent of Secretary Conway, "gave the signal for a general outcry over the continent." The movers and supporters of them were applauded as the protectors and asserters of American liberty.

It was on the twenty-ninth of May when the debate on the stamp-act occurred in the Virginia assembly. Washington was then in his seat as a burgess, but on this, as on every other occasion, his voice was not heard in debate. He was, however, always vigilant, and seldom absent from his place; and he never failed to express his opinion by his vote. While there is no record to show how he voted on the resolutions of Mr. Henry, his known loyalty, his conciliatory spirit, and his abundant caution, seems to render it probable that he voted against them, as premature. Yet the fact of his re-election by the people soon afterward, affords stronger presumptive evidence that he voted in the affirmative. No doubt he sympathized with the spirit of the resolutions, and that the fiery scenes of that day caused the rapid germination in his breast of that patriotic zeal which made him go hand in hand with Lee, Henry, Randolph, and other Virginians, through all the trying preliminary events of the war for independence.

Previous to this time, Washington seems not to have expressed any positive opinion concerning the growing disputes between Great Britain and her colonies. Now, warmly sympathizing with his countrymen, he appears to have foreseen the inevitable struggle, and was preparing his mind for an active engagement in it. He no longer remained silent, yet he expressed his views with caution. Writing to his wife's uncle,* in London, in September, he said: "The stamp-act imposed on the colonies by the Parliament of Great Britain, engrosses the conversation of the speculative part of the colonists, who look upon this unconstitutional method of taxation as a direful attack upon their liberties, and loudly exclaim against the violation. What may be the result of this, and of some other (I think I may add, ill-judged) measures, I will not undertake to

* Francis Dandridge. See Sparks's "Writings of Washington," ii. 342.

determine; but this I may venture to affirm, that the advantage accruing to the mother-country will fall greatly short of the expectations of the ministry; for certain it is, that our whole substance already, in a manner, flows to Great Britain, and that whatsoever contributes to lessen our importations must be hurtful to her manufactures. The eyes of our people already begin to be open; and they will perceive that many luxuries, for which we lavish our substance in Great Britain, can well be dispensed with, while the necessities of life are mostly to be had within ourselves. This, consequently, will induce frugality, and be a necessary incitement to industry. If Great Britain, therefore, loads her manufactures with heavy taxes, will it not facilitate such results? They will not compel us, I think, to give our money for their exports, whether we will or not; and I am certain, that none of their traders will part with them without a valuable consideration. Where, then, is the utility of these restrictions?

"As to the stamp-act, regarded in a single view, one and the first bad consequence attending it is, that our courts of judicature must inevitably be shut up; for it is impossible, or next to impossible, under our present circumstances, that the act of Parliament can be complied with, were we ever so willing to enforce its execution. And, not to say (which alone would be sufficient) that we have not money to pay for the stamps, there are many other cogent reasons which prove that it would be ineffectual. If a stop be put to our judicial proceedings, I fancy the merchants of Great Britain, trading to the colonies, will not be among the last to wish for a repeal of the act." The prophecy involved in the last clause of this letter, was speedily fulfilled.

The circular letter of the Massachusetts assembly, proposing a colonial congress, met with a hearty response.* Governor Fauquier,

* The following is a copy of the letter:—

Boston, June, 1765.

"SIR—The house of representatives of this province, in the present session of general court, have unanimously agreed to propose a meeting, as soon as may be, of committees of the houses of representatives, or burgesses, of the several British colonies on this continent, to consult together on the present circumstances of the colonies, and the difficulties to which they are, and must be, reduced by the operation of the acts of Parliament for levying duties and taxes on the colonies; and to con-

who was really opposed to the stamp-act, in principle, was, nevertheless, as the representative of the king, compelled to support it. Therefore, on being informed of the action of the burgesses in adopting Henry's resolutions, he dissolved the assembly and ordered a new election, the result of which was highly satisfactory to the patriots. The eloquence of Henry seems to have touched every heart in the Old Dominion; and everywhere the people re-elected the friends of the resolutions, and filled the seats of those opposed to them with undoubted patriots.

Fauquier, perceiving the complexion of the new assembly, refused to call the members together to appoint delegates to the proposed colonial congress. The members elect, confiding in the wisdom and patriotism of the delegates from the other colonies, signed a letter in which they promised to acquiesce in any action that might be had. Similar assurances were given by those of New Hampshire, North Carolina, and Georgia.

The colonial Congress assembled at New York, on Monday, the seventh day of October, when nine of the thirteen colonies were represented.* It was organized by the election of Timothy Ruggles, of Massachusetts, as its president, and the appointment of John Cotton, clerk. The session continued fourteen days, and in three well-written documents, the grievances and rights of the col-

sider of a general and united, dutiful, loyal, and humble representation of their condition to his majesty and to the Parliament, and to implore relief.

"The house of representatives of this province have also voted to propose, that such meeting be at the city of New York, in the province of New York, on the first Tuesday in October next, and have appointed a committee of three of their members to attend that service, with such as the other houses of representatives, or burgesses, in the several colonies, may think fit to appoint to meet them; and the committee of the house of representatives of this province, are directed to repair to the said New York, on the first Tuesday in October next, accordingly; if, therefore, your honorable house shall agree to this proposal, it would be acceptable that as early notice of it as possible, might be transmitted to the speaker of the house of representatives of this province."

* The following are the names of the delegates:—

Massachusetts.—James Otis, Oliver Partridge, Timothy Ruggles.

New York.—Robert R. Livingston, John Cruger, Philip Livingston, William Bayard, Leonard Lispenard.

New Jersey.—Robert Ogden, Hendrick Fisher, Joseph Borden.

Rhode Island.—Metcalf Bowler, Henry Ward.

Pennsylvania.—John Dickenson, John Morton, George Bryan.

Delaware.—Thomas M'Kean, Cæsar Rodney.

Connecticut.—Eliphalet Dyer, David Rowland, William S. Johnson.

Maryland.—William Murdock, Edward Tilghman, Thomas Ringgold.

South Carolina.—Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, John Rutledge.

onists, a memorial to Parliament for a redress of the former, and an acknowledgment of the latter, and a petition to the king, were ably set forth. These proceedings were applauded by all of the provincial assemblies, and when the first of November arrived (the appointed day for the stamp-act to go into operation), the people were united in a strong determination to resist it. That day was observed as one of fasting and mourning. The colors of vessels were placed at half-mast, and in various cities there were funeral processions, and the tolling of bells. The courts were all closed; legal marriages ceased; ships remained in port; and, for a while, all business was suspended. There was quiet all over the land, but it was not the quiet of submission. It was only the ominous lull in the storm, which was to precede more furious blasts. The people were only gathering strength for more vigorous achievements in defence of their rights. The head of active opposition soon appeared on every side, sometimes in legal form, and at others in the guise of unlawful violence. The stamp distributors, or men appointed by the crown to receive and sell the odious stamps, were treated with scorn, and sometimes with severity. Entirely misapprehending the will of the people, many excellent men accepted the office, because it promised handsome emoluments. Jared Ingersoll, late agent of Connecticut in England, came home with such appointment; and on his arrival at Boston, early in August, he published the names of all the stamp distributors in America. This directed the attention of the excited people to them, and the popular will soon made such decisive manifestations of its contempt for these men, that the prudent ones among them resigned their offices. Ingersoll did so gracefully, after being burned in effigy, at Norwich;* but Oliver, of Boston, under

* Franklin had advised Ingersoll to accept the office, and said, "Go home and tell your countrymen to get children as fast as they can:" intimating that they were now too weak to resist such oppressive measures, and that they ought to gain strength, by numbers, as fast as possible.

When the people first demanded Ingersoll's resignation, he refused compliance, pleading as an excuse, that he awaited the action of the general assembly of Connecticut. But they would listen to no plea, and thinking the cause "not worth dying for," Ingersoll yielded, and signed a paper which declared his resignation of the office. He was then compelled to stand up and read it to the people, and to throw up his hat and cry, "Liberty and property!" and give three cheers. After dinner, a cavalcade of about a thousand escorted him from Wethersfield to Hartford. Good humor prevailed on the way. Ingersoll, who was riding in front, on a white horse, cried out: "I am like Death on the pale horse, in the Revelations, for 'Hell followed with him.'"

the advice of Hutchinson, the chief-justice, would not. Oliver was hanged in effigy, and a mob broke open the house of Hutchinson, destroyed his furniture, scattered his plate, ready money, books, and manuscripts, and left the premises a total wreck. M'Evers, at New York, fearful of consequences, resigned. Lieutenant-governor Colden, who declared his determination to receive and 'sell the stamps, was burned in effigy; and the mob, after parading it with an immense placard, inscribed "England's folly and America's ruin," made a bonfire of his coach, the effigy, and the wooden railing around the bowling-green, within a few feet of the gates of Fort George. Cox, of New Jersey, resigned; no one dared to accept the office, in Philadelphia; and at Annapolis, in Maryland, four or five hundred people pulled down a small house belonging to Hood, the appointed stamp-distributor, and he fled in terror to New York. George Mercer, of Virginia, who, misunderstanding the will of the people, had accepted the office, gladly resigned, and, on his arrival at Williamsburg, the bells rang out merry peals of joy, the town was illuminated, and he was hailed by the people as a true patriot. At Wilmington and Edenton, the popular excitement was great; and at Charleston the voice of that sturdy patriot, Christopher Gadsden, was so menacing, that no man dared to receive the stamps.

More quiet, but far more potential measures, were adopted by the sober and substantial inhabitants of the colonies. Merchants entered into agreements not to import goods from Great Britain while the obnoxious act remained a law; and in almost every family domestic manufactures were commenced. Everybody wore home-made clothing; and that wool might not become scarce, the use of sheepflesh, for food, was discouraged. Very soon, from all classes in America, there went to the ears of the British ministry, a respectful but firm protest. The merchants and manufacturers of London seconded it with great warmth, and thus made powerful, that voice was heard and heeded in high places.

At about this time, Grenville was succeeded in office by the more conciliatory Marquis of Rockingham, and William Pitt came from

his retirement, and appeared in Parliament as the earnest champion of the Americans. Then, also, Edmund Burke appeared on the same side; and during the stormy debates which ensued on the subject of repealing the stamp-act, he achieved some of those earliest and most wonderful triumphs of oratory, which established his fame, and endeared him to the American people. But more powerful than oratory were the simple words of Dr. Franklin, when he was examined before a committee of Parliament, on the subject of the stamp-act. He was asked, "Do you think the people of America would submit to the stamp duty, if it was moderated?" "No, never," replied Franklin, "unless compelled by force of arms." "What was the temper of the Americans before the year 1763?" they inquired. "The best in the world," he answered. "They submitted willingly to the government of the crown, and paid, in their courts, obedience to acts of Parliament. Numerous as the people are in the several old provinces, they cost you nothing in forts, citadels, garrisons, or armies, to keep them in subjection. They were governed by this country at the expense of only a little pen, ink, and paper; they were led by a thread. They had not only a respect, but an affection for Great Britain; for its laws, its customs, and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions, that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Great Britain were always treated with particular regard; to be an 'Old England man' was, of itself, a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank among us." To the naturally succeeding question, "And what is their temper now?" Franklin replied: "Oh, very much altered." "Did you ever hear the authority of Parliament to make laws for America questioned till lately?" they asked. "The authority of Parliament," he replied, "was allowed to be valid in all laws, except such as should lay internal taxes. It was never disputed in laying duties to regulate commerce." "If the act is not repealed, what do you think will be the consequences?" "A total loss of the respect and affection the people of America bear to this country, and of all the commerce that depends on that respect and affection," Franklin firmly replied.

Franklin's words were regarded as oracular, and these, with the

voices from America, and from the British merchants and manufacturers, compelled the ministry to give way. The stamp-act was repealed on the eighteenth of March, 1766, and that measure produced great joy in England and America. The warehouses of London were illuminated, and the shipping in the Thames was decorated with gay flags in testimony of satisfaction. In America, public thanksgivings, bonfires, and illuminations, attested the general joy; and Pitt, who had boldly declared his conviction, that Parliament had no right to tax the colonies without their consent, was hailed as a political Messiah, and the assemblies of New York and South Carolina, each voted an appropriation to erect a statue in his honor. New York, Virginia, and Maryland, also agreed to erect statues of the king, as tokens of their gratitude. The latter also ordered a portrait of Lord Camden; and the authorities of Boston requested Doctor Franklin to procure full-length portraits of Conway and Barré, for Faneuil hall. The Americans delighted to honor all who had been instrumental in procuring a repeal of the act. They were happy in the thought that their grievances would be redressed, and that they would be permitted to remain free and loyal subjects of the crown. Non-importation associations were dissolved, and a permanent reconciliation was anticipated.

The repeal of the stamp-act produced great satisfaction at Mount Vernon. "The repeal," Washington wrote to a friend, "to whatever cause, owing, ought much to be rejoiced at; for, had the Parliament of Great Britain resolved upon enforcing it, the consequences, I conceive, would have been more direful than is generally apprehended, both to the mother-country and her colonies. All, therefore, who were instrumental in procuring the repeal, are entitled to the thanks of every British subject, and have mine cordially." To another correspondent he remarked, "I can not help observing, that a contrary measure would have introduced very unhappy consequences." Speaking of the friends of repeal in Parliament, he said, "My thanks they always shall have, for their opposition to every act of oppression; and that act could be looked upon in no other light, by every person who would view it in its proper colors."

While the great public questions which agitated the continent engaged the earnest attention of Washington, he was active in every sphere of social duty, in his neighborhood. He was a communicant of the church of England, and took a lively interest in the affairs of Truro parish, in which Mount Vernon was situated. From his earliest years, his conduct had been subservient to a strong religious sentiment; and all through life it formed the basis of his majestic moral qualities. "Neither in the parade of military life, nor in the cares of civil administration; neither in a state of depression, nor amidst the intoxicating sweets of power and adulation, did he forget to pay homage to the MOST HIGH, who doeth according to his will in the army of Heaven, and among the inhabitants of earth."* In that broader view of the influence of religion, which comprehends the public good as well as individual well-being, he seems to have been always impressed and controlled by the sentiments such as he expressed in after-years, when he wrote: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, 'Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert our oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice?'..... Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail, in exclusion of religious principle." "Above all," said a contemporary, "he was influenced by the more permanent and operative principle of religion; by a firm and active persuasion of an all-seeing, all-powerful Deity; by the high consciousness of future accountability, and the assured hope and prospect of immortality."†

* Discourse by William Linn, D. D., Feb. 22, 1800.

† Discourse by John Davis, before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1800.

Influenced by these sentiments and convictions, we see Washington piously reading the impressive funeral service of the church of England, at the evening funeral of Braddock; and acknowledging in a letter to his brother, the care of the kind Providence of God in preserving him from death on the field of Monongahela. We see him earnestly endeavoring to have chaplains in his little army on the Virginia frontier, and in his orders, rebuking the profanity of his troops; and in after-years, when leading the armies of the Revolution, he was ever solicitous to have the soldiers subjected to religious influences as often as possible. "The general requires and expects of all officers and soldiers, not engaged in actual duty," he said, in one of his earliest orders at Cambridge, in 1775, "a punctual attendance on divine service, to implore the blessings of Heaven upon the means used for our safety and defence." And his diary, kept for many years with great particularity, shows that he rarely omitted attendance upon divine service on Sunday, though the church nearest to Mount Vernon was seven miles distant.

In 1765, Washington was vestryman of both Truro and Fairfax parishes. The place of worship in the former was at Pohick, and of the latter at Alexandria. His influence in their affairs was controlling and salutary. The reverend Mr. Massey, who was rector of Pohick church for many years, relates some circumstances respecting the location of that edifice, which illustrates Washington's address and sagacity. In the year 1764, the old church building, which stood in another part of the parish, had fallen into decay, and it was resolved to erect a new one. Its location became a matter of considerable excitement in the parish, some contending for the site of the old edifice, and others for one nearer the centre of the parish, and more conveniently situated. Among the latter was Washington. A meeting was finally held to settle the question. Washington's neighbor and friend, George Mason, who led the party favorable to the old site, made an eloquent harangue, conjuring the people not to desert the sacred spot, consecrated by the bones of their ancestors. It had a powerful effect, and it was thought there would not be a voice in opposition to it. Washington then arose,

and drew from his pocket an accurate survey which he had made of the whole parish, in which was marked the site of the old church, and the proposed locality of the new one, together with the place of residence of each parishioner. He spread this map before the audience, briefly explained it, expressed the hope that they would not allow their judgments to be guided by their feelings, and sat down. The silent argument of the map prevailed, a large majority voted in favor of the new site, and in 1765, Pohick church was erected. That venerated edifice was yet standing, in 1857, though in a state of great dilapidation. It is about seven miles southwest of Mount Vernon, upon an elevation on the borders of a forest, and surrounded by ancient oaks, chestnuts, and pines.*

* When the writer first visited Pohick church, in 1848, a large portion of the panes of glass were broken, freely admitting the wind and rain, the bats and the birds. The elegant pulpit was marred by desecrating hands, and under its sounding-board a swallow had built her nest, in beautiful illustration of the words of that sweet singer of Israel: "Yea the sparrow has found a home, and the swallow a place for herself, where she may lay her young, even thine altar, O Lord of Hosts!" The law, the prayer, and the creed, painted on a blue ground above the chancel, were quite perfect. The pews were square, and the one occupied by Washington was near the pulpit. Near it was George Mason's and George William Fairfax's, whose initials were yet upon them. The following is from the record book of Pohick church, quoted from the original, in Lossing's *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*. The names were signed at different times during the summer and autumn of 1765:—

"I, A. B., do declare that I will be conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England as by law established.

"1765. May 20th. — Thomas Withers Coffey, Thomas Ford, John Ford.

"19th August. — Geo. Washington, Daniel M'Carty, Edward Payne, Thomas Withers Coffey, Thomas Ford, Edw. Dulin, John Dalton, Daniel French, Richard Sanford, Thos. Shaw, Thos. Wren, Townsend Dade, Charles Broadwater,* J. W. Payne, William Adams.

"20th August. — G. W. Fairfax, John West, William Lynton, Wm. Gardner.

"16th September. — Edward Blackburn.

"17th September. — George Mason, Charles Henderson.

"October 21st. — John Possey.

"21st April, 1766. — T. Ellzy.

* Captain Broadwater was with Braddock. His slave, who drove a provision wagon at that time died in Ohio in 1949, at the age of one hundred and fifteen years.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE DECLARATORY ACT—PERCEPTIONS OF ITS DANGEROUS CHARACTER—WASHINGTON'S FOREBODINGS—OTHER OBNOXIOUS ACTS OF PARLIAMENT—TROOPS IN THE COLONIES—ACTION OF THE NEW YORK ASSEMBLY—PITT MADE EARL OF CHATHAM AND PRIME MINISTER—NEW TAXATION SCHEMES—DISCONTENTS IN AMERICA—VOICES OF THE ASSEMBLIES—BOLDNESS OF MASSACHUSETTS—CONDUCT OF THE MINISTRY—COMMISSIONERS OF CUSTOMS—RIOTOUS PROCEEDINGS IN BOSTON—TRIUMPH OF THE POPULAR WILL—BRITISH TROOPS IN BOSTON—IRRITATION OF THE PEOPLE—NON-IMPORTATION ASSOCIATIONS—THE OPINIONS OF WASHINGTON AND MASON ON THE SUBJECT.

THE repeal of the stamp-act was only a temporary concession of the ministry, to the popular will. It was clearly perceived by Pitt and others, that it would be impossible to obtain a repeal of the act, without, in some way, reasserting the *right* to absolute control of the colonies, for which Parliament so strenuously contended. How that was to be done without exhibiting great inconsistency, and exposing the weakness of the government, in presence of the opposition in America, was a question of difficult solution. Doctor Franklin, who was in England closely watching every movement, saw no clear way in the matter, and he expressed his belief to his friends in America, that the act would not be repealed. But the sagacious Pitt, who had just boldly proclaimed in Parliament: "I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest,"* suggested to the ministry a plan by which the obnoxious act might be repealed, and yet no concessions of the binding power of Parliament would be made. They acted upon his suggestions, and smoothed the way for the repeal of the stamp-act, by a bill which

* Charles Fox afterward declared, in the house of commons, that, "The resistance of the Americans to the oppression of the mother-country, has undoubtedly preserved the liberties of mankind."

declared that the king and Parliament had the right to make laws "to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever." Notwithstanding its preamble varied widely from the suggestions of Pitt,* that statesman supported the declaratory act, as it was called, because it would insure the repeal of the stamp-act. Yet while thus supporting it, he said, "You have no right to *tax* America. Nevertheless, I assert the authority of this kingdom to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislation, whatsoever. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power; the taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone.....Here we give and grant what is our own; but it is unjust and absurd to suppose, that we can give and grant the property of the commons of America."

Pitt's position was a delicate one. He gloried in England's power and was unwilling to abridge it in the least degree; yet his innate sense of justice gave him clear perceptions of the true position of the Americans, and he was necessarily their advocate. He knew that danger to their liberties was involved in the declaratory act, and regarded it only as a temporary expedient to avert an immediately impending civil war. So "the resolution passed for England's right to do what the treasury pleased with three millions of freemen in America."

While the eyes of the colonists were filled with tears of joy because of the unexpected repeal of the stamp-act, they did not see the egg of tyranny which lay concealed in the declaratory act. Yet there were a few, like Gadsden of South Carolina, who saw it clearly, and hesitated not, on all proper occasions, to declare the public hopes to be fallacious; that a cordial friendship with Great Britain would never again exist, and that it was madness on the part of Americans to remit their vigilance, or relax their preparations for a contest which must inevitably ensue. Washington, also, anx-

* In all this matter the ministry seemed to have no ideas of justice, humanity, and fraternal love. They appeared to think only of England's pride and commercial ambition, and studied how to avoid wounding either. In the preamble to the declaratory act, this subserviency to Mammon was expressed in the words, "The continuance of the said [stamp] act would be attended with many inconveniences, and may be productive of consequences greatly detrimental to the commercial interests of these kingdoms."

iously watching every movement of the British ministry from the quiet and isolated stand-point of Mount Vernon, had similar convictions, and did not, on reflection, regard the repeal of the Stamp-act as the harbinger of justice to the colonies and permanent reconciliation with Great Britain. "I can not perceive," he wrote to a friend, "what solid triumph of principle has been gained by the repeal of the act, while the tyrannical power of Parliament is so strongly asserted. I rejoice that the act is repealed, because our people are spared much trouble, and it is a concession to the popular will. But I very much fear, that out of the declaratory act other oppressive measures will proceed, and that the people of America will still be held in bondage if they submit." The apprehensions of Washington were just. Within a few months afterward, a brood of obnoxious measures were hatched from that egg, which aroused the fiercest indignation of the colonists.

A large portion of the house of lords, the whole bench of bishops, and a heavy majority in the commons, were favorable to the employment of coercive measures toward the colonists. They were irritated by being compelled to yield to the necessity of concession, just wrung from them, and the cruelty of offended tyranny was excited. First, a demand was made upon the colonies, for restitution to the crown officers who had suffered losses by the stamp-act riots. This was just, and was so acknowledged by the colonists; but the insolent manner in which Governor Bernard, of Massachusetts, demanded the settlement of such claims, caused the people of Boston to flatly refuse to pay anything until his haughty tone was changed to a more conciliatory key.

By another act, Parliament required the colonial assemblies to provide, at the expense of the people, for troops that might be sent to America, with quarters, fire, beds, candles, beer, salt, and vinegar. The Massachusetts assembly partially complied; but that of New York, pleading inability, begged to be excused from making the necessary appropriations. It was clearly perceived that a deep-laid scheme for enslaving the colonies, and drawing money from their coffers, was in progress, and that the advent of troops

would be the introduction of a military despotism to enforce obedience to all laws, however obnoxious they might be to the Americans. They, therefore, resolved not to cherish a viper destined for their own destruction.

The troops came from Halifax, in June, 1766. They found a cool reception in Boston, and in New York their appearance was the signal for serious outbreaks. They were everywhere insolent, and they met sullen rebuffs from the inhabitants at every corner. Parliament, by a large majority, proceeded to punish New York for its contumacy, by suspending the powers of its governor and assembly until they should comply with its requisitions concerning the troops. This served to strengthen the position of the recusant province, for it won the sympathy of all the other colonies. The despotic act created alarm and indignation all over the land, and the words of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, when he said, "An act for suspending the legislature of that province hangs like a flaming sword over our heads, and requires, by all means, to be removed," found a warm and ready response in the hearts of the whole people.

At about this time, the Rockingham cabinet was suddenly dissolved, and Pitt, just created earl of Chatham, was called to the head of affairs, as prime-minister. His cabinet was a curious medley of politicians, brought together, at this crisis, by a seeming necessity.* Had the general conduct of affairs been in his own hands, as it was eight or nine years before, no doubt things would have gone on well. But others had their hands upon the crank of the government machinery, and Chatham was frequently called away

* "He made an administration so checkered and speckled," said Burke; "he put together a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dove-tailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tessellated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; king's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was, indeed, a very curious show, but untidy, unsafe to touch, and unsure to tread upon. The colleagues whom he had assorted at the same boards stared at each other, and were obliged to ask, 'Sir, your name?' — 'Sir, you have the advantage of me.' — 'Mr. Such-a-one, I ask a thousand pardons.' I venture to say it did so happen, that persons had a single office divided between them, who had never spoken to each other in their lives until they found themselves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and points, in the same truckle bed." — *Speech on American Taxation.*

from duty by severe attacks of gout, which kept the great orator confined at Hayes, his country-seat in Kent. It was during one of these attacks of illness that Charles Townshend, who was Chatham's chancellor of the exchequer, coalesced with Grenville in bringing new taxation schemes before Parliament. These were matured, and in June, 1767, a bill was passed for levying duties upon tea, glass, paper, painter's colors, etcetera, that should be imported into the colonies. Another bill became a law, early in July, which provided for the establishment of a board of trade in the colonies, independent of colonial legislation, and for creating resident commissioners of customs to enforce the revenue laws. Then, soon afterward, the disabling act concerning the New York assembly, already mentioned, was passed. There was a provision in the act relative to the quartering of troops in America, more odious than all others. In addition to the authorization of a standing army in the colonies, it enabled the crown, by sign manual, to establish a general civil list throughout every province, fixing the salaries of governors, judges, and other officers, such salary to be paid by the crown. Thus the executive and judicial officers, from whom the inhabitants were to expect good government, and the righteous administration of laws, were made entirely independent of the people, and became, in fact, mere hireling creatures of the crown.

These direct blows at popular liberty, and these taxation schemes, produced an excitement in the colonies, almost equal, in intensity, to that created by the stamp-act. The colonial assemblies uttered bold protests; new non-importation associations were formed; pamphlets, newspapers, and the pulpit, put forth inflammatory appeals to the people, defining their rights, and urging them to united resistance; and early in the year 1768, almost every colonial assembly had spoken out boldly, and expressed its conviction that Parliament possessed no right to tax the colonies. These expressions were in response to a circular sent to the several assemblies by Massachusetts, in February of that year, asking them to co-operate in obtaining a redress of grievances, and maintaining the liberties of America. This circular greatly offended the ministers, and Lord

Hillsborough, the colonial secretary, sent instructions to Governor Bernard to call upon the assembly of Massachusetts to rescind its resolutions, and in the event of non-compliance, to dissolve that body. This very requisition was considered an evidence of the intentions of the government to enslave the colonists; and when it came up for debate, the eloquence of the fiery Otis, then a member of the Massachusetts assembly, was heard. "When Lord Hillsborough knows," said Otis, "that we will not rescind *our* act, he should apply to Parliament to rescind *theirs*. Let Britons rescind their measures, or they are lost for ever." With half treasonable words like these, he harangued the assembly for nearly an hour, and then the house, by an almost unanimous vote, resolved *not* to rescind, and passed resolutions denunciatory of this attempt of a minister to arrest free discussion and expression of opinion. These sentiments were embodied in a written answer to the governor, and elicited the commendation and sympathy of the other colonies. Legislatures were soon dissolved by the royal governors, because of their complicity with the seditious assembly of Massachusetts, and at the opening of 1768, the political firmament in America was filled with abundant forebodings of a great tempest.

The British ministry, ignorant and careless concerning the temper of the Americans, utterly disregarded the portentous warnings which every vessel from the New World brought to their ears. Not doubting the omnipotency of the military force which they had determined to employ, they became regardless of even the forms of justice, and began to treat the Americans as rebellious subjects rather than as free British brethren. This was the fatal rock upon which they ran the ship of state, to its great and lasting damage.

A new scene in the drama now opened. The new commissioners of customs arrived in May, and they were regarded with great contempt, as instruments of oppression. Their haughty bearing and insolent words increased the detestation of the people, and it was difficult for the sober citizens to restrain the more ignorant and excitable portion of the community from committing personal violence upon them.

The proceedings of the commissioners, on the arrival at Boston, of a sloop belonging to the wealthy merchant, John Hancock, who was one of the public leaders in Massachusetts, produced a serious outbreak, which resulted in the triumph of the popular will. The vessel was laden with Madeira wine. Payment of duties upon it was refused, and the commissioners seized the sloop. When the fact became generally known, a great concourse of citizens appeared, and speedily became a mob. They assailed the commissioners, damaged their offices, and dragging a customhouse boat through the town, they burned it upon the common. The commissioners, failing to receive aid or protection from the alarmed governor, fled for safety to Castle William, situated upon an island in the harbor, three miles from Boston, where a company of British artillery was stationed.

Governor Bernard, perplexed by fear and indecision, unwisely invited General Gage, then in command of the British troops in America, to bring soldiers to Boston to overawe the inhabitants. When this invitation became known to the people, they were greatly irritated. A public meeting was held in Faneuil hall, and James Otis, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and John Adams, were appointed to wait upon the governor, and ascertain whether the report was true. The governor answered in the affirmative, but his usually haughty tone was changed to one of courtesy in the presence of those determined popular leaders. Mistaking the true character of those men, he attempted to bribe them by the gifts of official station. He presented Hancock with a commission as member of his council: that patriot tore the parchment into shreds in the presence of the people. He offered the lucrative place of advocate-general in the court of admiralty to John Adams: the proffered patronage was rejected with disdain. The governor also approached that sturdy representative of the puritans—that perfect model of disinterested patriotism—Samuel Adams, but found him, though poor in purse, as Hutchinson, on another occasion said, “of such an obstinate and inflexible disposition, that he could never be conciliated by any gift whatsoever.”

The summer wore away, and on a quiet Sabbath morning, toward the close of September, a British fleet from Halifax cast anchor in Boston harbor, and two regiments of troops, seven hundred in number, were debarked. They landed under cover of the cannon of the ships-of-war, and with charged muskets, fixed bayonets, drums beating, and colors flying, they marched to the common (for the people refused to provide quarters for them), with all the parade of a victorious army entering a conquered city. Some pitched their tents on the common; others, by the governor's orders, were quartered in the statehouse; and others in Faneuil hall. Religion, popular freedom, patriotism, were all outraged, and the cup of the people's indignation was full. Mutual hatred, deep and abiding, was engendered between the citizens and the soldiers, and the terms *rebel* and *tyrant* were daily bandied between them. The colonists, from the St. Croix to the St. Mary, were aroused by this indignity, for they saw their own fate foreshadowed by that of the people of Massachusetts, and they were taught the terrible but necessary lesson, that armed resistance must oppose armed oppression.

Far removed from these scenes of commotion, yet deeply sympathizing with those who were immediately engaged in them, Washington had not, up to this time, appeared in public as a partisan, but had quietly pursued his rural labors and sports on the banks of the Potomac, when not in his seat in the house of burgesses. "Devoid of oratorical powers," says an eminent British writer,* "tranquil, sedate, prudent, dignified, and reserved, he was little qualified by genius or habit to make a brilliant figure as a provincial politician, and he waited the development of a grander scene of counsel and action, more adapted to the illustration of his majestic wisdom and superior sense." But now the time had arrived when it became the imperative duty of every man of influence to embark boldly upon the current of political affairs, and Washington did not hesitate for a moment.

The engine of non-importation agreements, which worked so powerfully against the stamp-act, was now put in motion with

* Graham, Colonial History of the United States, ii., 417.

increased energy. During the winter and spring of 1769, these agreements, called *associations*, became general throughout the colonies, under the sanction of the assemblies. Those who signed them were bound not to purchase or use the manufactures of Great Britain, and other goods usually exported from that country, except in cases of the most urgent necessity, during a specified time, unless the obnoxious laws were repealed.

Just before the assembling of the Virginia legislature, in the spring of 1769, Washington received from Doctor Ross, of Bladensburg, in Maryland, sundry papers, which contained the resolves and general proceedings of the merchants of Philadelphia, respecting these associations. On the fifth of April he communicated them to George Mason, his friend and neighbor, of Gunston hall, and asked his opinion upon the subject. In his letter accompanying the package, Washington declared his own sentiments with great energy and decision. "At a time," he wrote, "when our lordly masters in Great Britain will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of American freedom, it seems highly necessary that something should be done to avert the stroke, and maintain the liberty which we have derived from our ancestors. But the manner of doing it to answer the purpose effectually, is the point in question. That no man should scruple, or hesitate a moment, to use arms in defence of so valuable a blessing, is clearly my opinion. Yet arms, I would beg leave to add, should be the last resource, the *dernier resort*. We have already, it is said, proved the inefficacy of addresses to the throne, and remonstrances to Parliament. How far, then, their attention to our rights and privileges is to be awakened or alarmed, by starving their trade and manufactures, remains to be tried.

"The northern colonies it appears," he continued, "are endeavoring to adopt this scheme. In my opinion it is a good one, and must be attended with salutary effects, provided it can be carried pretty generally into execution. But to what extent it is practicable to do so, I will not take upon me to determine. That there will be a difficulty attending the execution of it everywhere, from clashing

interests, and selfish, designing men, ever attentive to their own gain, and watchful of every turn that will assist their lucrative views, can not be denied; and in the tobacco-colonies, where the trade is so diffused, and in a manner wholly conducted by factors for their principals at home,* these difficulties are certainly enhanced, but I think not insurmountably increased, if the gentlemen, in their several counties, will be at some pains to explain matters to the people, and stimulate them to cordial agreements to purchase none but certain enumerated articles out of any of the stores, after a definite period, and neither import nor purchase any themselves.....

"The more I consider a scheme of this sort, the more ardently I wish success to it, because I think there are private, as well as public advantages to result from it—the former certain, however precarious the other may prove. In respect to the latter, I have always thought, that by virtue of the same power which assumes the right of taxation, the Parliament may attempt, at least, to restrain our manufactures, especially those of a public nature, the same equity and justice prevailing in the one case as the other, it being no greater hardship to forbid my manufacturing, than it is to order me to buy goods loaded with duties, for the express purpose of raising a revenue."

After observing that extravagant and improvident living had impoverished many, very many, and caused the sale of a large number of estates for the benefit of creditors, Washington remarked: "A scheme of this sort will contribute more effectually than any other that can be devised, to extricate the country from the distress it at present labors under, I most firmly believe, if it can be generally adopted. And I can see but one class of people, the merchants excepted, who will not, or ought not, to wish well to the scheme, namely: they who live genteelly and hospitably on clear estates. Such as these, were they not to consider the valuable

* England is here meant by "home." In quoting these remarks, Irving, in his *Life of Washington*, says: "A single word in the passage cited from Washington's letter, evinces the chord which still vibrated in the American bosom: he incidently speaks of England as *home*. It was the familiar term with which she was usually indicated by those of English descent; and the writer of these pages remembers when the endearing phrase still lingered on Anglo-American lips even after the Revolution."

object in view, and the good of others, might think it hard to be curtailed in their living and enjoyments."

It was to this latter class that Washington belonged; yet he was not only willing to make the sacrifice himself, but he was zealous in urging it upon others. In this his patriotism was conspicuous; and in the admirable letter from which we have quoted so liberally, the thoughtful, practical, benevolent characteristics of a noble nature, are manifest in every line. He concluded by saying: "Upon the whole, therefore, I think the scheme a good one, and that it ought to be tried here, with such alterations as our circumstances render absolutely necessary. But in what manner to begin the work is a matter worthy of consideration. Whether it can be attempted with propriety or efficacy, further than a communication of sentiments to one another, before May, when the general court and assembly will meet at Williamsburg, and a uniform plan can be concerted, and sent into the different counties to operate at the same time, and in the same manner, everywhere, is a thing upon which I am somewhat in doubt, and I should be glad to know your opinion."

To this letter Mr. Mason replied the same day, at considerable length. "I entirely agree with you," he observed, "that no regular plan of the sort proposed, can be entered into here, before the meeting of the general court at least, if not of the assembly. In the meantime, it may be necessary to publish something preparatory to it in our gazettes,* to warn the people of the impending danger, and induce them more readily and cheerfully to concur in the proper means to avert it; and something of this sort I had begun, but am unluckily stopped by a disorder which affects my head and eyes. As soon as I am able, I shall resume it, and then write you more fully, or endeavor to see you. In the meantime, pray commit to writing such hints as may occur. Our all is at stake, and the little conveniencies and comforts of life when set in competition with our liberty, ought to be rejected, not with reluctance, but with pleasure.... We may retrench all manner of superfluities, finery

* See note on page 211

of all descriptions, and confine ourselves to linens, woollens, &c., not exceeding a certain price. It is amazing how much this practice, if adopted in all the colonies, would lessen the American imports, and distress the various traders and manufacturers in Great Britain. This would awaken their attention. They would see, they would feel, the oppressions we groan under, and exert themselves to procure us redress."

Not, for a moment, entertaining a thought of political separation from Great Britain, but evidently hoping for reconciliation, Mr. Mason continued: "However singular I may be in my opinion, I am thoroughly convinced, that justice and harmony happily restored, it is not the interest of these colonies to refuse British manufactures. Our supplying our mother-country with gross materials, and taking her manufactures in return, is the true chain of connection between us. These are the bands, which, if not broken by oppression, must long hold us together, by maintaining a constant reciprocation of interest. Proper caution should, therefore, be used in drawing up the proposed plan of association. It may not be amiss to let the ministry understand, that, until we obtain a redress of grievances, we will withhold from them our commodities, and particularly refrain from making tobacco, by which the revenue would lose fifty times more than all their oppressions could raise here."*

Such were the sentiments of Washington and his compatriots in Virginia, when they entered upon that long struggle for right, which resulted in the independence of the colonies.

* Sparks's Life and Writings of Washington, ii., 354.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

LORD BOTETOURT, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA—HIS CHARACTER—HIS MISTAKES AND FOLLIES IN ASSUMING ROYAL AIRS—DISTINGUISHED PATRIOTS IN THE VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY—THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT—DISSOLUTION OF THE ASSEMBLY—MEETING OF THE MEMBERS AT THE RALEIGH TAVERN—DRAFT OF AN ASSOCIATION PRESENTED BY WASHINGTON—ITS UNANIMOUS ADOPTION—RE-ELECTION OF ALL THE PATRIOTS—WASHINGTON'S NOBLE EFFORTS IN BEHALF OF HIS COMPANIONS-IN-ARMS—JOURNEY TO THE OHIO COUNTRY—FINAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE SOLDIERS' CLAIMS.

In blossoming May, 1769, a curious melodrama in actual life was performed at Williamsburg, the gay little capital of Virginia. Lord Botetourt, one of the king's lords of the bedchamber, had arrived there in the previous autumn, as the successor of the deceased governor Fauquier. He was a man ever ready for action, as evinced by his reply to the king, on his appointment, when his majesty asked, "When will you be ready to go?" "To-night," was his lordship's prompt answer. He was an upright, honorable, benevolent, and accomplished man, and came with a sincere desire to govern Virginia with a single eye to the welfare of the people. He was a courtier, too, but not a sycophant. He knew well how to please those whom he wished to oblige. Because of this faculty, Junius described him as a "cringing, bowing, fawning, and sword-bearing courtier;" and Horace Walpole said, on his departure, that "if his graces do not captivate the Virginians, he will enrage them to fury; for I take all his *douceur* to be enamelled on iron."

The opinion concerning the Americans entertained by Lord Botetourt, is a fair specimen of the general ignorance of their character which then prevailed in Great Britain. He had received the impression that they were immoral, factious, and naturally dis-

contented and rebellious; but being vain, ostentatious, and luxurious, they were easily captivated by titular distinctions, and gaudy pageantries. His outfit was intended to enable him to gratify the foibles of the people he was sent to govern, and thus to secure absolute control over them. The king presented him with a showy state-carriage and steeds. He was allowed the usual quantity and style of plate given to first-class ambassadors, and his residence at Williamsburg was styled his "palace."

From the time of his arrival until the spring of 1769, Lord Botetourt gave but little offence to the most rigid republican simplicity. He kept everything in reserve for a proper occasion to make a powerful impression upon the popular mind. That occasion was the opening of the Virginia assembly, in May, which it was the duty of the governor to perform in person. This service Botetourt attempted in the style of the royal opening of Parliament, he being the representative of the king. Dressed in official costume, he left his "palace" in his state-carriage, which was drawn by six milk-white horses, driven by a liveried coachman, and attended by liveried out-riders. In this state he proceeded to the capitol, entered the assembly-chamber with a train of attendants, and having delivered his speech in royal form, he returned to his dwelling with the same solemn parade, fondly believing that the legislature and the people were prepared to bow to royal authority, whenever its behests should be uttered by his lips. It was a sad spectacle to see a really good, but wretchedly-deceived man, playing a ridiculous pantomime before an intelligent audience, who despised the deceivers, and pitied the victim.

The members of the house of burgesses clearly perceived the intention of all this parade. It was made at a time singularly unpropitious for effect, for the whole country was excited by ministerial wrongs, and the thoughts of the grave men of the Virginia assembly were too much occupied with weighty matters, that concerned the well-being of their country, and of mankind, to afford more than a passing smile of contempt upon this device to win them from their allegiance to a noble principle.

The Virginia burgesses had been in session but a few days, when their acts effectually dispelled the illusion that misled the judgment of Lord Botetourt. Washington was there, fired with zeal for the cause of his country, and bearing in his hand one of the most powerful weapons with which the colonists at first contended with Great Britain, as we shall perceive presently. He was surrounded by some of the ablest and most devoted patriots that ever appeared in America. There was the bold Patrick Henry, whose trumpet-tones had recently awakened the moral echoes of a continent. There was Edmund Pendleton, the dexterous politician, and graceful and persuasive speaker; and Richard Bland, the profound logician, eminent for the extent and accuracy of his knowledge. In the speaker's chair was Peyton Randolph, the popular and eloquent leader, of stern integrity and inflexible resolution, who presided over the first continental Congress a few years later; and George Wythe, the simple, stern republican, and elegant wit; and Richard Henry Lee, one of the most accomplished scholars and orators in America, who was called by common consent, the Virginian Cicero.

There, too, was Thomas Jefferson, a young lawyer, distinguished for his eminent abilities, liberality of views, and boldness of character, who now commenced his public life as a friend of mankind. These, and others less celebrated by the pen of history, but no less patriotic and firm, were the compeers of Washington in the Virginia house of burgesses during its short but remarkable session of 1769.

So united in sentiment were the burgesses, that their consultations were not embarrassed by conflicting views. The British houses of Parliament had passed concurrent resolves, censuring the votes, resolutions, and proceeding of Massachusetts; and in a joint address to the king, they expressed their satisfaction in the measures that he had pursued, and assured him of their strong and uniform support in such measures as might be found necessary, "to maintain the magistrates in a due execution of the laws in Massachusetts Bay." They also besought him to direct the governor of that province to send all persons "charged with treason or misprision of

treason," committed within that province since the thirtieth of December, 1767, to Great Britain for trial.

When these resolves and address reached the colonies, they created alarm and indignation. The governor of Massachusetts had dissolved the general assembly of that province, and it had no legislature. Virginia promptly and generously took up the cause of its suffering sister. The burgesses, by unanimous vote on the sixteenth of May, adopted a series of resolutions, counter in letter and spirit to those of Parliament, and directed the speaker forthwith to transmit them to all the houses of assembly in America. In these resolutions the doctrine that the sole right of imposing taxes on the inhabitants of a colony is vested in its assembly; of the privilege of petitioning the sovereign for a redress of grievances; of the right of every accused person to a trial by his peers of the vicinage; and of the unconstitutionality of any law that should authorize the transportation to Great Britain of any colonial offender, for trial, was strongly put forth.* The assembly, at the same time, prepared an address to the king, in which they assured him that the complaints of *all* of his American subjects were well founded. They disdained any further application to Parliament, and ordered the agent of Virginia, in England, to present their address to the king in person, and then to publish it in the English newspapers.

This rebellious demonstration of the house of burgesses, so soon after his mock-royal pageant, greatly astonished and alarmed Lord Botetourt. In conformity to his oath and the requirements of his duty to his sovereign, he took immediate steps to avert the revolutionary movement. At noon the next day, he suddenly appeared in the assembly chamber during the session. There was at once a respectful silence, when he said: "Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, I have heard of your resolutions and augur ill of their effects. You

* These resolutions were drawn by Thomas Jefferson, one of the youngest members of the assembly. His first act in the house had evinced his appreciation of freedom. He proposed a law which should give the masters of slaves unrestricted right to emancipate them. The motion did not prevail, but it drew the attention of the assembly to his talents, and he was employed to prepare both the counter-resolutions of the house, and the address to the king.

have made it my duty to dissolve you; and you are dissolved accordingly." His lordship's action was expected by the burgesses, and their future course had been already determined. On the following morning they assembled in the Apollo room, at the Raleigh tavern, when, professing to assume no other capacity than that of private citizens, they formed themselves into a voluntary convention, and appointed their late *speaker*, Mr. Randolph, their *moderator*. When the convention was organized, Washington came forward and presented a draft of articles of association against the use of any merchandise imported from Great Britain, which had been concerted between himself and Mr. Mason.* These were in the hand-writing of the latter. They consisted of a preamble and eight resolves. after slight revision, they were assented to unanimously. The *association* was signed by every person present, and copies were sent throughout the country for the signatures of the people.† These burgesses then repaired to their respective counties, and were all re-elected.

Washington adhered, with scrupulous exactness, to the terms of the association, and none of the proscribed articles were seen at Mount Vernon while it remained in force. In his first letter to his agent in London, after subscribing the association, he wrote: "You will perceive, in looking over the several invoices, that some of the goods there required, are upon condition, that the act of Parliament imposing a duty on tea, paper, &c., for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, is totally repealed; and I beg the favor of you to be governed strictly thereby, as it will not be in my power to receive any articles contrary to our non-importation agreement.

* George Mason was a statesman of much distinction. He drafted the first republican constitution of Virginia, in 1776, and was a member of the convention that framed the federal constitution in 1787. He was one of the ablest men in that convention. When the constitution came before a convention of the people for consideration, the next year, he joined Patrick Henry in opposing it, because of its encroachments upon state-rights. He also warmly opposed the section allowing a continuance of the slave-trade.

† The *Association* is printed in Burke's History of Virginia, iii., 345. "On comparing it with Mr. Mason's manuscript draft," says Sparks (ii., 356), "retained by Washington, I find it precisely the same, except the addition of two short articles, and the omission of another." The one omitted by the burgesses recommended that, "if the measures already entered into should prove ineffectual, a stop should be put to the exportation of tar, pitch, turpentine, lumber, timber, and skins and furs of all sorts."

which I have subscribed, and shall religiously adhere to, and should, if it were, as I could wish it to be, ten times as strict." Hundreds of others in Virginia made the same cheerful sacrifice of luxuries, and even necessities, and the ministerial measures were openly condemned, even in the presence of hirelings of the crown.

Botecourt was soon undeceived, and wisely conforming his conduct to the demands of inexorable circumstances, he conciliated the people, examined into alleged public grievances, became a zealous advocate for a repeal of the laws so obnoxious to the colonists, and in good faith worked nobly for the happiness of the Virginians. Unlike some of the royal governors, he did not make the matter a personal consideration; and by dignity and justice in his official acts, and courteous deportment toward the people, he won the esteem and confidence of all. When he died in 1771, the event was mourned by the Virginians as a public calamity, and the house of burgesses decreed a statue to his memory. It was erected in front of the old capital; and now, though in a mutilated state, it may be seen upon the green in front of William and Mary college.

While public duties were occupying much of Washington's time, after these proceedings at Williamsburg, his attention was called to the claims of the officers and soldiers in the late war, to lands in the Ohio country, promised and granted to them in 1754, by an order in council, and the proclamation of Governor Dinwiddie. As these grants had never been located and actual possession given, on account of the unsettled state of affairs, the flow of emigration over the mountains after the end of Pontiac's war, in 1764, was likely to deprive the grantees of their rightful domain. Early in 1770, immediate danger to their claims impended. A company in England solicited a grant, the proposed boundaries of which included nearly all the tract wherein lay the promised bounty-land. Washington at once took the matter in hand, as the champion of the soldier, with great zeal. He first laid before Lord Botecourt an historical account of the claim, and in a letter written on the fifteenth of April, 1770, he entered a warm protest against the proposed grant to the English company. "I shall take the liberty,"

he said, "to inform your lordship, that the bounds of that grant (solicited by Walpole and others), if obtained upon the extensive plan proposed, will comprehend at least four fifths of the land, for the purchase and survey of which this government has lately voted two thousand five hundred pounds sterling. It must, therefore, destroy the well-grounded hopes of those (if no reservation is made in their favor), who have had the strongest assurances that the government could give, of enjoying a certain portion of the lands which have cost this country so much blood and treasure to secure."

Washington then cited the proposed boundary in detail, and added: "These, my lord, are the bounds of a grant prayed for, and which, if obtained, will give a fatal blow, in my humble opinion, to the interests of this country. But these are my sentiments as a member of the community at large. I now beg leave to offer myself to your excellency's notice in a more interested point of view, as an individual, and as a person who considers himself in some degree the representative of the officers and soldiers, who claim a right to two hundred thousand acres of this very land, under a solemn act of government, adopted at a period very important and critical to his majesty's affairs in this part of the world. I shall, therefore, rely on your lordship's accustomed goodness and candor, while I add a few words in support of the equity of our pretensions, although, in truth, I have very little to say on this subject now, which I have not heretofore taken the liberty of observing to your excellency.

"I will next add," he said in conclusion, "that these troops not only enlisted agreeably to the proclamation, but behaved so much to the satisfaction of the country, as to be honored by the most public acknowledgment of it by the assembly. Would it not be hard, then, my lord, to deprive men, under these circumstances, or these representations, of the just reward of their toils. Was not this act of the governor and council offered to the soldiers, and accepted by them, as an absolute compact? And though the exigency of affairs, or the policy of the government, made it necessary

to continue these lands in a dormant state for a time, ought not their claim to be considered in preference to all others?"

Washington's representations to the public authorities, and his untiring personal exertions, chiefly at his own cost, finally procured justice for the claimants. That nothing essential to their interests should remain undone, he resolved to visit the region under consideration, and select the best tracts of land for his companions-in-arms. He set out from Mount Vernon on the fifth of October, 1770, accompanied by his friend and neighbor, Doctor Craik, and three negro-attendants, two of whom belonged to Colonel Washington. They departed with light hearts, and felt a great pleasure in the prospect of a peaceful revisitation of scenes of conflict in which they had been engaged long years before. The wilderness they were about to penetrate beyond Fort Pitt (old Fort Duquesne), was yet untrodden by the foot of the white man, except those of the hostile Frenchmen, and hunters and traders, or emissaries of land speculators. There were no settlements of white people on the banks of the Ohio below that fort.

Washington and his companions proceeded to Fort Pitt on horseback. There they were cordially received, after twelve days of weary travel, by Captain Edmonson, who commanded the little garrison of two companies of the royal Irish. There, where Washington had unfurled the British flag over a ruined fortress twelve years before, a town of twenty log-houses had grown up, inhabited by Indian-traders, and in one of them, while at dinner, he met his old acquaintance, George Croghan, who, after having experienced many vicissitudes upon the frontiers, now held the commission of colonel, was a deputy Indian agent, under Sir William Johnson, and was residing on the banks of the Alleghany river, about four miles from the fort. At Croghan's residence, the next day, Washington was greeted by White Mingo, and several other chiefs of the Six Nations, who remembered having seen him when he visited the French commander, in 1753. White Mingo made a speech, in which he expressed a desire that the Virginians should consider the Six Nations as their friends and brothers, and a hope that all of the

troubles on the frontier were now settled for ever. A "speech belt" was then presented, which Washington accepted, and made a friendly reply.

Washington and his companions left their horses at Fort Pitt, and accompanied by John Nicholson, as interpreter, and William Crawford,* a man well acquainted with the Indians, and experienced in woodcraft, they descended the Ohio in a canoe to Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Great Kenhawa, a distance of two hundred and sixty-five miles. They were attended by Colonel Croghan and some officers of the garrison, as far as Logstown, where, the reader will remember, was the scene of Washington's first interview with Tanacharisson, the half-king, in 1753. Then, after a pleasant breakfast together, Colonel Washington and his companions went down the Ohio, while Colonel Croghan and his attendants cheered them heartily.

Although the voyage was one of great peril, all being ignorant of the channels of the river, and the real friendship of the neighboring Indians being a matter of much doubt, yet they had exquisite enjoyment for several days, in giving free play to their hunting propensities. Game abounded in great profusion, and Washington indulged in his favorite amusement of hunting, to his heart's content. Floating upon the bosom of the beautiful Ohio, they continually encountered large flocks of ducks and geese, while the branches of the trees which bent over the margins of the stream, were filled with wild turkeys. Sometimes they would travel on foot for many miles through the forest, leaving the oarsmen in charge of the canoe, and while chasing the nimble deer, they examined the country, and made valuable observations. These Washington carefully noted in his field-book. They consisted of descriptions of the general contour of the country, the character of the soil as indicated by the nature of the trees, and the proximity of streams to level tracts of land that might be eligible for settlements. They suffered severe hardships, for the weather became inclement, and they encamped at night with no other protection than their blankets, and no shelter but the umbrageous trees.

* Crawford, a few years later, suffered a terrible death at the hands of the exasperated Indians.

On the twenty-sixth of October the voyagers reached the hunting-camp of Kiashuta, the famous Seneca chief, who was among the first to strike the white people under the direction of Pontiac. His camp was near the mouth of the Muskingum river, and Washington and his companions landed and made a ceremonious visit to the chief. Kiashuta immediately recognised Washington as the young ambassador whom he saw seventeen years before, at Venango. He received him in the most cordial manner, and after entertaining him and his party in the best of barbaric style, he assured Washington of his earnest desire to preserve everlasting peace between his people and the Virginians. He had heard of what had occurred at the interview with the chiefs of the Six Nations, at Colonel Croghan's, and he was unwilling to be outdone in protestations of peaceful desires.

Washington and his party reached the mouth of the Great Kenhawa soon after this auspicious interview with Kiashuta, and there they remained two or three days, engaged in placing monuments of recognition upon such tracts of fine land in the vicinity, as he intended to claim for the soldiers, and in the pleasures of hunting. Doctor Craik afterward related, that while they were there, they were visited by an old chief, who was a leader in the ambush that dealt such destruction upon Braddock's troops, on the field of Monongahela. He approached Washington with great reverence, at the head of several of his tribe, and addressed him through Nicholson, the interpreter. The old warrior said he had come a long way to see Colonel Washington, on being told that he was in the country, for, in the battle of Monongahela, he had singled him out as a conspicuous object, fired his rifle at him fifteen times, and directed his young warriors to do the same, but no one could hit him. He was persuaded that the Great Spirit protected the young hero, and ceased firing at him.*

Having ascended the Great Kenhawa about fourteen miles, and visited and examined every place he desired to, Colonel Washington

* This circumstance is alluded to on page 168. Washington, in writing to his brother after the battle, said, "I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me."

and his party returned to Fort Pitt; and with Doctor Craik and their servants, he proceeded to Mount Vernon, where they arrived after an absence of nine weeks. He now pressed the matter of adjusting the soldiers' claims with great vigor, and finally, after much vexatious efforts, he accomplished his object to the general satisfaction of all.* Fifteen thousand acres were awarded to a field-officer, nine thousand to a captain, six thousand to a subaltern, and four thousand to a private. Even Van Braam, who was suspected of treason at the Great Meadows, was not overlooked; and he and Stobo, who were then in London, each received nine thousand acres, which were subsequently purchased from them by Washington.

* There were a few dishonorable exceptions. Colonel George Muse, Washington's early military instructor, who had exhibited cowardly traits while in the service, was dissatisfied with the share allotted to him, and wrote an impertinent letter to Washington. It drew from the insulted colonel a most withering reply. The first paragraph is here quoted, to show what a caustic pen Washington could wield when necessity called for its exercise: "Sir—Your impertinent letter was delivered to me yesterday. As I am not accustomed to receive such, from any man, nor would have taken the same language from you personally, without letting you feel some marks of my resentment, I advise you to be cautious in writing to me a second of the same tenor; for though I understand you were drunk when you did it, yet give me leave to tell you, that drunkenness is no excuse for rudeness. But for your stupidity and sottishness, you might have known, by attending to the public gazette, that you had your full quantity of ten thousand acres of land allowed you."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

WASHINGTON AND PASSING EVENTS—THE KING AND HIS ADVISERS—WILLIAM PITT, HIS HONORS AND INFLUENCE—CHANGE IN THE BRITISH CABINET—JUNIUS—LORD NORTH—ACTION OF THE BRITISH CABINET—DUTY ON TEA RETAINED—REPEAL OF OTHER DUTIES—DISCONTENTS IN AMERICA—THE BOSTON MASSACRE—PUBLIC SENTIMENT IN VIRGINIA—WISHES OF COLONIAL GOVERNORS—THE GREAT PRINCIPLES INVOLVED—PROGRESS OF POPULAR POWER IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA—THE REGULATORS.

THE year 1770 was an eventful one in the history of England, and of the English colonies, and every man in America feeling a concern in the public affairs of the realm, was constrained to act with circumspection, or look on in wonder as the shifting scenes of current events revealed new phases in the political and moral aspects of the world. Of these events Washington was a most attentive and interested spectator. Although himself half unconscious of the fact, they formed a part of the wonderful web of his destiny, then about to be marked with forms and colors hitherto dimly seen by his countrymen, but which had some well-defined significance to his own vision.

From the accession of George the Third, to the period in question, his majesty's simplicity of mind and goodness of heart had made him a plastic instrument in the hands of wicked, or ignorant, or indolent men, in weakening the power of his own government, and in eclipsing that prestige of the English name so well established by Pitt and his coadjutors, at the close of his predecessor's reign. For several years after the accession of George, Pitt was disallowed that control of public affairs which his great talents, eminent services, and wide experience entitled him to; and it was only occasionally, when those affairs became tangled and desperate—when the ship of state was among breakers—that he was permitted to take control and guide the helm. When, at length, he

was elevated to the peerage, and became earl of Chatham and prime-minister, he found, too late, that his popularity had received a deadening blow, and that the sceptre of control seemed passing from him. The people had been proud of him as one of themselves—as the greatest commoner in England; now they regarded him as one who had been lured from the path of honor and duty by the glitter of an earldom, and they suspected him of infidelity to their interests. “There is,” wrote Burke from Dublin, “still a little twilight of popularity remaining around the great peer, but it fades away every moment;” and Chesterfield said of his entrance into that “hospital of incurables,” as he called the house of lords, “all his enemies, without exception, rejoice at it, and all his friends are stupified and dumb-founded.”

But Pitt did not withdraw his sympathies from the people who loved him so well, when he entered the house of lords, notwithstanding he made some foolish displays in his new character.* Such sympathies were always predominant among his sentiments, and his conduct won back the straying confidence and affections of the people. Sickness kept him much away from the active duties of life, and for more than a year and a half before his resignation of the premiership, in the autumn of 1768, his voice was not heard in any cause outside of his close retirement at his country-seat at Hayes. Yet the influence of that great man was wonderful even in his obscurity. His health, his friendships, his agreements and disagreements with this and that public man, were matters of deep interest to all England, and to the cabinets of Europe. “It is strange,” says Lord Mahon, “how large a space in the history of England at that period, must be devoted to the details of his personal health and his family feuds. The fate of the nation seemed to hang suspended on the gout and on the Grenvilles.”

* Chesterfield has left a record of the unusual pomp and needless train of servants that Chatham maintained. In the summer of 1769, he became reconciled to his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, and proceeded, in a formal manner, to visit him at his mansion at Stowe. Burke, writing to the marquis of Rockingham on the 30th of July said: “I ought to tell you that Lord Chatham passed by my door on Friday morning in a *jinahiskee* drawn by two horses, one before the other; he drove himself. His train was two coaches-and-six, with twenty servants, male and female. He was proceeding with his whole family, Lady Chatham, two sons, and two daughters, to Stowe.”

At length Lord Chatham's health improved, and he appeared in public, after an absence of two years and a half. Men gazed upon him as one risen from the dead, but it was soon found that not a particle of the fire of his genius had been quenched. He had recently become reconciled to some of his political friends, and he was in his place in Parliament at its opening in January, 1770, when he appeared on the side of the opposition, in coalition with powerful men, to the great consternation of the ministry.

American affairs and other subjects were topics for Pitt's matchless eloquence and withering invective. Timid lords, shielded by the wings of his leadership, spoke out their sentiments boldly against the ministry. Cabinet officers, alarmed, forsook the king; and the duke of Grafton, his prime-minister, quailing beneath the falchion blows of Pitt, and the keen shafts of Junius,* resigned his place. "Thus," says Lord Mahon, "no sooner had Lord Chatham emerged from his retirement, and raised his voice against the ministry, than the ministry crumbled to pieces." It was astonishing how great was the effect of his return to public life, and the declaration of his sentiments. It immediately produced a ministerial crisis as keen and strange as any recorded in British history, and elevated to the premiership of that realm, a man who remained in that important position until the close of our war for independence, and who did more, by his misguided policy, to bring about that result, than any man in England. That man was Frederick, Lord North, second son of the earl of Guilford. He came into office contrary to the wishes or expectations of Pitt, and with very little prospect of permanence. He was the seventh prime-minister chosen during the first ten years of George's reign, and he held the office longer than all of his six predecessors combined. He was an honest man,

* A series of articles over the signature of *Junius*, as is well known, was published in the "Public Advertiser," one of the newspapers of London, printed by Henry Sampson Woodfall. They created a great sensation at the time, and the authorship has been the theme for much discussion ever since. These letters, addressed to persons of distinction, and even to the king, abounded with the keenest invective, and pierced deeply those against whom the shafts were levelled. The duke of Grafton, and Sir William Draper, were the most prominent objects of attack. The letters were chiefly of a political character, yet not always so. Their publication continued from April, 1767, until May, 1772. Great efforts were made to discover the writer, but apparently without effect. It now seems probable, from the best testimony, that the author was Sir Philip Francis.

destitute of all outward advantages of personal grace, sagacious in unravelling the most intricate details of public persons, but lacking energy, firmness, and a fixed and resolute will. His figure was overgrown, and he was extremely near-sighted. He possessed uncommon sweetness of temper, frequently yielded his own deliberate judgment to the persuasions of his sovereign or his friends, and lacked the "power to resist the influence of those he loved."* Such was the man whom we shall now meet frequently in the progress of this biography, especially through all of those eventful years in the life of Washington, while he was in command of the continental army in opposition to the measures of that minister. And Pitt, also, who performed such a conspicuous part in the events which elevated North to the ministry, will be frequently found battling manfully with the opposition against the measures of his lordship, especially in his management of American affairs.

On the fifth of March, 1770, Lord North made his first proposition in Parliament, as the head of the ministry, concerning the American colonies. At a meeting of the cabinet on the first of May preceding,† the lords present gave it as their opinion and advice to his majesty, that no measure should be taken which could, in any way, derogate from the legislative authority of Great Britain over the colonies; at the same time they thought it inexpedient to lay any further taxes upon America for the purpose of raising a revenue, and expressed their intention to propose, in the next session of Parliament, to take off the duties upon paper, glass, and colors, imported into America, "upon consideration of such duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce." The ministers then directed Lord Hillsborough, the colonial secretary, to address a circular letter to the colonies, intimating that the duties upon all articles enumerated in the act of 1767, would be taken off, except that upon tea. This would be a partial relief from a light

* Letter of his daughter, Lady Charlotte Lindsay, to Lord Brougham, February 18, 1839.

† That meeting of the cabinet was held at the office of Lord Weymouth, and nine lords were present. Lord North was then one of the most active members of the cabinet. He had commenced his long career of opposition to the Americans by offering a resolution on the fourteenth of March, preceding, that a respectful petition or a remonstrance from the people of New York, should not be received.

burden; but, as the cause of complaint lay in a violated principle, this concession, wrung from them by expediency, did not remove it. The *principle* was the same, whether duties were exacted on one article or a dozen, and so long as the assumed right of Parliament to tax the colonies was practically asserted in the smallest degree, so long the Americans felt their rights to be assailed.

Lord North, who was a member of the cabinet at that time, now (March 5th, 1770) came forward as the head of the administration, and, in accordance with the spirit of Hillsborough's circular, submitted a motion to repeal the duties alluded to, except that upon tea. "This was continued," he said, "to maintain the right of Parliamentary taxation;" at the same time he alleged, that he felt a desire to remove that also, but recent events in Boston and elsewhere, rendered it imprudent to do so, unless the government was willing to abandon its rightful sway over the colonies, and instead of redressing a grievance, relinquish a right.

The events to which the minister alluded, were indeed revolutionary, such as the acts of the members of the New York, Virginia, and Massachusetts assemblies;* and, on the very day when he submitted his concessory motion to Parliament, a painful occurrence took place in Boston, which produced a profound sensation throughout the colonies, and may be properly regarded as the opening scene of bloodshed in the war for independence. We have already observed the restiveness of the people of Massachusetts because of the armed occupation of their capital. When the general assembly of the province met in May, 1769, they resolved that it was inconsistent with their dignity and freedom to deliberate in the midst of an armed force, and that the presence of a military and naval arma-

* These measures, which we have already noticed in preceding pages, were deprecated, in a measure, by some of the friends of the Americans. Lord Chatham, in debate in March, 1770, said: "I have been thought to be, perhaps, too much the friend of America. I own I am a friend to that country. I love the Americans because they love liberty, and I love them for the noble efforts they made in the last war. But I must own I find fault with them in many things; I think they carry matters too far; they have been wrong in many respects.... If they carry their notions of liberty too far, as I fear they do, if they will not be subject to the laws of this country, especially if they would disengage themselves from the laws of trade and navigation, of which I see too many symptoms, as much of an American as I am, they have not a more determined opponent than they will find in me."

ment was a breach of privilege. They refused to enter upon any business except that which pertained to a redress of grievances, and respectfully petitioned Governor Bernard to remove the troops from Boston. Hoping to reconcile the assembly, he adjourned them to Cambridge, but there they refused to make even the smallest appropriation for the support of the troops. Finding the members firm and incorrigible, the governor, on the twelfth of July, prorogued the assembly to the tenth of January, to meet at Boston; and on the first of August, he sailed for England, leaving affairs in the hands of Hutchinson, his lieutenant, who was a native of the province.

It was hoped that the departure of Bernard would produce more concord. But the greatest cause for discontent remained. The wound inflicted by the governor, in the introduction of soldiers into Boston, was daily festering, and continual quarrels between the citizens and the troops occurred. Fights with straggling soldiers were frequent events, and a crisis speedily arrived. On the second of March, a ropemaker quarrelled with a soldier, and struck him. Out of this affray grew a fight between several soldiers and ropemakers. The latter were beaten, and this result aroused the vengeance of the more excitable portion of the inhabitants.

On the evening of the fifth, about seven hundred of them assembled in the streets, with clubs and other weapons, shouting, "Let us drive out these rascals! They have no business here—drive them out!" In King (now State) street, the mob were addressed by a tall man in a scarlet cloak and wearing a white wig, who closed his harangue by shouting, "To the main guard! to the main guard!" and then disappeared.* The populace echoed the shout, and, separating into three divisions, took different routes toward the quarters of the main guard. A sentinel was assailed near the customhouse, when Captain Preston, the commandant of the guard, went to his rescue with eight armed men. The mob dared the soldiers to fire, and attacked them with stones, pieces of ice, and other missiles.

* Although there is no positive evidence of the fact, yet the strongest circumstantial evidence affirms it, that the tall man in question was Samuel Adams.

One of the soldiers, who received a blow, fired, and his six companions, in the excitement of the moment, also discharged their guns. Three of the citizens were killed, and five were dangerously wounded. The mob instantly retreated, and all the bells of the city rang an alarm. In less than an hour, several thousands of exasperated citizens were in the streets, and a terrible scene of blood would have ensued, had not Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson assured the people that justice should be vindicated in the morning.

Morning came, and the people demanded the instant removal of the troops from Boston, and the trial of Captain Preston and his men for murder. The governor acquiesced in these demands. The troops were sent to Castle William, in the harbor, on the twelfth; and Preston, ably defended by John Adams and Josiah Quincy, two of the popular leaders, was tried and acquitted, with six of his men, by a Boston jury. This was a noble and unanswerable comment upon the libels of the ministerial party, who had asserted that the servants of the crown could not obtain justice in America. The victims of this riot were regarded as martyrs to liberty, and until the kindling of the war for independence, the memory of the *Boston Massacre*, as it was called, was kept alive by anniversary orations in the city and vicinity on the return of every fifth of March. The story, in all its worst aspects, became a tale of horror, and everywhere it excited the most implacable hatred of British domination; and the really justifiable act of the soldiers in defending their lives against a lawless mob, was magnified by exaggeration, into an unprovoked assault of armed mercenaries upon a quiet and defenceless people.

The Virginians were as indignant as the people of Massachusetts, because of the proclamation of the parliamentary right to tax the colonies, made by retaining the duty upon tea. Lord Botetourt had given them confident assurances, when announcing the intended repeal of the other duties, that the tax upon tea would also be given up. Such was his sincere wish; and Eden, the governor of Maryland, advised the ministry to relinquish it. Colden, of New York, also expressed a similar desire and belief; and the colonists generally, as a matter of convenience, had resumed the importation and con-

sumption of the proscribed articles, the duties on which had been repealed. But the exaction of the tea-duty, though merely a "pepper-corn tax," aroused their subsiding resentment. The great principle involved in their opposition could not be made less important in its application because of the modified form of that application; and it was too well understood and appreciated by the great body of the colonists, as a solemn question in which their civil liberty was involved, to be lightly regarded. Therefore, the retention of the small duty upon the tea being an act of Parliament avowedly for the purpose of asserting its omnipotency, the Americans confined their issue with Great Britain to that single act. "Will not a repeal of all other duties satisfy the colonists?" said a member of the ministerial party to Doctor Franklin, in London. "I think not," he promptly replied; "it is not the sum paid in the duty on tea that is complained of as a burden, but the principle of the act expressed in the preamble." A Boston loyalist, at the close of 1769, wrote to his friend in London—"The repeal of the duties laid in '67 has caused the resumption of importations, and I think that the efforts of demagogues to persuade the people not to use tea will be unavailing." How blind was he to the teachings of the past, and the progress of current events! Within six weeks afterward he was practically answered, when the mistresses of three hundred families in Boston alone, subscribed their names to a league, binding themselves not to drink any tea until the act levying a duty upon it should be repealed. Emphasis was given to this practical answer three days afterward, when the young ladies of Boston followed the example of the matrons, and multitudes of them said to the world, by their signatures: "We, the daughters of those patriots who have, and do now, appear for the public interest, and in that principle regard their posterity—as such, do with pleasure engage with them in denying ourselves the drinking of foreign tea, in hopes to frustrate a plan which tends to deprive a whole community of all that is valuable in life." All classes were thoroughly imbued with such feelings, not only in Massachusetts, but in other colonies, and tea was everywhere proscribed, in 1770, as the repre-

mentative of a tyranny opposed to the living principle of freedom which had taken a deep hold upon the hearts of the people.

It was clear to the discerning mind, that the growth of the popular strength was now rapid and steady, and that the popular will was becoming such a mighty power in the state, that the days of feudal despotism were almost numbered. This growth was not confined to the American colonies; it was equally flourishing under other manifestations, in England, even beneath the shadows of a venerated throne. Principles contended for there had a deep significance for the colonists, because they were vital in the constitution of a free people. Perceiving this mutual interest, South Carolina, at about this time, sent more than ten thousand pounds currency to the London society for the support of the Bill of Rights, while the enlightened people of England sympathized as warmly with their American brethren in their struggle for the dearest privileges of humanity. The warm sympathies of Ireland, also, were awakened, and the grand idea of popular sovereignty, flashing abroad at this time over the public mind, started Grattan upon his great and wonderful career as the champion of civil and religious freedom.

Then, too, in the manufacturing districts of England, the people, for the first time, came together in public meetings to consult upon public affairs, and the power of voluntary assemblies began to be felt by a corrupt Parliament. The press, too, exhibited a boldness hitherto unknown, and Junius dared to speak through it to the king and say: "Can you conceive that the people of this country will long submit to be governed by so flexible a house of commons? The oppressed people of Ireland give you, every day, fresh marks of your resentment. The colonies left their native land for freedom, and found it in a desert. Looking forward to independence, they equally detest the pageantry of a king, and the supercilious hypocrisy of a bishop." The press in America was equally bold, where the popular assembly, indigenous to the soil, had become almost an institution; and everywhere these noble sentiments, uttered in the parent-land, found a hearty response in every part

of our broad domain where a free hearthstone was planted, and the love of liberty was installed as a household deity. Their ears were continually bent toward the stormy Atlantic, to hear tidings from the throne, and they listened with inexpressible delight to the voice of Chatham, speaking from its very steps, and saying: "Call the combinations of the Americans dangerous, but not unwarrantable. The discontent of two millions of people should be treated candidly, and its foundation removed. America was settled upon ideas of liberty, and the vine has taken deep root and spread throughout the land. Long may it flourish! Let slavery exist nowhere among us; for whether it be in America or Ireland, or here at home, you will find it a disease which spreads by contact, and soon reaches from the extremity to the heart."

The bold manifestations of the spirit of liberty were not confined to the seaboard cities and elder communities. Away back among the border settlements of the Carolinas, whence the hardy Boone and companions went forth to open a path for civilization over the mountains to the fertile valleys of the Great West, it had already asserted its power and received the applause of the wise and good. We need not stop here to record the details of oppressive measures which aroused the spirit of resistance there. It is the common story of official rapacity, arrogant assumptions, and utter disregard of the rights and feelings of the people. Extortions in every form compelled the inhabitants to lift the arm of stout resistance. They first met in public assemblies to consult. Then they petitioned for a redress of grievances, but the local authorities, imitating the imperial government, treated their respectful representation with contempt. At length they formed a league called THE REGULATION, took power into their own hands, and prepared to redress their own grievances. This remarkable movement was chiefly in the vicinity of Hillsborough, in North Carolina. At the close of 1770, the Regulators throughout that region became too numerous and strong to be overcome by local magistrates, and Tryon, the royal governor of the province, marched against them with a considerable body of militia. They had committed grave offences.

They had passed resolutions equivalent, in spirit, to a declaration of independence; and they had dared to laugh at the official frowns of men sent to exercise authority over them as sheriffs and judges.

Tryon pressed forward to the borders of the "rebel" domain in the spring of 1771. At Hillsborough he publicly invited "every person" to shoot the four principal leaders of the Regulators,* and offered one hundred pounds and a thousand acres of land, as a reward for the delivery of either of them, alive or dead. Then penetrating the country to the Allamance creek, he fought and defeated the Regulators on the banks of that stream. After surfeiting his vengeance by hanging six of them who were taken prisoners, he marched back in triumph to Newbern, in June, to enjoy the luxuries of a palace he had built there at the expense of a people who hated and despised him.

The movements of the Regulators, and the result of the battle on the Allamance, form an important episode in the history of our Revolution. The fiercest hatred of British power was aroused at the South, which stimulated that earnest patriotism so early displayed by the people below the Roanoke, when the war for independence was kindled. That defeat did not break the spirits of the patriots; and many, determined no longer to suffer the oppressions of extortioners, abandoned their homes, with their wives and children, went beyond the mountains, and planted settlements in the fertile valleys of Tennessee.

* Herman Husband, a quaker from Pennsylvania, James Hunter, Rednap Howell, from New Jersey, and William Butler.

CHAPTER XXXV.

WASHINGTON AT MOUNT VERNON—HIS PREPARATIONS FOR THE COMING STRUGGLE—LORD DUNMORE GOVERNOR—THE PRIDE OF THE VIRGINIANS TOUCHED—CHARACTER OF DUNMORE—HIS FRIENDSHIP FOR WASHINGTON—DOMESTIC AFFAIRS AT MOUNT VERNON—JOHN PARKE CUSTIS—HIS LOVE AND MARRIAGE—DEATH OF HIS SISTER—THE BURGESSES AND THE SLAVE-TRADE—DESTRUCTION OF THE GASPE—VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY AND GOVERNOR DUNMORE—COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE—ACTION OF VIRGINIA AND MASSACHUSETTS—DISSOLUTION OF THE VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY—WASHINGTON AND HIS COMPATRIOTS.

WHILE the commotions in the political world which we have just considered, were agitating society, and calling patriots here and there from narrow provincial spheres of duty to an arena broad and national, Washington yet remained at Mount Vernon an earnest spectator and diligent student of passing events. The time had not yet arrived when he should go forth panoplied for the great contest that was to bring deliverance to his country. He who was to be the chief champion was then preparing for the lists, while others went out as heralds and sounded the trumpets for battle. No sound from the mother-country escaped his quick ear; no movement of monarch, ministers, or people there, eluded his vigilant eye; no sentiment that stirred his countrymen was left ungarnished in his heart; and these he studied with the calmness of a hero and sage, analyzed with the acuteness of a philosopher, and arranged, classified, and combined into a momentous syllogism, with all the skill of an expert logician. The conclusion formed the polar-star of his destiny, and upon it he fixed his clear vision. He perceived every omen of the approaching tempest, in whose scope and result he was deeply interested; and the faintest mutterings of the distant thunder in the political horizon, conveyed to him audible lessons of deep significance. He knew that a crisis

was approaching. He had well considered the growing discontents of his own time, and the records of grievances in the more remote past, with the solemn attention of a statesman; and he felt the assurance of a prophetic spirit within him, that a great struggle between old and new ideas—between right and might—between liberty and despotism—must soon commence in his beloved country, and that he must fight valiantly for the right. By serious meditation, daily observations, comparison of sentiments with others, faith in the power of truth, and reliance upon God for guidance, he was forging for himself that invincible armor of patriotism and true courage, with which, a little later, he went into the long-expected conflict as the Joshua of the chosen.

In the midst of the contemplation of these great events, and while feeling the longings of his spirit to be abroad marshalling the people for battle, he was not forgetful nor neglectful of the minor duties of life. He was the same affectionate husband and foster-father, the same careful husbandman, the same kind and social neighbor, the same wise local legislator, and the same active and sympathizing friend of his neglected companions-in-arms.

The death of the amiable Botetourt, whose conciliatory administration had soothed the troubled spirit of Virginia, was the signal for a great change in public sentiment. John Murray, earl of Dunmore, who had succeeded Sir Henry Moore, as governor of New York, in 1770, was transferred to Virginia, as Botetourt's successor. At that time, New York city was gay and luxurious, compared with the capital of Virginia; and his lordship, who was fond of display, lingered there so long, leaving the government of the Old Dominion with Nelson, president of the council, and his own military secretary, Captain Foy, that the pride of the Virginians was touched, and on his occasional visits, and final arrival to make a permanent residence, he discovered a temper in the people not at all attractive to him. They had already become acquainted with his character, through the voice of rumor, and felt warranted in pre-judging him.

Lord Dunmore was descended from an ancient Scotch family;

was full of aristocratic ideas; was deficient in sound judgment, and that common sense so essential in public life; and was possessed of an irritable temper and vindictive spirit. No man could have been more unsuited for such a position at such a time, than Lord Dunmore, and his administration was marked by almost incessant contests with the people and their representatives, who felt keenly the contrast between him and the beloved Botetourt. Yet friendly relations existed between Washington and the governor, notwithstanding the former took a prominent part in the popular movements in Virginia. Their political differences did not disturb their pleasant personal relations. Dunmore appeared to comprehend and value the noble character of Colonel Washington, and he frequently availed himself of his experience, especially in military affairs, in the management of the concerns of the colony. In the summer of 1771, we find Washington taking advantage of this personal friendship, to urge, anew, the claims of the soldiers to bounty lands. Dunmore was at Williamsburg early in June, where Washington had a conference with him upon the subject, and obtained from him a promise, that they might take such steps, at their own risk and expense, as other settlers, to secure their lands agreeably to the proclamation of Dinwiddie, in 1754. On his return to Mount Vernon, he addressed a letter to Dunmore, repeating his urgent solicitations in behalf of his companions-in-arms. As we have already noticed, the efforts of Colonel Washington were successful, and many a soldier and his family had reason to bless him all their lives.

Domestic affairs at Mount Vernon, especially those that related to the children of Mrs. Washington, occupied the serious attention of her husband at this time. For several months the health of her daughter had been failing. It had now become evident that pulmonary consumption was wasting her vital energies, and that no earthly power could stay its ravages. The hopes of the mother now centred in her son, John Parke Custis, then between sixteen and seventeen years of age. He was a very lively youth, with a susceptible and impulsive temperament, and possessed a large inde-

pendent fortune.* His mother, made doubly tender toward him on account of the declining health of his sister, was extremely indulgent to her son, and she often pleaded in his behalf when Washington found it necessary to exercise a wholesome restraint upon him. These circumstances combined, rendered the guardianship of young Custis a delicate and sometimes difficult task. Yet Washington, with steady hand, did not depart from the line of duty which his conscience and his judgment prescribed.

Young Custis was placed under the care of the Reverend Jonathan Boucher, an episcopal clergyman residing at Annapolis, to be educated, but the wayward boy was frequently away from his studies, engaged in fox-hunting and other amusements at Mount Vernon and elsewhere. He soon became impatient of the necessary restraints of the school-room and allotted lessons, and conceived a strong desire for travel. Soon after Washington's return from his tour to the Ohio country, in 1770, he was pained to find that a scheme for sending the lad abroad, with his tutor, was already matured, notwithstanding the mother felt a great reluctance to have him absent while his sister was so ill. Washington mildly but firmly opposed the scheme. He saw the folly of allowing such an interruption of the studies of young Custis, and permitting him to travel, without suitable acquirements, merely to gratify an idle curiosity. These objections, and others concerning the heavy expenses to be incurred at that time, when a chancery suit against the young man's estate was pending, were presented by Washington to Mr. Boucher and his pupil, in such a way that the scheme was abandoned, and the lad continued his studies, though in the same irregular way.

A stronger passion than a desire to travel now diverted young Custis from his studies. He became deeply enamored of the second daughter of Benjamin Calvert, Esq., of Maryland, and it

* The estate of John Parke Custis, according to a letter written by Washington to Benedict Calvert, Esq., of Maryland, in April, 1773, consisted of fifteen thousand acres of land adjoining the city of Williamsburg, and none of it forty miles from that place; several lots in that city; between two and three hundred negroes; and almost ten thousand pounds upon bond, and in the hands of merchants. That estate he held independent of his mother's dower, which would be an addition to it at her death

was discovered, at the close of 1772, that they had formed a matrimonial engagement. This gave Washington much concern. He was as strongly opposed to premature marriages as to premature travel, and on the third of April he addressed a most judicious letter to the young lady's father, on the subject: "How far a union of this sort," he said, "may be agreeable to you, you can best tell; but I should think myself wanting in candor, were I not to confess, that Miss Nelly's amiable qualities are acknowledged on all hands, and that an alliance with your family will be pleasing to his."* Washington then spoke of the extreme youth, inexperience, and deficient education of Master Custis, as insuperable objections to the speedy completion of the marriage. He considered it his duty, as his guardian, to endeavor to carry him through a regular course of education, and "to guard his youth to a more advanced age, before an event, on which his own peace and the happiness of another were to depend," should take place. "Not that I have any doubt," he added, "of the warmth of his affections, nor, I hope I may add, any fears of a change in them; but at present I do not conceive that he is capable of bestowing that attention to the important consequences of the married state, which is necessary to be given by those who are about to enter into it, and, of course, I am unwilling he should do it till he is. If the affection, which they have avowed for each other, is fixed upon a solid basis, it will receive no diminution in the course of two or three years, in which time he may prosecute his studies, and thereby render himself more deserving of the lady and useful to society. If, unfortunately, as they are both young, there should be an abatement of affection on either side, or both, it had better precede than follow marriage. Delivering my sentiments thus freely, will not, I hope, lead you into a belief, that I am desirous of breaking off the match. To postpone it is all I have in view; for I shall recommend to the young gentleman, with the warmth that becomes a man of honor (notwithstanding he did not vouchsafe to consult either his mother

* Mr. Calvert was of the family of Lord Baltimore, and in wealth and social position, was not surpassed by any in the country.

or me on the occasion), to consider himself as much engaged to your daughter, as if the indissoluble knot were tied; and, as the surest means of effecting this, to apply himself closely to his studies (and in this advice I flatter myself you will join me), by which means he will, in a great measure, avoid those little flirtations with other young ladies, that may, by dividing the attention, contribute not a little to divide the affection."

These suggestions of Washington were approved by Mr. Calvert, and it was agreed that young Custis should pass two years at college before marriage. At that time King's (now Columbia) college, in New York, had a very high reputation under the presidency of Reverend Myles Cooper, D. D., and he was placed in that institution. Washington accompanied him to New York, and on that occasion he saw Alexander Hamilton for the first time, who was then one of the most active students in King's college.

Young Custis pursued his studies diligently, and received the sincere approbation of the president. His betrothal gave him a topic for serious reflection; and the loss of his sister, in the summer of 1773, greatly subdued his wayward spirit. That young lady expired at Mount Vernon, on the nineteenth of June, when in the seventeenth year of her age. Her death was a severe blow to Washington. Her gentleness had greatly endeared her to him, and his feelings toward her were truly paternal. He had been absent at Williamsburg for some time, and had made arrangements to accompany Lord Dunmore on a long tour of observation beyond the mountains. On his return home he found Miss Custis in the last stage of consumption. The manly spirit of Washington was bowed with grief, and in deep affliction he knelt at her bedside, and prayed earnestly for her recovery. Her departure left a great void in her mother's heart, and Washington remained in the seclusion of Mount Vernon to console his wife, instead of making the intended journey with the governor.

Toward the close of the year, young Custis, who maintained a continual epistolary correspondence with Miss Calvert, became impatient for a closer union with her. His mother, more indulgent

than ever toward her only remaining child, consented, and Washington did not interpose serious objections. "It has been against my wishes," he wrote to Doctor Cooper, in December, "that he should quit college, in order that he may enter soon into a new scene of life, which I think he would be much fitter for some years hence than now. But having his own inclination, the desires of his mother, and the acquiescence of almost all his relatives to encounter, I did not care, as he is the last of the family, to push my opposition too far, and I have therefore submitted to a kind of necessity." Mr. Custis was permitted to leave college, and he spent a portion of the Christmas holydays of 1773 with his affianced. They were married on the third of February, 1774, when the bridegroom was not yet twenty years of age.

Lord Dunmore did not make Virginia his residence until in the summer of 1772. At that time the current of popular feeling in America, against the imperial government, was as strong as ever, but not so turbulent, for no event of sufficient importance to stir up the whole body of the colonists had recently occurred. But local disputes were irritating the people everywhere. In Virginia the efforts of legislators had been strongly put forth, for several years, to cast off the burden of negro-slavery from the province. We have already observed Thomas Jefferson rising into notice upon that topic, as the champion of emancipation. Again and again they had passed laws restraining the importation of negroes from Africa, but these enactments had always been disallowed by the higher authority; and in the year 1770, the king issued instructions, over his own signature, commanding the governor, "upon pain of the highest displeasure, to assent to no law by which the importation of slaves should be in any respect prohibited or obstructed."

Yet the Virginians were not discouraged. They saw the light of hope in the future, and took heart. In April, 1772, the barbarous instructions of the king were freely debated in the Virginia assembly, and the votes of Washington, Lee, Jefferson, Nicholas, Bland, Henry, and other patriots, were cast for a resolution autho-

rizing the transmission of an address to the king, in which they said: "We are sensible that some of your majesty's subjects in Great Britain may reap emoluments from this traffic; but when we consider, that it greatly retards the settlement of the colonies with more useful inhabitants, and may, in time, have the most destructive influence, we presume to hope that the interest of a few will be disregarded, when placed in competition with the security and happiness of such members of your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects. Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we most humbly beseech your majesty to remove all those restraints on your majesty's governors of these colonies, which inhibit their assenting to such laws, as might check so very pernicious a commerce." The Virginians would not address Parliament on the subject, because that would be an acknowledgment of its right to interfere in their domestic concerns, so they made their appeal directly to the throne. It was unavailing, for the king's ear was now deaf to all reason from his transatlantic subjects.

In New England, fresh causes for irritation now began to appear. The commander of the armed British schooner *Gaspé*, stationed in Narraganset bay to assist the commissioners of customs in enforcing the revenue laws, greatly annoyed the American navigators in those waters, without deigning to exhibit any evidence of his authority. He haughtily commanded them to lower their colors when they passed his vessel, in token of obedience. The *William Tells* of the bay refused to bow to the cap of this petty Gesler; and the governor of Rhode Island sent the sheriff on board, to inquire under what authority Lieutenant Duddington acted. That officer referred the subject to the British admiral, Montagu, at Boston, who insolently answered the governor: "The lieutenant, sir, has done his duty, I shall give the king's officers directions that they send every man taken in molesting them to me. As sure as the people of Newport attempt to rescue any vessel, and any of them are taken, I will hang them as pirates." The people laughed at this pompous threat; and when, on the ninth of June, the *Gaspé* grounded upon a shoal while chasing a Providence schooner

that had refused to lower her colors, some bold men proceeded to execute vengeance. In the evening sixty-four of them, well-armed, under the command of Captain Whipple, who was afterward a commodore in the little continental navy, went down from Providence in boats, captured all on board the Gaspé, and burned the vessel. Although a large reward was offered for their apprehension, they were never betrayed. Three years later, when the war for independence was kindled, and it was known that Whipple was the leader in that enterprise, Sir James Wallace, then in command of a small British fleet in Narraganset bay, wrote thus to the "rebel:" "You, Abraham Whipple, on the ninth of June, 1772, burned his majesty's vessel, the Gaspé, and I will hang you to the yard-arm." To that letter Captain Whipple coolly replied: "Sir; always catch a man before you hang him."

In other provinces the insolence of royal governors and subordinate servants of the crown, was goading the people to rebellion, and their just indignation increased their boldness. In Virginia, this spirit was everywhere manifested. The first measure of the assembly, at its opening, after the arrival of Lord Dunmore, was an indication of the prevailing temper. The members, by resolution, demanded of his lordship by what authority he had awarded fees and salary to his secretary, to be paid out of the treasury of the province, without first consulting the burgesses; and they wished to know whether his act was authorized by the crown. The governor, startled by this unexpected attitude of the assembly, answered by wisely rescinding his order, for he perceived that the Virginians were deeply sympathizing with the inhabitants of Massachusetts in their opposition to a recent regulation of the ministry, by which the governor of the province was to receive his salary from the crown, and thus become independent of the people. Dunmore lost no time in proroguing an assembly so untractable; and finding it continually unsubmissive to his control, he prorogued it from time to time, during several months. In the meanwhile he used every art to conciliate the members, but in vain, for he would not stoop from his aristocratic pedestal, nor yield a particle of his

claimed prerogatives. At length circumstances compelled him to convene the burgesses on the third of March, 1773.

Washington was in his seat at the opening of the session. It was a short but a memorable one in the annals of the republic, for a measure of the greatest importance to the colonies was proposed and executed by the bold patriots of which that assembly was composed. The scheme had already assumed a tangible form in the minds of several of the members, for the proceedings of the friends of liberty in Boston had suggested it. That measure was, the national system of committees of correspondence. In November previous, Samuel Adams had arisen in a public meeting at Faneuil hall, and moved "that a committee of correspondence be appointed, to consist of twenty-one persons, to state the rights of the colonists and of this province in particular, as men, as Christians, and as subjects; to communicate and publish the same to the several towns in this province, and to the world, as the sense of this town, with the infringements and violations thereof that have been or from time to time may be made; also requesting of each town a free communication of their sentiments on this subject." That motion was adopted, and a committee appointed, on which appear prominently the names of James Otis, Samuel Adams, and Joseph Warren—names dear to every American citizen. The country quickly responded, and committees were soon organized in almost every town in the province.

This was a bold step toward a confederation to resist further oppression. But Virginia speedily made a greater stride in that direction. On the second day of the session of the burgesses just alluded to, the assembly resolved itself into a committee of the whole house on the state of the colony, when Dabney Carr, of Charlotte, brother-in-law of Jefferson, and a young man of brilliant genius and pure patriotism, moved a series of resolutions for a system of intercolonial committees of correspondence. This measure had been concerted the evening previous, at a caucus held in the Apollo-room of the Raleigh tavern at Williamsburg. That caucus consisted of Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee, Thomas Jefferson,

Dabney Carr, and two or three others. The resolutions were written by Mr. Jefferson, and it was proposed that he should submit them to the house, but he preferred to give that honor to his youthful brother-in-law. The plan included a perfect union of all the colonies through committees of correspondence. It was, in effect, a proposition for a national confederation of the Anglo-American colonies. The eloquent voices of Patrick Henry, Peyton Randolph, and Richard Henry Lee, were heard in favor of the resolutions. But they needed no oral advocacy. They found a response in every patriot's heart. The whole assembly approved of them; and, on the twelfth of March, they were unanimously adopted, and a committee for Virginia was appointed.*

Massachusetts hailed these proceedings with delight, and a copy of the Virginia resolutions was sent to every town and district in that province. Massachusetts had been the first to suggest committees of correspondence *within its own borders*; Virginia was the first to appoint a committee for *national* correspondence. Each colony seems to have originated its particular scheme, notwithstanding the general idea was so similar; for, according to Peyton Randolph, the messengers from the respective legislatures, bearing the resolutions of each, passed each other on the way.

Rhode Island first, and then Massachusetts, responded to the resolutions of Virginia, by the appointment of a corresponding committee of fifteen, who were instructed to urge the other colonies to take similar action. The New England colonies, and Pennsylvania and Maryland did so, and thus was formed the first sound link of our confederacy. These committees of correspondence became the most powerful instrument of the Revolution that speedily followed, and the scheme was hated bitterly by the ministerial party. "This," said a tory writer of Boston, over the signature of *Massachusettensis*, two years latter, "is the foulest, subtlest, and most venomous serpent ever issued from the egg of sedition. *It is the source of the rebellion.* I saw the small seed when it was implanted; it

* The committee was composed of Peyton Randolph (speaker of the house of burgesses), Robert Carter Nicholas, Richard Bland, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton, Patrick Henry, Dudley Digges, Dabney Carr, Archibald Carey, and Thomas Jefferson. They were also styled a committee of vigilance

was a grain of mustard. I have watched the plant until it has become a great tree. The vilest reptiles that crawl upon the earth are concealed at the root; the foulest birds of the air rest upon its branches. I would induce you to go to work immediately with axes and hatchets, and cut it down, for a two-fold reason: because it is a pest to society, and lest it be felled suddenly by a stronger arm, and crush its thousands in its fall."

When the resolutions just considered had been adopted by the Virginia assembly, it proceeded to pass others equally unsubmissive in tone to arbitrary royal rule, when their proceedings were suddenly terminated by Governor Dunmore, who appeared in the legislative hall and proclaimed the dissolution of the burgesses. They had already accomplished a great work, and were willing to return to their constituents as the faithful exponents of their principles. On the day succeeding the dissolution of the assembly, Washington journeyed homeward on horseback, in company with Richard Henry and Francis Lightfoot Lee, of Westmoreland, and Patrick Henry, of Hanover. For a day and a half they travelled together; and no doubt those hopeful, earnest, and thoughtful patriots, discussed long and solemnly the great question of the day, "How long shall we submit to the oppressive policy of Great Britain?" That question was very soon answered by the inexorable logic of events.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

HUTCHINSON'S LETTERS—THEIR EFFECTS IN MASSACHUSETTS—TREATMENT OF FRANKLIN—NEW PHASE IN THE TEA DUTY—THE EAST INDIA COMPANY—TEA-SHIPS SAIL FOR AMERICA—THEIR FATE—DESTRUCTION OF TEA AT BOSTON—EFFECTS OF THE MEASURE—RETALIATORY ACTS OF PARLIAMENT—EFFECTS IN THE COLONIES—DESIRES OF THE PEOPLE—FRANKLIN'S RECOMMENDATION—MOVEMENTS IN VIRGINIA—SCENES AT THE CAPITAL—THE PORT-BILL AND THE VIRGINIA BURGESSES—DISSOLUTION OF THE ASSEMBLY—A CONVENTION—GENERAL CONGRESS PROPOSED—BALL TO LADY DUNMORE—NON-IMPORTATION LEAGUE—CONVENTION CALLED—FAST DAY AT WILLIAMSBURG—WASHINGTON RETURNS TO MOUNT VERNON.

In the summer of 1773, new causes for irritation affected the public mind in Massachusetts, and touched chords of sympathy in the other colonies. Hutchinson had been commissioned governor in 1771; and, though a native born, he was as great an enemy to free institutions as any member of the British aristocracy who had been sent to rule the Americans. He perceived the ominous heavings of the volcano of public sentiment upon which his power and place were seated, and he was uneasy. Earnestly coveting security and the emoluments of office, he wrote many letters to the ministry and others, advising a concentration of power in the colonies, by military control, and an abridgment of the liberties of the people, at the same time he was hypocritically pretending to be their sincere friend. His words were believed by many, and a better feeling was germinating in Massachusetts, when his duplicity was discovered and exposed. Doctor Franklin, in England, had procured a number of his letters and sent them to the friends of liberty in Boston. For some time they were privately perused by patriots in different parts of the province; and on the second of June, Samuel Adams read them in a secret session of the assembly

With bitter scorn that body voted, "that the tendency and design of the letters were to subvert the constitution of the government, and to introduce arbitrary power into the province." Hutchinson tried the arts of falsehood and prevarication to conceal his crime; and he wrote to his confidential friend in London, to burn such of his letters as might be prejudicial to him—"for," he said, "I have wrote what ought not to be made public." It was too late. Sufficient proof of his guilt was abroad; and when the letters of Hutchinson and his lieutenant, Andrew Oliver (who was equally culpable), were made public, the indignation of the people was intense.* A petition soon went to the king, asking him to remove Hutchinson and Oliver for ever from the government. The storm was furious, and these misguided men were compelled to bend to it. But they were not then swept away. The political atmosphere was purified by it, and the people were made stronger for the greater tempest then near at hand.

Early in 1773, a new thought upon taxation entered the brain of Lord North. The British East India Company† having lost their valuable tea-customers in America, by the operation of the non-importation associations, and having more than seventeen millions of pounds of the herb in their warehouses in England, peti-

* The publication of these letters produced much excitement in England, and Franklin, to defend innocent persons from censure, generously came forward and took upon himself the whole responsibility. He was accordingly summoned before the privy council, and there he was grossly abused and insulted by Wedderburne, the solicitor-general. On going to his lodgings that night, the venerable and virtuous sage took off his suit of figured Manchester velvet, which he had worn before the council, and declared that he would never put it on again until he should sign the degradation of England, and the independence of America. He kept his word, and more than ten years afterward, when, on third of September, 1783, he signed a definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain, on the basis of absolute independence for America, he wore the same suit of clothes, for the first time after his vow was made. Franklin was not only insulted, but the office of postmaster-general of the colonies, was taken from him. Mark the contrast. When he died the civilized world said: "Franklin is dead!" and wept. When Wedderburne died in obscurity, the king said: "Then he has not left a greater knave behind him in my dominion."

† The East India Company, still in existence, is a vast commercial monopoly. It is a joint-stock company, originally established to carry on a trade by sea, between England and the countries lying eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. It was incorporated by a royal charter in the year 1600, and was united, in 1702, with a similar company chartered in 1688. It enjoyed the rich commerce of the East for almost two hundred and fifty years, and planted the British empire in India, first by establishing armed factories there, and finally, by the conquest of small territories, under the pretence of securing honest trade. The monopoly of the Chinese trade, which this company had enjoyed for so many generations, was abolished in 1833. At the period we are considering, the East India Company was at the height of its success, commercial and political.

tioned Parliament to take off the duty of three pence a pound, which was levied upon the article imported into the colonies. Regarding it as a question of revenue, the company offered to pay the government more than an equal amount in export duty, if the change should be made. Here was an excellent opportunity for the government to act justly and wisely, and to bring about a perfect reconciliation with the colonies; but the stupid ministry, as tenacious of the asserted rights of Parliament as ever the Stuarts were of the royal prerogatives, fearing such a measure might be considered a submission to "rebellious subjects," refused this proffered olive-branch of peace. But, blindly misapprehending the real question at issue, North introduced a bill into Parliament allowing the company to send their teas to America on their own account, without paying an export duty. As this would make tea cheaper in America than in England, the minister concluded that the colonists would not object to paying the three pence duty. This concession to a commercial monopoly, while the appeals of a great principle were spurned, was a new and aggravated offence, and created great indignation and contempt throughout the colonies.

The East India Company, as blind as the minister, now regarded the American market as open for their tea, and soon after the passage of the bill, they sent over several large ships laden with the article. The colonists had warned them that their adventure would be a loss, but North had assured them that the king was firm, and meant to try the question with the Americans. The latter were fully prepared for the issue. They disliked the odious monopoly, and they were determined to oppose the enforcement of the impost at all hazards.

The people in the seaboard towns were informed of the approaching ships, and the consignees were known and marked. Almost at the same time, these vessels entered the harbors of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Wilmington, and Charleston. Not a pound of any cargo was allowed to be sold. From some ports the ships left for England without removing their

hatches; in others the tea was stored or destroyed. At Boston it led to a violent popular commotion. Two tea-ships were moored at a wharf, and the consignees, friends of Governor Hutchinson, acting under his advice, resolved to unload the vessels in spite of the menaces of the people. The inhabitants gathered daily in public meetings to discuss the matter, and to perform the duties of a monster vigilance committee. At length, on a cold moonlight evening in December, at the close of one of these meetings, at twilight, a large number of people, disguised as Indians, moving in concert according to a previous arrangement, boarded these vessels, broke open the hatches, and in the course of two hours shattered three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, and cast their contents in the waters of the harbor. Samuel Adams was one of the principal leaders in this movement; and the next morning the committee of correspondence appointed that inflexible patriot and four others, to draw up a declaration of what had been done, to send forth to the world.

This event produced a powerful sensation throughout the British realm. It was considered an overt act of treason, and the government, impotent to punish it in the usual form, proceeded to adopt harsh retaliatory measures. When intelligence of the event spread over the colonies, it produced joy and sympathy. Yet justice was not asleep. The patriots respected private property, and at the suggestion of Doctor Franklin, an offer was made to pay the East India Company for every ounce of tea destroyed. But the arm of government vengeance was raised, and it must fall. Nothing could appease the angry ministry. "Boston is the ringleader in every riot, and sets always the example which others follow," exclaimed North. "The Americans are never actuated by decency or reason; they always choose tarring and feathering as an argument," said a ministerial member of Parliament; while another cried—"They ought to have their town knocked about their ears, and destroyed;" and then concluded a tirade of abuse, by quoting the factious shout uttered by Cato: "*Delenda est Carthago*"—Carthage must be destroyed.

The manly words of defence for the Americans, uttered by Burke and others, were unheeded, and Parliament, by enactment on the seventh of March, 1774, ordered the port of Boston to be closed against all commercial transactions whatever, and the removal of the customhouse, courts of justice, and other public offices, to Salem. The Salem people patriotically refused the proffered advantage at the expense of their neighbors; and the inhabitants of Marblehead, fifteen miles distant, offered the free use of their harbor and wharves to the merchants of Boston.

Another act became a law on the twenty-eighth of March, which levelled a deadly blow at the charter of Massachusetts. It decreed that all counsellors, judges, and magistrates, should be appointed by the crown, and hold office during the royal pleasure. Thus they became paid instruments of oppression.

A third retaliatory act was passed on the twenty-first of April, providing for trial in England of all persons indicted in the colonies for murder, or other capital offence, committed in aiding the magistracy; giving, as Colonel Barré said on the floor of the house of commons, "encouragement to military insolence already so insupportable."

A fourth bill, providing for the quartering of troops in America, was also passed, by large majorities in both houses of Parliament: and in anticipation of rebellion, a fifth act was passed, making great concessions to the Roman catholics in Canada, to prevent that province joining in the revolt. This was known as the Quebec act.

These oppressive measures, condemned alike by the voice of expediency and common humanity, were speedily put in operation. The Boston port-bill was to take effect on the first of June. Intelligence of its passage had produced alarm and indignation in the doomed town, and the inhabitants prepared to meet their sad fate with fortitude.

The people of all the colonies made common cause with the Bostonians. The blow about to be inflicted upon that city might fall, at any time, elsewhere, and the liberties of all were in jeopardy. That blow had weakened the last link of colonial fidelity, and the colo

nists felt prepared to draw the sword and cast away the scabbard if necessary, for they would not be slaves. The desire for political independence began to kindle in many hearts and thrilled their nerves like an electrical stream, making the recipients prophetic. They saw in the present little hope for reconciliation, for the stand-points of argument of the contestants were widely different. But they perceived as clearly as seer of old, a glorious future for America, if America should be true to herself, looming in the distance, and they took heart at the apparition. In the field, the workshop, the pulpit, the forum, and the deep forest, men were stirred with emotions hitherto unfelt. There was a great want unsatisfied. A parent's hand had barred the door against them, and their hearts yearned for the strength of confederation, that they might build a tabernacle in the wilderness, preparatory to the erection of a nobler edifice dedicated to the uses of human freedom.

The people earnestly listened for some oracular voice, speaking with the authority of wisdom, and directing their steps. It had already been uttered by Franklin, from beneath the shadows of the throne which they had been taught, by bitter experience, almost to hate, when, months before, he said, in a letter to the Massachusetts assembly: "Perhaps it would be best and fairest for the colonies, in a general congress now in peace to be assembled, or by means of the correspondence lately proposed, after a full and solemn assertion and declaration of their rights, to engage firmly with each other, that they will never grant aids to the crown in any general war, till those rights are recognised by the king and both houses of Parliament; communicating, at the same time, to the crown, this their resolution. Such a step, I imagine, will bring the dispute to a crisis." The accents of the oracle were then lost in the tumults of popular agitation, but now the quicker ears of the people caught the words, and Virginia was the first to give them practical significance, by proposing a CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

Intelligence of the Boston port-bill had not reached Virginia when a new house of burgesses, summoned by Dunmore, met at

Williamsburg in May. The governor's family, consisting of his lady and several sons and daughters, had arrived, and these received so much attention from the Virginia aristocracy, that the palmy days of Lord Botetourt's administration seemed about to return. Public grievances were for a time forgotten by many of the political leaders; and Dunmore indulged the hope that the Virginians would be lured from their rebellious attitude toward the crown. Quite a court circle was formed; and regulations were actually published officially, determining the rank and precedence of officers, civil and military. The most distinguished and wealthy inhabitants vied with each other in their attentions to the family of the governor; and stately equipages, such as carriages-and-four, with liveried outriders, were frequently seen in Williamsburg, when wealthy planters came with their families to mingle in the gay scenes of the capital.

Washington, with only Bishop, his favorite body-servant, arrived at Williamsburg on the sixteenth of May, and dined with the governor. He was not only on intimate terms with his lordship, but he held a high position in the court circle, according to the regulations. Everything passed off pleasantly. At the table he met several members of the house of burgesses, but not a word was uttered calculated to mar the general good feeling. And when, on the following day, the assembly was opened in due form by the governor, one of the first measures of the house was an address of congratulation to his lordship, on the arrival of his lady. This was followed by an arrangement to honor Lady Dunmore with a ball on the twenty-seventh of the month.

On the day when these acts of a pleasant social nature occurred, Peyton Randolph, the speaker of the house of burgesses, received a letter from the Massachusetts committee of correspondence, announcing the passage of the bill for closing the port of Boston on the first of June and for inflicting other injuries upon that unhappy town. Randolph read the letter to the house when in full session, and at its close a general murmur of indignation spread over the assembly, followed by bold and eloquent denunciations of the

measure. A strong protest against that and the other retaliatory measures of Parliament, was entered upon the journal, and on the twenty-fourth, the house adopted a resolution of condolence with their persecuted sister colony, and passed an order, setting apart the first day of June as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer "to implore the Divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatened destruction to their civil rights, and the evils of civil war, and to give them one heart and one mind firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights." At noon the following day, while the members were engaged in an animated debate, they were summoned to the council chamber by Lord Dunmore, who addressed them as follows: "Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the house of burgesses; I have in my hand a paper, published by order of your house, conceived in such terms as reflect highly upon his majesty, and the Parliament of Great Britain, which makes it necessary for me to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

The delegates, eighty-nine in number (among whom was Washington), immediately reassembled in the Apollo room, at the Raleigh tavern, organized themselves into a voluntary convention, and prepared an address to their constituents, in which they declared, "that an attack made on one of our sister colonies, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, is an attack made on all British America, and threatens ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole be applied." They also recommended the committee of correspondence, to communicate with the several committees of the other colonies, on the expediency of appointing deputies to meet annually in a GENERAL CONGRESS, to deliberate on such measures as the united interests of the several colonies might require.

Thus was Franklin's suggestion, made months before, and the propositions at town meetings in New York and Boston, moulded into practical form, and presented to the Americans for acceptance or rejection. It was the first recommendation of a general congress by any legislative or deliberative assembly; and a few days afterward, before intelligence of these proceedings could have

reached them, the assembly of Massachusetts, convened at Salem, resolved, "That a meeting of committees from the several colonies on this continent is highly expedient and necessary, to consult upon the present state of the colonies, and the miseries to which they are and must be reduced, by the operation of certain acts of Parliament respecting America; and to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures to be by them recommended to all the colonies, for the recovery and establishment of their just rights and liberties, civil and religious, and the restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, most ardently desired by all good men."

So, almost simultaneously, and without concert, Virginia and Massachusetts made a similar proposition to the people of America, of the greatest importance, and prepared to act upon it. The Massachusetts assembly immediately appointed five delegates* to attend a general congress when it should assemble, but the Virginians postponed further action on the subject, until a more convenient time. The proposition met with a hearty response from the other colonies, and it was agreed that a general congress of delegates should meet at Philadelphia on the fifth of September, ensuing.

The dissolution of the Virginia assembly, and the reorganization of the members into a body hostile, in its position, to the government, did not interrupt the decorous intercourse between Lord Dunmore and the burgesses. On that very day (May twenty-fifth), Washington, according to his diary, dined with the governor, and spent the evening with him and his family. On the following day he noted in his diary: "Rode out with the governor to his farm, and breakfasted with him there;"† and, on the evening of the

* Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, Robert Treat Paine, James Bowdoin, and John Adams.

† Dunmore had erected a new "palace" at Williamsburg. It was built of brick, seventy-four feet in length, including the wings, and sixty-eight feet in width. The wings were yet standing, in 1857. The central building was accidentally destroyed by fire, while occupied by the French troops, after the surrender of Cornwallis, in 1781. Attached to the palace were three hundred and sixty acres of land, beautifully laid out in cultivated fields, parks, gardens, carriage-ways, and a bowling-green. The farm proper, and farmhouse, where Washington breakfasted with the governor, was about a mile from the town

twenty-seventh, he attended the ball given in honor of Lady Dunmore by the members of the assembly, according to previous arrangement. On that occasion there was no sign of hostile, or even unpleasant feelings toward the governor. Everything passed off harmoniously. But all that gallant courtesy was an evidence of perfect good breeding rather than of real friendly feeling, for it was well known, that the official acts of the governor were consonant with his private sentiments, and he was, therefore, an antagonist of the people. Yet Washington and others, disposed to be conservative and conciliatory as far as loyalty to correct principles would allow, hoped that, like Botetourt, the governor's opinions of the colonies and their cause might be changed, and it was thought expedient and just to treat him privately as a friend, so long as he should deserve such consideration.

Twenty-five of the burgesses remained in Williamsburg, to engage in the religious services which the assembly had appointed for the first of June. Among them were Washington, Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, and Patrick Henry. Two days after the ball (the twenty-ninth), Mr. Randolph received a letter from Boston, containing the proceedings of a town-meeting, held there on the fourteenth, which recommended the inhabitants of the several colonies to enter into a general and solemn league to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, until the Boston port-bill and other unrighteous enactments of Parliament should be repealed. Randolph assembled the delegates the following day, and submitted the matter to them. On comparison of views respecting the proposed league, they differed in one essential point, that of the prohibition of exports. Large debts were due to merchants in England, which could only be liquidated by exporting produce from the colonies. To refuse to do this, would be, in effect, refusing to pay honest debts. On this point Washington was very earnest. He insisted, that before exports should be prohibited, all just debts should be paid. Others reasoned that the colonists, after all, would be the greatest sufferers, and that the English merchants ought not to be exempt from the general calamity brought about

by the government. Finally, as they could not agree, and they were but a minority of all the delegates, they did not feel at liberty to act in a matter so grave, without the concurrence of the majority, especially as it was significantly resolved, at the meeting in the Apollo-room, on the twenty-fifth, that "A tender regard for the interests of our fellow-subjects, the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, prevents us from going further at this time; most earnestly hoping that the unconstitutional principle of taxing the colonies without their consent will not be persisted in, thereby to compel us, against our will, to avoid all commercial intercourse with Britain!" After considerable discussion, they agreed to issue a circular letter, bearing their signatures, to the inhabitants of the several counties, inviting them to choose delegates to meet in convention at Williamsburg, on the first of August, to take into consideration the proposition for a continental league, and other matters pertaining to the welfare of the colonies. This circular was accordingly issued; and it contained a recommendation that the opinions of the people respecting the proposed measure, should be obtained, so that their representatives might act in the convention according to the dictates of the popular will.

At dawn on the first of June, the day on which the port of Boston was to be closed, the bells of Brenton church, of the capitol, and of William and Mary college, tolled solemnly, for it was the appointed day for fasting, humiliation, and prayer. Religious services were held in Brenton church, and Washington noted in his diary, at evening: "June 1st, Wednesday. Went to church and fasted all day." Every true patriot in Williamsburg and vicinity, who could attend, was there, and the church was crowded. On the following day most of the delegates departed for their homes, but Washington was detained by business, and did not leave for Mount Vernon until the twentieth. During all the interval, his friendly relations with Dunmore and his family continued, and they parted with mutual expressions of good will.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CONDITION OF THE BOSTON PEOPLE—GAGE APPOINTED GOVERNOR—TROOPS ORDERED TO BOSTON—GAGE'S RECEPTION THERE—PROCEEDINGS OF A TOWN-MEETING—DISTRESS OF THE PEOPLE—GENERAL SYMPATHY—ACTION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ASSEMBLY—BOSTON NECK FORTIFIED—ARMING OF THE PEOPLE—MINUTE-MEN—PUBLIC MEETINGS IN VIRGINIA—WASHINGTON AND BRYAN FAIRFAX—THE CELEBRATED FAIRFAX RESOLVES—CONVENTION OF WILLIAMSBURG—WASHINGTON'S SPEECH—APPOINTMENT OF DELEGATES TO THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

SAD, indeed, was the situation of Boston on the first of June, 1774, the day when the heel of government oppression was palpably planted upon the neck of a people yearning to stand erect in the dignity and majesty of freemen. Due preparations had been made to keep that heel firmly settled there. General Gage, the commander-in-chief of all the British forces in America, was appointed to succeed Hutchinson as governor of Massachusetts, in order to enforce the port-bill, and the other arbitrary enactments of Parliament, and toward the close of April he prepared to leave New York to take possession of his new office. Hutchinson, thoroughly alarmed by the bold movements of the patriots, and fearing their resentment, remained in seclusion in the country until a favorable opportunity for him to leave the province occurred.

Doubtful what reception he might experience at Boston, Gage ordered four additional regiments thither, at the beginning of May, and soon afterward, unattended by any military except his staff, he departed for the doomed town. He landed at Long wharf, on the thirteenth of May, and found the people very much excited, for they had just received intelligence of the passage of the port-bill. But he had acted discreetly while in New York, and was favored with a large share of the confidence of the people. He was re-

ceived at the wharf with every mark of respect by the multitude, and he was entertained by the magistrates at a public dinner, on the same day. That evening Hutchinson was hung in effigy; and, on the following day, Samuel Adams presided over a large town-meeting held at Faneuil hall, to consider the port-bill. Then it was that the resolutions and other proceedings respecting a continental league against commercial intercourse with Great Britain (which, as we have mentioned, were received on the twenty-ninth of May, by the patriots at Williamburgh) had birth. Then it was that the patriots of Massachusetts "passed the river and cut away the bridge." Already on the anniversary of the "Boston Massacre," John Hancock, remembering the recommendation of Franklin, had said to the people: "Permit me here to suggest a general congress of deputies, from the several houses of assembly on the continent, as the most effectual method of establishing such a union as the present posture of our affairs require;" and now that idea was the most prominent one in the minds and hearts of the people.

The whole country was inflamed, and everywhere the most lively sympathy for the inhabitants of Boston was awakened. Orators at public gatherings, ministers in the pulpit, and the newspaper press throughout the land denounced the heavy hand of ministerial vengeance laid upon Boston, as a type of what was in store for the whole country. The cause of Boston became the cause of all the colonists, and the active sympathies of the people abroad was commensurate with the sufferings of the patriots of that town, when their harbor was closed, their business crushed, and destitution sat in every place. The rich, deprived of their rents, became straitened, and the poor, denied the privilege of labor, were reduced to beggary. But help came to the patriots there in the hour of their need, from every colony. The "Supporters of the Bill of Rights" in London, remembering the contribution of South Carolina to their fund, voted five hundred pounds to relieve the distress of the poor of Boston; and the city of London, in its corporate capacity, subscribed one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the same purpose. Never was the British ministry weaker in its government

relations to Americans than at this time, when Lord North was forging, as he vainly supposed, the fetters of majestic law to bind the colonies indissolubly to the throne. In honorable concession alone lay his real strength, but of these precious locks the Delilah of haughty ambition and easy persuasion had shorn him, and when he attempted to put forth his power, he found himself, "like other men," weak indeed.

By proclamation, Governor Gage summoned the members of the Massachusetts assembly to meet at Salem, on the seventh of June. In the meanwhile, Samuel Adams and James Warren, who had been appointed by their compatriots to prepare business for the meeting, had conferred with others, and arranged important schemes for the public good. These were laid before the assembly at its opening, when a partisan of the crown, feigning sickness, withdrew, and hastening to the governor, informed him of what was transpiring. Gage immediately sent his secretary to dissolve the assembly by proclamation, but the patriots were too vigilant for him. The door of the assembly chamber was locked, and the key was in Samuel Adams's pocket. They proceeded deliberately and undisturbed in the discussion and adoption of their measures. They agreed to and signed a solemn "league and covenant," binding themselves to cease all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, and appointed a committee to send the covenant as a circular to every colony in America, and invite the inhabitants to affix their names to it. They then proceeded to recommend a general congress—"a meeting of committees from the several colonies, to consult upon the state of the country"—and as we have seen, appointed the committee for Massachusetts.

These proceedings irritated Gage, and he gave the people to understand, that he should put into execution all the laws of Parliament with rigor. He enforced military rule in all its strength; and when told that he must relax it, or rebellion would ensue, he answered by casting up fortifications upon Boston Neck, and prohibiting free intercourse between the town and the country. No hope of reconciliation appeared, and the people, persuaded that war

was inevitable, began to arm themselves and practise military tactics daily. The fife and drum were heard everywhere; and fathers and sons, encouraged by the gentler sex, took lessons together in the art of war. The forge and hammer were busy in making guns and swords, and everything bore the animated but gloomy impress of impending hostilities. During the summer and autumn, the people of New England enrolled themselves into military companies, and prepared to take up arms at a minute's warning. Such was the origin of the famous "minute-men," whose blood was poured out at Lexington, and Concord, and Bunker Hill.

In other colonies, especially in Virginia, the spirit of liberty now waxed strong, and the forms of resistance multiplied daily. Soon after Washington's return to Mount Vernon, meetings were held in the several colonies, pursuant to the recommendation of the circular issued from Williamsburg. At these meetings resolutions expressive of the sentiments of the people were adopted, and delegates to the convention to be held at Williamsburg, on the first of August, were elected. Washington presided at the meetings in Fairfax county, and was appointed one of a committee to prepare a series of resolutions concerning the late acts of Parliament, the rights of the colonies, and the proper course to be pursued by them, and to report the same, at a meeting to be held at the courthouse, on the eighteenth of July. In the meanwhile, an election of delegates to the house of burgesses was to be held, and Washington urged his friend and neighbor, Bryan Fairfax, of Tarlston hall, to offer himself as a candidate.* Fairfax had attended one of the popular meetings, when his loyal feelings were disturbed by the bold spirit of resistance to royal authority then manifested. He perceived the prevailing temper of the people, and he declined the proffered honor, chiefly because he should think himself conscientiously bound to oppose strong measures, and, therefore, he could not give satisfaction to his constituents.

* Bryan Fairfax was a younger brother of George William Fairfax, the intimate friend of Washington. He was a man of liberal sentiments and enlightened views, but, like many who took the royal side in the war for independence, he was too much attached to ancient rule and the British government, to enter upon a doubtful contest with them. He afterward became Lord Fairfax.

Fairfax was decidedly in favor of still longer petitioning Parliament, and giving it a fair opportunity of repealing the obnoxious acts. These sentiments were communicated in a letter to Washington, who replied on the fourth of July, again expressing a wish, that either he or Colonel Mason would offer.* "As to your political sentiments," wrote Washington, "I would heartily join you in them, so far as relates to a humble and dutiful petition to the throne, provided there was the most distant hope of success. But have we not tried this already? Have we not addressed the lords, and remonstrated to the commons? And to what end? Did they deign to look at one petition? Does it not appear, as clear as the sun in its meridian brightness, that there is a regular, systematic plan formed, to fix the right and practice of taxation upon us? Does not the uniform conduct of Parliament for some years past confirm this? Do not all the debates, especially those just brought to us, in the house of commons, on the side of government, expressly declare that America must be taxed in aid of the British funds, and that she has no longer resources within herself? Is there anything to be expected from petitioning after this? Is not the attack upon the liberty and property of the people of Boston, before restitution of the loss to the East India Company was demanded, a plain and self-evident proof of what they are aiming at?" These questions could be answered only in the affirmative, but Fairfax was too conservative and timid to espouse the cause of the people, and he wrote a long letter to Washington, stating his views and objections, and requesting him to read it to the meeting to be held on the eighteenth of the month.

That meeting was a very important one. It was held in Fairfax county courthouse, and was organized by the appointment of George Washington, chairman, and Robert Harrison, secretary. Its chief business was to receive and act upon resolutions prepared

* This letter reveals the custom in Virginia, at that time, of making the gathering of the people on the sabbath, for public worship, an occasion for an interchange of sentiments upon political subjects. Washington speaks of Colonel West "publicly declining, last Sunday," to be a candidate for a seat in the house of burgesses; and of entreating "several gentlemen at our church yesterday to press Colonel Mason to take a poll"

by the committee appointed at a previous meeting. Washington had been chosen chairman of that committee, and George Mason was, doubtless, the author of the resolutions then framed.* These were twenty-four in number. They so clearly and forcibly set forth the whole question at issue, and so fairly indicate the causes which impelled the colonists to the contest then opening; and they form such a lucid exposition of the matured political feelings and opinions of Washington, it seems desirable that some of them should appear here entire, and they are accordingly given, as they were adopted by the meeting. It was resolved—

1. "That this colony and dominion of Virginia can not be considered as a conquered country; and if it was, that the present inhabitants are the descendants, not of the conquered, but of the conquerors. That the same was not settled at the national expense of England, but at the private expense of the adventurers, our ancestors, by solemn compact with, and under the auspices and protection of the British crown; upon which we are, in every respect, as dependent as the people of Great Britain, and in the same manner, subject to all his majesty's just, legal, and constitutional prerogatives. That our ancestors, when they left their native land and settled in America, brought with them (even if the same had not been conferred by charters), the civil institutions and forms of government of the country they came from; and were, by the laws of nature and of nations, entitled to all its privileges, immunities and advantages, which have descended to us, their posterity, and ought of right to be as fully enjoyed, as if we had still continued within the realm of England."

2. "That the most important and valuable part of the British constitution, upon which its very existence depends, is the fundamental principle of the people's being governed by no laws, to which they have not given their consent by representatives freely chosen by themselves; who are effected by the laws they enact, equally with their constituents; to whom they are accountable,

* Mr. Sparks says, in his *Life and Writings of Washington*, ii., 488, that the draft of these resolutions were found among Washington's papers, in the handwriting of George Mason.

and whose burthens they share; in which consists the safety and happiness of the community; for if this part of the constitution was taken away, or materially altered, the government must degenerate either into an absolute or despotic monarchy, or a tyrannical aristocracy, and the freedom of the people annihilated."

3. "Therefore, as the inhabitants of the American colonies are not, and, from their situation, can not be represented in the British Parliament, the legislative power here can of right be exercised only by our own provincial assemblies or parliaments, subject to the assent or negative of the British crown, to be declared within some proper limited time. But as it was thought just and reasonable, that the people of Great Britain should reap advantages from these colonies adequate to the protection they afforded them, the British Parliament have claimed and exercised the power of regulating our trade and commerce, so as to restrain our importing from foreign countries such articles as they could furnish us with, of their own growth or manufacture, or exporting to foreign countries such articles and portions of our produce, as Great Britain stood in need of, for her own consumption or manufactures. Such a power, directed with wisdom and moderation, seems necessary for the general good of that great body politic, of which we are a part; although in some degree repugnant to the principles of the constitution. Under this idea our ancestors submitted to it; the experience of more than a century, during the government of his majesty's royal predecessors, has proved its utility, and the reciprocal benefits flowing from it, produced mutual, uninterrupted harmony and good will between the inhabitants of Great Britain and her colonies, who, during that long period, always considered themselves as one and the same people; and though such a power is capable of abuse, and in some instances has been stretched beyond the original design and institution, yet to avoid strife and contention with our fellow-subjects, and strongly impressed with the experience of mutual benefits, we always cheerfully acquiesced in it, while the entire regulation of our internal policy, and giving and granting our own money, were preserved to our own provincial legislatures."

4. "That it is the duty of these colonies, on all emergencies, to contribute, in proportion to their abilities, situation, and circumstances, to the necessary charge of supporting and defending the British empire, of which they are a part; that while we are treated upon an equal footing with our fellow-subjects, the motives of self-interest and preservation will be a sufficient obligation, as was evident through the course of the last war; and that no argument can be fairly applied to the British Parliament's taxing us, upon a presumption that we should refuse a just and reasonable contribution, but will equally operate in justification of the executive power taxing the people of England, upon a supposition of their representatives refusing to grant the necessary supplies."

5. "That the claim lately assumed and exercised by the British Parliament, of making all such laws as they think fit to govern the people of these colonies, and to extort from us our money, without our consent, is not only diametrically contrary to the first principles of the constitution, and the original compacts by which we are dependent upon the British crown and government; but is totally incompatible with the privileges of a free people, and the natural rights of mankind, will render our own legislators merely nominal and nugatory, and is calculated to reduce us from a state of freedom and happiness to slavery and misery."

6. "That taxation and representation are in their nature inseparable; that the right of withholding, or of giving or granting their own money, is the only effectual security, to a free people, against the encroachments of despotism and tyranny; and that whenever they yield the one, they must quickly fall a prey to the other."

7. "That the power over the people of America now claimed by the British house of commons, in whose election we have no share, and on whose determinations we can have no influence, whose information must be always defective, and often false, who, in many instances, may have a separate, and in some, an opposite interest to ours, and who removed from those impressions of tenderness and compassion arising from personal intercourse and connections, which soften the rigors of the most despotic governments, must, if con-

tinued, establish the most grievous and intolerable species of tyranny and oppression that ever was inflicted upon mankind."

8. "That it is our greatest wish and inclination, as well as interest, to continue our connection with, and dependence upon the British government; but though we are its subjects, we will use every means which Heaven hath given us, to prevent our becoming its slaves."

9. "That there is a premeditated design and system formed and pursued by the British ministry, to introduce an arbitrary government into his majesty's American dominions; to which end they are artfully prejudicing our sovereign, and inflaming the minds of our fellow-subjects in Great Britain, by propagating the most malevolent falsehoods, particularly, that there is an intention in the American colonies to set up for independent states; endeavoring, at the same time, by various acts of violence and oppression, by sudden and repeated dissolutions of our assemblies, whenever they presume to examine the illegality of ministerial mandates, or deliberate on the violated rights of their constituents, and by breaking in upon the American charters, to reduce us to a state of desperation, and dissolve the original compacts by which our ancestors bound themselves and their posterity, to remain dependent upon the British crown; which measures, unless effectually counteracted, will end in the ruin of both Great Britain and her colonies."

10. "That the several acts of Parliament for raising a revenue upon the people of America without their consent, the creating new and dangerous jurisdictions here, the taking away our trials by jury, the ordering persons, upon criminal accusation, to be tried in another country than that in which the fact is charged to have been committed, the act inflicting ministerial vengeance upon the town of Boston, and the two bills lately brought into Parliament for abrogating the charter of the province of Massachusetts Bay, and for the protection and encouragement of murderers in the said province, are part of the above-mentioned iniquitous system. That the inhabitants of the town of Boston are now suffering in the common cause of all British America, and are justly entitled to its

support and assistance; and, therefore, that a subscription ought immediately to be opened, and proper persons appointed in every county of this colony, to purchase provisions, and consign them to some gentleman of character in Boston, to be distributed among the poorer sort of people there."

It was also resolved, to join with friends and brethren in other colonies, in all measures for procuring a redress of grievances; that a closer union should be effected by a general congress; that petty disputes between separate colonies should be buried in eternal oblivion; that men of fortune set examples of frugality in living; that domestic arts and manufactures, and the raising of sheep ought to be encouraged; that all commercial intercourse between the Americans and Great Britain, and her West India colonies, should be discontinued, while the grievances complained of existed; and that "this and the other associating colonies should break off all trade, intercourse, and dealings, with that colony, province, or town, which declines or refuses to agree to the plan which shall be adopted by the general congress."

It was also resolved, that "during our present difficulties and distress, no slaves ought to be imported into any of the British colonies on this continent;" and it was added: "we take this opportunity of declaring our most earnest wishes to see an entire stop for ever put to such a wicked, cruel, and unnatural trade." An humble petition to his majesty was recommended to the general congress, by the last of the resolutions drawn up by the committee, but to this measure Washington was opposed. "As to the resolution for addressing the throne," he wrote to Bryan Fairfax, "I own to you, sir, I think the whole might as well have been expunged. I expect nothing from the measure, nor should my voice have sanctioned it, if the non-importation scheme was intended to be retarded by it; for I am convinced, as much as I am of my own existence, that there is no relief for us, but in their distress; and I think, at least I hope, that there is public virtue enough left among us to deny ourselves everything but the bare necessities of life, to accomplish this end."

The meeting at the courthouse, on the eighteenth of July, was largely attended by all the leading men of the county, and the resolutions reported by the committee were adopted by unanimous vote. These, in substance and spirit, were re-adopted by the convention at Williamsburg, a fortnight later, and excited universal admiration.* The meeting then proceeded to appoint Colonel Washington and Captain Charles Broadwater (who had lately been elected representatives to serve in the general assembly) the delegates for Fairfax county, to attend the convention at Williamsburg on the first of August, and to present these resolves.

Mr. Fairfax, who had previously read the resolutions, and dissented from many of them, was not present at the meeting, but, as we have observed, expressed his sentiments in a letter, which he requested Washington to read to the people. This request was not complied with. Washington showed the letter to some of the leading men there, but only one acquiesced in the sentiments expressed by Fairfax. "As no person present seem in the least disposed to adopt your sentiments," he wrote to Fairfax, on the twentieth, "as there appeared a perfect satisfaction and acquiescence in the measures proposed, and as the gentlemen to whom the letter was shown, advised me not to have it read, as it was not likely to make a convert, and was repugnant, as some thought, to every principle we were contending for, I forbore to offer it." He then, in the same letter, reasoned with his friend, referred to real grievances, and the evident folly of expecting any redress from Parliament, and said: "If I were in any doubt as to the right which the Parliament of Great Britain had to tax us without our consent, I should most heartily coincide with you in opinion, that to petition, and petition only, is the proper method to apply for relief; because we should then be asking a favor, and not claiming a right, which, by the laws of nature, and by our constitution, we are, in my opinion, indubitably entitled to. I should even think it criminal to go further than this, under such an idea; but I have none such. I

* "Aug. 23. Tuesday.—Went to the coffee-house [New York], and saw the Virginia paper; the spirit of the people is prodigious; their resolutions are really grand."—*John Adams's Diary*.

think the Parliament of Great Britain have no more right to put their hands into my pocket, without my consent, than I have to put my hands into yours ; and this being already urged to them in a firm, but decent manner, by all the colonies, what reason is there to expect anything from their justice ?”

The convention assembled at Williamsburg, according to appointment, on the first of August, when almost every county in the colony was represented. Peyton Randolph was chosen moderator, or chairman. Washington was present at the opening, and at a suitable time he presented the Fairfax county resolves, and supported them in a brief but impressive speech. In the course of his address, which Mr. Lynch, from South Carolina, pronounced “the most eloquent speech that ever was made,” Colonel Washington exclaimed with warmth : “I will raise one thousand men, subsist them at my own expense, and march, myself at their head, for the relief of Boston.”* This enthusiasm was shared by the other members of the convention ; and in the course of a session of six days, they adopted a non-intercourse association, more extensive in its prohibitions than the former, and embodying, in its general features, the Fairfax county resolves. They also appointed Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton, delegates to the general congress, to be held at Philadelphia on the fifth of September following. After agreeing upon instructions for these delegates, the convention adjourned, and the members returned to their constituents, pledged to do all in their power to effect the results contemplated in their proceedings.

* John Adams's Diary, August 31, 1774.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS—GENERAL VIEW OF THE COLONIES—RECOMMENDATIONS OF A GENERAL CONGRESS—APPOINTMENT OF DELEGATES—THE MINISTRY WARNED AND DECEIVED—THEIR STRANGE INDIFFERENCE—CHATHAM'S FOREBODINGS—DETERMINATION OF THE COLONISTS—WASHINGTON'S PREPARATIONS—HIS SENTIMENTS—EVENTS IN MASSACHUSETTS—DELEGATES JOURNEYING TOWARD PHILADELPHIA—ARRIVAL THERE OF WASHINGTON AND HIS COLLEAGUES.

WE are now to consider one of the most important events in the history of the United States, namely, the proceedings of the FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, in which Washington was a conspicuous actor. In the history of political leagues and confederations with which the annals of the nations abound, this, in its relations to the best earthly interests of mankind, far outweighs them all. It was the inauguration of a higher and holier freedom of opinion and action than the world had yet seen, for it evolved that power of dignified popular will that scatters to the winds of heaven every feudal fetter, and like a full, burning, swinging censor, purifies the temple of Liberty wherein so many crimes have been committed in her name. It was a confederation of a heterogeneous people, widely different in their origin, having separate individual interests, and scattered over a large territory wonderfully diversified by peculiarities of topography, climate, soil, and productions. Yet it was a people homogeneous in their general interests and their aspirations for the theoretical freedom of the British constitution, and the practical liberty suggested by the laws of their own nature, established by the wise hand of the Omnipotent.

Widely separated as some of the colonists were by geographical distances and diversity of interests and pursuits, there were, nevertheless, political, social, and commercial considerations which made

the Anglo-Americans really one people, having common interests and common hopes. Called upon as free subjects of Great Britain to relinquish some of the dearest prerogatives guarantied to them by Magna Charta and hoary custom—prerogatives in which were enveloped the most precious kernels of civil liberty—they arose as one family to resist the insidious progress of on-coming despotism, and yearned for union to give themselves strength commensurate to the task.

The idea of a general council, as we have already observed, had kindled the enthusiasm of the people in the spring of 1774, and it found voice and expression almost simultaneously throughout the land. Rhode Island has the honor of first uttering its sentiments on the subject publicly; a general congress having been proposed at a town-meeting in Providence, on the seventeenth of May. Philadelphia, where various interests and sentiments combined to produce a cautious conservatism, spoke next. It was only four days after the meeting at Providence when a committee appointed by a town-meeting held in the long room of the City tavern, in Philadelphia, recommended the measure; and on the twenty-third, New York, where, a year earlier, patriotism “seemed to have taken but shallow root, where all political principles were truly unfixed as the wind,”* uttered the same sentiment, at a town-meeting of the people. On the twenty-sixth of the same month, Virginia, the first as a colony speaking by authority through the chosen representatives of the people, recommended, as we have seen, the assembling of a national council; and, on the thirty-first, a county meeting in Baltimore, Maryland, took action in favor of the measure. On the sixth of June, a town-meeting at Norwich, Connecticut, proposed a general congress; on the eleventh a county-meeting at Newark, New Jersey, did the same; on the seventeenth the Massachusetts assembly, and also a large town-meeting held in Faneuil hall, Boston, and presided over by John Adams, strenuously recommended the measure; and a county-meeting at New Castle, Dela-

* Letter of George Clymer, of Philadelphia, to Josiah Quincy, of Boston, July 29, 1773, published in the Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy, jr., by his son, p. 144.

ware, approved it on the twenty-ninth. On the sixth of July the committee of correspondence, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, expressed its approbation of the measure. A general province meeting, held at Charleston, South Carolina, on the sixth, seventh, and eighth of July, urged the necessity of such a council; and a district meeting at Wilmington, North Carolina, held on the twenty-first, heartily responded affirmatively. Georgia, alone, of the thirteen colonies, was silent, but not inactive, during that season of preparation. So we perceive, that within sixty-four days, twelve of the colonies spoke out decidedly in favor of a continental Congress; and before the close of summer delegates for the national council were appointed by them all.

In Connecticut the delegates were appointed and instructed on the third of June, by the committee of correspondence, acting under authority conferred by the house of representatives; in Massachusetts, on the seventeenth, by the house of representatives; in Maryland on the twenty-second, by committees of the several counties; in New Hampshire on the twenty-first of July, by a convention of deputies chosen by the towns; in Pennsylvania on the twenty-second, by the house of assembly; in New Jersey on the twenty-third, by the committees of the counties, and instructed simply to "represent" the colony; in the city and county of New York on the twenty-fifth, they were elected by a popular vote taken in seven wards. The same persons were also appointed to act for the counties of Westchester, Albany, and Dutchess, by the respective committees of those counties; and another was appointed to represent Suffolk county. The Delaware delegates, or those from the "counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on the Delaware," were elected on the first of August, by a convention of the freemen, assembled pursuant to an invitation contained in circular letters issued by the speaker of the house of assembly. The house of commons of South Carolina elected delegates on the second of August. On the fifth, a popular convention of the whole colony of Virginia elected the delegates for the "Old Dominion." On the eleventh the general assembly of Rhode Island appointed and com-

missioned delegates for that colony; and on the twenty-fifth, a convention in North Carolina chose representatives for that province.*

These general and decided movements in all the colonies disturbed the royal governors and other dependents of the crown; and the ministry were duly informed of every event having a relation to the subject. The colonists, likewise, through the committees of correspondence, kept Franklin, Arthur Lee, and other Americans in London, as well as the friends of the cause in Parliament, fully advised of all that was transpiring here. Joseph Reed, of Philadelphia, afterward Washington's adjutant-general, wrote friendly but firm letters to the earl of Dartmouth, the colonial secretary, and warned him of the evil tendency of ministerial measures. "What I ventured to predict in my last letter," he wrote to Dartmouth, on the tenth of June, "your lordship will soon find to happen, viz., a perfect and complete union between the colonies to oppose the Parliament's claims of taxation, and relieve the distresses of the town of Boston. The severity of the administration, and the mode of condemnation, gain them many advocates, even among those who acknowledge their conduct criminal. This union or confederacy, which will probably be the greatest ever seen in this country, will be cemented and fixed in a general congress of deputies from every province, and I am inclined to think that strong efforts will be made

* The following are the names of the delegates :—

New Hampshire. — John Sullivan, Nathaniel Folsom.

Massachusetts. — Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine.

Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. — Stephen Hopkins, Samuel Ward.

Connecticut. — Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, Silas Deane.

New York. — James Duane, John Jay, Isaac Low, John Alsop, William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Henry Wisner.

New Jersey. — James Kinsey, Stephen Crane, William Livingston, Richard Smith, John De Hart.

Pennsylvania. — Joseph Galloway, John Morton, Charles Humphreys, Thomas Mifflin, Samuel Rhodes, Edward Biddle, George Ross, John Dickenson.

Delaware. — Cæsar Rodney, Thomas M'Kean, George Read.

Maryland. — Robert Goldsborough, Samuel Chase, Thomas Johnson, Matthew Tilghman, William Paca.

Virginia. — Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton.

North Carolina. — William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, Richard Caswell.

South Carolina. — Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, Edward Rutledge.

to perpetuate it by annual or triennial meetings, a thing which is entirely new. The business proposed for the intended congress is to draw up what upon a former occasion, or perhaps upon any other, would be called a bill of rights. . . . Your lordship, I think, may consider it as a fixed truth, that all the dreadful consequences of civil war will ensue before the Americans will submit to the claim of taxation by Parliament."

Others in America, and true friends of Great Britain, in London, who were acquainted with the colonists, solemnly warned the misguided ministry of the penalty of their folly and wickedness, but in vain. Gage, Dunmore, Wright, Penn, and other royal governors, affected to make light of the popular demonstrations; and these and subordinate hirelings, and other friends of the crown, were continually counteracting the effects of really friendly messages, by deceptive boasts of the strength of Britain's arm, and the weakness and cowardice of the Americans. "I understand," wrote Stephen Sayre, sheriff of London, to Lord Chatham, "that the soldiery in America do all they can to provoke the inhabitants to outrage and violence. The officers write to their friends in England, that the Americans are cowards to a man; that by a little spirit on the present occasion, all disputes may be silenced by the sword," etc. In reply, Chatham exclaimed, on the fifteenth of August: "What infatuation and cruelty to accelerate the sad moment of war! Every step on the side of government, in America, seems calculated to drive the Americans into open resistance, vainly hoping to crush the spirit of liberty, in that vast continent, at one successful blow, but millions must perish there before the seeds of freedom will cease to grow and spread in so favorable a soil; and, in the meantime, devoted England must sink herself under the ruins of her own foolish and inhuman system of destruction."* Thirteen days later, Chatham again wrote: "When, then, will infatuated administration begin to fear that freedom they can not destroy, and which they do not know how to love? Delay is fatal, where repentance will come too late. I fear the bond of union between us and America will be cut for ever."†

* Correspondence of the Earl of Chatham, iv., 359.

† Ibid., iv., 360

At that moment the hand was bared to wield the weapon that should accomplish the severance! At that moment, the delegates of twelve colonies had been appointed to attend the Continental Congress that was to meet in Philadelphia, eight days later, to forge that keen and unyielding weapon. The great Chatham, who

“Loved his country, loved that spot of earth
Which gave a Milton, Hampden, Bradshaw birth”—

and was, until the last, opposed to American independence, because he wished to see the British realm preserved in its integrity, clearly foresaw in the horoscope of his country's destiny the impending storm. He shuddered as he perceived the half-blind ministry sporting with the lightning and laughing at the thunder, while with mock-heroic frowns they bade their servants to hush the tempest by imbecile proclamations and insane menaces. The people of the colonies had learned the true value of ministerial dicta, and the weakness of their minions who echoed their mandates; and, with the manly dignity of creatures conscious of the impress of God's image upon their brows, they walked erect and defiant, like the holy children of old, in the fiery furnace into which they had been cast, for they knew that a redeemer would walk with them. So from twelve colonies the chosen representatives of the people, full of wisdom, full of zeal, and full of love for God and man, went up to Philadelphia—the city of brotherly love—and there, with solemn ceremonials, planted the seeds of our mighty Banyan-Tree of the West, whose deep-rooted branches are rapidly overspreading the continent. Let us see how the great husbandry was accomplished.

Now fairly embarked upon the broader sea of public life, and fully committed to the cause of his country, Washington, with his usual assiduity, commenced preparations for usefulness in the grand council to which he had been elected. Before he left Williamsburg, in August, he wrote to Richard Henry Lee, and asked him if he did not think it necessary that the deputies from Virginia should be furnished with authentic lists of the exports and imports of the colony annually, more especially to and from Great Britain. Assuming that Lee would agree with him in opinion, he requested him

to obtain such information from the customhouse-officers on the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers. He also desired the speaker of the Virginia assembly, if he should think it expedient, to furnish him with similar information concerning operations on the York and James rivers. He likewise procured, from Mr. Wythe, the number of taxable inhabitants in the colony at the time of the census in 1770;* and from others he obtained such information as he deemed necessary, that he might truly represent his constituents in the general Congress.

Soon after his return to Mount Vernon, Washington received a letter from his friend, Bryan Fairfax, in which he was requested to give his views at length on the subject of the current disputes, and to explain to him wherein his letter sent to the Fairfax county convention on the eighteenth of July, with a request that it should be read, was repugnant to the principles they were contending for. "I beg leave," Fairfax said, "to look upon you as a friend, and it is a great relief to unbosom one's thoughts to a friend. Besides, the information, and the correction of my errors," he continued, "which I may obtain from a correspondence, are great inducements to it. For I am convinced that no man in the colony wishes its prosperity more, would go greater lengths to secure it, or is at the same time a better subject to the crown. Pray, excuse these compliments; they may be tolerable from a friend."

Preparations for his journey to Philadelphia, attention to private affairs, and the entertainment of company, prevented Washington from replying to his friend for several days; and then, pleading these excuses, he gave him but a brief answer. "I am sure," he said, "I have no new light to throw upon the subject, nor any other arguments to offer in support of my own doctrine, than what you have seen; and I could only in general add, that an innate spirit of freedom first told me, that the measures, which the administration have for some time been, and now are most violently pursuing, are opposed to every principle of natural justice; whilst much abler

* It was estimated by Mr. Wythe that the number of taxable inhabitants in Virginia, in 1774, was full ten thousand.

heads than my own have fully convinced me, that they are not only repugnant to natural right, but subversive of the laws and constitution of Great Britain itself, in the establishment of which some of the best blood in the kingdom has been spilt.

“Satisfied, then, that the acts of the British Parliament are no longer governed by the principles of justice; that they are trampling upon the valuable rights of Americans, confirmed to them by charter and by the constitution they themselves boast of; and convinced, beyond the smallest doubt, that these measures are the result of deliberation, and attempted to be carried into execution by the hand of power, is it a time to trifle, or risk our cause upon petitions, which with difficulty obtain access, and afterward are thrown by with the utmost contempt?.... I could wish, I own, that the dispute had been left for posterity to determine, but the crisis is arrived when we must assert our rights, or submit to every imposition that can be heaped upon us, till custom and use shall make us tame and abject slaves.... If you disavow the right of Parliament to tax us, unrepresented as we are, we only differ in respect to the mode of opposition, and this difference principally arises from your belief that they (the Parliament, I mean) want a decent opportunity to repeal the acts; whilst I am fully convinced that there has been a regular, systematic plan formed to enforce them, and that nothing but unanimity and firmness in the colonies, which they did not expect, can prevent it. By the best advices from Boston, it seems that General Gage is exceedingly disconcerted at the quiet and steady conduct of the people of the Massachusetts Bay, and at the measures pursuing by the other governments. I dare say he expected to force those oppressed people into compliance, or irritate them into acts of violence before this, for a more colorable pretence of ruling that and the other colonies with a high hand.”*

It was even so. “Whatever violences are committed,” wrote Dartmouth to Gage, “must be resisted with firmness; the constitutional authority of this kingdom over its colonies must be vindicated, and its laws obeyed throughout the whole empire. It is not only

* Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington*, ii., 396.

its dignity and reputation, but its power, nay, its very existence, depends upon the present moment; for, should these ideas of independence which some dangerous and ill-designing persons here are artfully endeavoring to instil into the minds of the king's American subjects, once take root, that relation between this kingdom and its colonies, which is the bond of peace and power, will soon cease to exist, and destruction must follow disunion."

Acting upon these instructions and suggestions, and governed also by his fears, Gage removed the seat of government from Salem back to Boston, and commenced fortifying the Neck. But the work went on slowly. British gold could not purchase Boston carpenters, and Gage was finally compelled to import less scrupulous men, with building-materials, from other places. With his six regiments of troops and a train of artillery, he exercised military rule with great stringency; and, by proclamation after proclamation, he sought to awe the people of Massachusetts, and compel obedience to an act of Parliament which prohibited all political assemblages after the first of August. But his efforts were fruitless. The people convoked assemblies before that day, and kept them perpetually alive by adjournments, and so they accomplished their desires without violating the law. In Boston, Faneuil hall was crowded when these adjourned meetings were held; and in the more spacious South meeting-house, and under the shadows of Liberty-Tree,* the people fearlessly assembled and expressed their sentiments, unmoved by the glitter of scarlet uniforms and menacing bayonets that appeared on every side. "Throughout the colony," says Lord Mahon, "the sheriffs, magistrates, and clerks, either made their peace with the people by solemnly promising not to act under the new law, or else fled for shelter to the well-guarded town of Boston." As a signifi-

* Liberty-Tree, in Boston, was a venerable elm, similar to some now seen on the Common, and stood on the corner of the present Washington and Essex streets, opposite the Boylston market. It received the name of Liberty-Tree from the circumstance that under it the association of the *Sons of Liberty* held meetings during the summer of 1765, and adopted measures in opposition to the stamp-act. After that, meetings were frequently held there, until they were prohibited by the British authorities in 1775. In August of that year, the obnoxious tree was cut down by order of the British commander, when a soldier, who was in its branches, was killed at its fall. The tree bore the inscription, "Liberty-Tree," and the ground under it was called "Liberty Hall."



BOSTON IN 1774, FROM DONALDSON'S HISTORY.

cant commentary upon the state of the colony, he adds that Boston where the whigs, as the patriots were now called, so openly defied the government, "appeared the sole remaining spot within the province where the king's government was obeyed, or where its officers and adherents were secure."†

As the time approached when the general Congress was to assemble, the delegates commenced their journeys toward Philadelphia, some on horseback, others in coaches or chaises, but none by public conveyances, for there were few of them even in the most populous provinces. Some travelled alone, others in pairs, and as they approached the Delaware or the Schuylkill, they found themselves in companies. These journeys were like ovations. Everywhere the inhabitants came out in bands, generally on horseback, to meet and escort them into towns, or to greet them at their dwellings with the wide-open arms and heart of hospitality, as guests deserving of highest honor. What a glorious spectacle! From twelve strong vice-royalties, containing an aggregate population of almost three millions, the best and wisest men among the people, obedient to the public will, were on their way, through vast forests and over rugged mountains, across broad rivers and broader morasses, through richly-cultivated districts, through cheerful villages and expanding cities, to a common goal, there to meet, deliberate, and confederate, for the welfare, not only of a continent, but of the world! It was a moral spectacle such as had been hitherto unrecorded by the pen of history, and well calculated to excite the fears of despots and the hopes of the oppressed; for their mission was a crusade against civil and political wrongs and hoary errors, and for the rescue of the holy shrines of free thought and free action from the hands of the paynims of dynastic power.

Washington set out upon the journey from Mount Vernon to Philadelphia on Thursday morning, the thirty-first of August, in company with Patrick Henry and Edmund Pendleton, who had spent a day and a night with him there. He had invited Richard Henry Lee to join those gentlemen at Mount Vernon, but he was detained

* Mahon's History of England, vi., 17.

at Chantilly, his seat in Westmoreland county, and did not reach Philadelphia as soon as his colleagues. Mr. Lee was there in time, however, to take his seat in the Congress before the deliberations commenced. Washington was then in the prime of younger manhood, with many associations of military renown clustering about his name. He was fully matured, accustomed to deliberative assemblies, conservative in his feelings, sagacious and bold. Pendleton was several years his senior, a lawyer of fine reputation, experienced in council, and, habituated almost from the days of his youth to public life, was ready, with sage advice and wise illustrations, to teach the less experienced how to manage the affairs of state. Patrick Henry was a young man of eight-and-thirty, spare in figure, with piercing eyes, but indolent in manner. The glory of almost ten years of oratory and statesmanship then encircled his brow; and he was filled with that latent enthusiasm and burning patriotism which needed only the electric spark of occasion to make it flash in power and splendor, with matchless influence.

Such were the three travellers who left Mount Vernon, on horseback, after an early breakfast on that sultry summer morning, crossed the Potomac at the falls, and rode on far toward Baltimore before twilight. On the fourth of September they breakfasted at Christiana Ferry (now Wilmington); dined at Chester; and that night Washington "lodged at Doctor Shippen's, in Philadelphia, after supping at the New Tavern."*

* Washington's Diary

CHAPTER XXXIX.

DELEGATES TO THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS—MEETING OF THE CONGRESS—ORGANIZATION—PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS—CHARACTER OF THE CONGRESS—DEBATE ON REGULATIONS—SPEECH OF PATRICK HENRY—RULES ADOPTED—MOTION FOR PRAYERS—EVENTS IN NEW ENGLAND—SUFFOLK COUNTY RESOLVES—OPENING OF CONGRESS WITH PRAYER—APPROPRIATE PSALM—COMMITTEES APPOINTED—DEBATES—RICHARD HENRY LEE'S RESOLUTIONS—THEIR RECEPTION AND IMPORTANCE.

ON Saturday, the third of September, 1774, forty-four delegates to the continental Congress were in Philadelphia. Some of them had been there for several days, and many of the prominent citizens had vied with each other in acts of courteous hospitality toward them.* "We are so taken up with the Congress," wrote Joseph Reed, of Philadelphia, "that we hardly think or talk of anything else. About fifty have come to town and more are expected. They have not fixed upon the time of beginning business, but I suppose it will be some day this week. There are some fine fellows come from Virginia, but they are very high. The Bostonians are mere milksops to them. We understand they are the capital men of the colony, both in fortune and understanding."† Four of the delegates from Massachusetts (the two Adams's, and Cushing and Paine), were among the earliest to arrive. They left Boston together in a coach, from the house of Mr. Cushing, on the

* It may interest the reader to see a sort of bill of fare at these private entertainments. John Adams, in his diary of the seventh of September, says: "Dined with Mr. Miers Fisher, a young Quaker and a lawyer. We saw his library, which is clever. But this plain Friend, and his plain, though pretty wife, with her thees and thous, had provided us with the most costly entertainment: ducks, hams, chickens, beef, pig, tarts, creams, custards, jellies, fools, trifles, floating islands, beer, porter, punch, wine, and a long &c." Again, at Mr. Powell's, the next day: "A most sinful feast again! Everything which could delight the eye or allure the taste; curds and creams, jellies, sweetmeats of various sorts, twenty sorts of tarts, fools, trifles, floating islands, whipt syllabubs, &c., &c., Parmesan cheese, punch, wine, beer, porter, &c."

† Life and Correspondence of President Reed, i. 75. An unfair discrimination.

tenth of August, and were escorted by several gentlemen on horseback, as far as Watertown. Their peculiar position as representatives of a colony then suffering severe chastisement at the hands of the sovereign, invested them with more than ordinary interest. They were warmly greeted, caressed, and feasted on their journey, by leading patriots in all the towns through which they passed; and while halting at Frankford, a few miles from Philadelphia, on the twenty-ninth, their approach became known in the city. A number of citizens in carriages, and several gentlemen on horseback, went out to meet them, among whom were Thomas Mifflin, of Philadelphia; McKean, of Delaware; Folsom and Sullivan, delegates from New Hampshire; and Rutledge, a delegate from South Carolina. By these they were escorted into the town; and at the new City tavern—"the most genteel one in America"*—they were cordially welcomed by Doctors Shippen and Knox, of Philadelphia, Lynch and Gadsden, delegates from South Carolina, and a multitude of others. During the remainder of the week they were constantly visited or were visiting. Every day at the City tavern, newly arrived delegates were introduced to those already there.

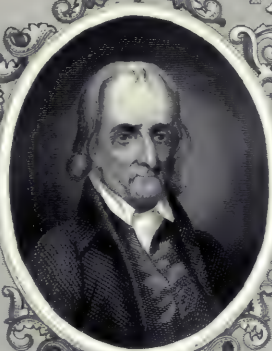
At ten o'clock on Monday morning, the fifth of September, the day appointed for the meeting of the Congress, all the delegates then in Philadelphia assembled at the City tavern and walked to the Carpenters' hall, situated at the end of Carpenters' court, a short distance south of Chestnut street, between Third and Fourth streets.† The assembly-room in that building, some forty-five feet square, had been chosen for the place of meeting of this national council. In the chamber above was quite a fine library belonging to the Carpenters' Association; and a pleasant lobby afforded a place for walking and conversation. On the question, "Are you satisfied with this room?" being put, it was answered in the affirmative, when the delegates all became seated. Then Thomas Lynch,

* John Adams's Diary.

† This building is yet standing, and is well preserved. It belongs to the Worshipful Company of Master Carpenters, of Philadelphia. For several years it was used as an auctioneer's salesroom, but in the spring of 1857, the association resolved to use the building for their own purposes only, and to preserve it as a precious relic. They took formal possession of it on the fourth of September following.



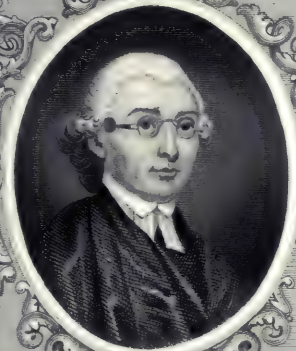
PATRICK HENRY



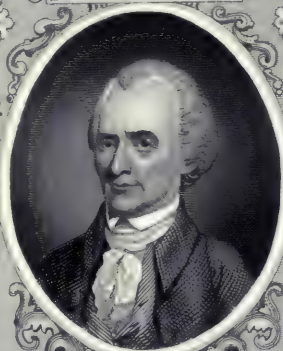
CHAS. THOMSON



P. RANDOLPH



REV. J. DUCHE



R. H. LEE

of South Carolina, who was a member of the stamp-act congress, in 1765—a man “solid, firm, and judicious”^{*}—arose and said: “There is a gentleman present who has presided with great dignity over a very respectable society, greatly to the advantage of America, and I therefore propose that the Honorable Peyton Randolph, Esquire, one of the delegates from Virginia, and the late speaker of their house of burgesses, shall be appointed chairman. I doubt not the choice will be made by unanimous vote.” And so it was; and Mr. Randolph, a large, good-looking man, forty-five years of age, took the chair and opened the preliminary proceedings with great dignity, after a few words of thanks to his compeers for their compliment in choosing him to preside over that important assembly.

Mr. Lynch again arose, and proposed that Mr. Charles Thomson, a gentleman of family, fortune, and character, in Philadelphia (and who was then present on the invitation of some delegates to take minutes of their proceedings), should be chosen the permanent secretary. Mr. Thomson, “the Sam Adams of Philadelphia,”[†] was a spare man, with hollow, sparkling eyes, locks quite gray, and bearing marks of premature old age. He was then in the prime of life, and had just married a sister of Benjamin Harrison, one of the delegates from Virginia. Duane and Jay, of New York, proposed to look further for a secretary, but Thomson was chosen by the voice of all the rest of the delegates, and he at once entered upon the duties of that important office, which he discharged with singular ability and fidelity for almost fifteen years.[‡] The gentlemen

^{*} John Adams’s Diary.

[†] Ibid.

[‡] Charles Thomson was born in Ireland, in the year 1730, and came to America, with his three elder brothers, in 1741. They landed at New Castle, Delaware, with no other dependence but their industry. He was educated by Dr. Alison, the tutor of several of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, at the expense of his brothers, and became a teacher at the Friends’ academy, at New Castle. From there he went to Philadelphia, where he was favored with the friendship and advice of Doctor Franklin. From 1774 until 1789, when the new government, under the federal constitution, went into operation, Mr. Thomson was sole secretary of Congress. His wife was aunt of the late General Harrison, the ninth president of the United States. “His meagre figure, furrowed countenance, hollow, sparkling eyes, white, straight hair, that did not hang quite so low as his ears,” said the Abbé Robin, a member of Rochambeau’s staff, “fixed our thorough attention, and filled us with surprise and admiration.” Notwithstanding his apparent premature decay, Mr. Thomson lived until the sixteenth of August, 1824, when he died not far from Philadelphia, at the age of ninety-four years.

from the several colonies now presented their respective credentials, which were read and approved; and before noon the immortal CONTINENTAL CONGRESS was organized and solemnly inaugurated as a national deliberative assembly.

"For a long time," says the eloquent Charles Botta, "no spectacle had been offered to the attention of mankind of so powerful an interest as this of the present American Congress. It was, indeed, a novel thing, and, as it were, miraculous, that a nation hitherto almost unknown to the people of Europe, or only known by the commerce it occasionally exercised in their ports, should, all at once, step forth from this state of oblivion, and, rousing as if from a long slumber, should seize the reins to govern itself; that the various parts of this nation, hitherto disjointed, and almost in opposition to each other, should now be united in one body, and moved by a single will; that their long and habitual obedience should be suddenly changed for the intrepid councils of resistance, and of open defiance to the formidable nation whence they derived their origin and laws."* The men who composed that first Congress were possessed of the purest minds, the loftiest and most disinterested patriotism, and moral characters without spot or blemish. The people seemed instinctively to have turned to their best men for counsel and action when the crisis arrived; and the representatives there assembled, composed the flower of the American colonies. "There is, in this Congress," wrote John Adams, "a collection of the greatest men upon this continent, in point of

Mr. Thomson made copious notes of the progress of the Revolution, and after retiring from public life, in 1789, he prepared a history of his own times. His sense of justice and goodness of heart would not permit him to publish it; and a short time before his death, he destroyed the manuscript. He gave as a reason, his unwillingness to blast the reputation of families rising into repute, whose progenitors were unworthy of the friendship of good men, because of their bad conduct during the war. So the world has lost the most authentic civil history of the struggle of the Americans for independence, ever produced.

Watson, in his *Annals of Philadelphia*, relates that Thomson had just come into that city, with his bride, and was alighting from his chaise, when a messenger from the delegates in Carpenters' hall came to him, and said they wanted him to come and take minutes of their proceedings, as he was an expert at such business. For his first year's services he would not receive pay. So Congress informed his wife that they wished to compensate her for the absence of her husband during that time, and wished her to name what kind of a piece of plate she would like to receive. She chose an urn, and that silver vessel is yet in the family.

* Otis's translation of Botta's *History of the American Revolution*, i., 128.

abilities, virtues, and fortunes.”* The sectional factions and personal ambitions which afterward disturbed the harmony and injured the character of the continental Congress, had no tangible shape in this assembly.† They felt, with all the solemnity of wise and virtuous men, the weight of the momentous responsibility resting upon them. They knew that toward them all eyes were turned, all hearts were drawn; that not only America, but the whole civilized world, was an interested spectator of their acts; and that for posterity, more than for contemporaries, they held a trust of value infinitely beyond human estimation. Impressed with the consciousness of such responsibility the delegates commenced their labors.

The credentials of the several delegates having been read, Mr. Duane,‡ of New York, moved the appointment of a committee to prepare regulations for the Congress, when the question arose, “What shall be the method of voting? by colonies, by the poll, or by interests?” Then came a pause. Who should take the lead? What measure should be first proposed? They had come together from distant provinces, some instructed by the power that appointed them, others left free to act as circumstances should require. The silence was profound. What burning thoughts filled the brains of those grave patriots during that silence, which no one seemed willing to break! It was becoming painful, when a grave-looking member, in a plain, dark suit of “minister’s gray,” and unpowdered hair, arose. “Then,” said Bishop White, who was present, and related the circumstance, “I felt a regret that a seeming country parson should have so far mistaken his talents and the theatre for their display.” But his voice was so musical, his words so eloquent, and his sentiments so profoundly logical, that the whole house was electrified, and the question, “Who is it? who is it?” went from lip

* Letters to his Wife, i., 21.

† In the opinion of Charles Thomson, no subsequent Congress during the war could compare with the first in point of talent and purity. He represented the Congress that sat at York, in Pennsylvania, while Washington and his troops were at Valley Forge, as a body of weak men compared to former delegations. It was in that Congress that a faction favored the scheme for making General Gates commander-in-chief of the army, in place of Washington.

‡ “Mr. Duane has a sly, surveying eye, a little squint-eyed; between forty and forty-five, I should guess; very sensible, I think, and very artful.”—*John Adams’s Diary*,

to lip. A few who knew the stranger, answered, "It is Patrick Henry, of Virginia!" There was no more hesitation. He who startled the people of America nine years before, by his bold resolutions against the stamp-act, and a few months afterward by the cry that became a war-note—"Give me liberty or give me death!" now gave the impulse to the representatives of that people in grand council assembled, and set in motion that machinery of civil power which worked so nobly while Washington and his compatriots were waging war with the enemy in the field. From that hour the great business of the Congress moved on.

At first Mr. Henry, as usual, faltered, yet his words were deeply impressive, and very soon his subject kindled his eloquence. He first spoke on the subject of a committee to decide upon the manner of voting. This he said, was the first general Congress ever known on this continent; that of 1765 was a partial one. They had no precedents, and must establish them. He considered this only one of a series; there would be occasion for more general congresses, and he thought precedents should be at once established. He then spoke in more general terms of the great occasion on which they were assembled, and his eyes flashed more and more with enthusiasm as he proceeded. "Government," he said, "is dissolved. Fleets and armies, and the present state of things in all the colonies, the meeting in this hall, all proclaim that government is dissolved. We are in a state of nature, sir, ready for reconstruction and reorganization. That part of North America which was once Massachusetts Bay, and that part which was once Virginia, ought, I apprehend, to be considered as having weight in the scale against less populous colonies; but all America is thrown into one mass, having a common interest and a common destiny. Where are your landmarks—your boundaries of colonies? They are all thrown down. The distinction between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New-Englanders, are no more. *I am not a Virginian, but an American!*"

This speech had a powerful effect upon the assembly, and when Mr. Henry sat down, the house was filled with murmurs of astonish-

ment and applause.”* In the course of his exordium, he had proposed to give each colony a number of votes according to its population. To this proposition, Mr. Lynch, who arose when Henry was seated, offered an amendment. “I think,” he said, “that *property* ought to be considered, and that it ought to be a compound of numbers and property that should determine the weight of the colonies.” It was objected, that at present there was not sufficient authentic information on which to base such representation. The debate continued for some time, and was engaged in by Rutledge and Gadsden, of South Carolina, Governor Ward, of Rhode Island, Colonel Bland and Pendleton, of Virginia, John Adams, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Jay, of New York. Mr. Duane’s motion for a committee to prepare regulations did not prevail, and the next day the following rules, in the form of resolutions, were adopted:—

“That in determining questions in this Congress each colony or province shall have one vote—the Congress not being possessed of, or at present able to procure proper materials for ascertaining the importance of each colony. 2. That no person shall speak more than twice on the same point, without leave of Congress. 3. That no question shall be determined the day on which it is agitated and debated, if any one of the colonies desire the determination to be postponed to another day. 4. That the door be kept shut during the time of business, and that the members consider themselves under the strongest obligation of honor, to keep the proceedings secret until the majority shall direct them to be made public.”

The Congress also resolved, at the same time, that a committee should be appointed “to state the rights of the colonies in general, the several instances in which those rights are violated or infringed, and the means most proper to be pursued for obtaining a restoration of them.” Also, that “a committee be appointed to examine and report the several statutes, which affect the trade and manu-

* Mr. Wirt, in his *Life of Patrick Henry*, says, that he was followed by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, “who charmed the house with a different kind of eloquence. Chaste, classical, beautiful, his polished periods rolled along without effort, filling the ear with the most bewitching harmony, and delighting the mind with the most exquisite imagery.” According to the journals of Congress, Mr. Lee was not present on that day. He took his seat on Tuesday, the sixth, and could not have followed Henry on that occasion

factures of the colonies." The appointment of these committees was deferred until the next day. At this stage of the proceedings, Mr. Cushing renewed a motion which he had previously made, that Congress should be opened with prayer. Mr. Jay and Mr. Rutledge opposed the motion, because the delegates were so divided in religious sentiments; some episcopalians, some quakers, some anabaptists, some presbyterians, and some congregationalists, that they could not join in the same act of worship. Mr. Samuel Adams arose, and said: "I am no bigot, and can hear a prayer from a gentleman of piety and virtue, who is, at the same time, a friend to his country. I am a stranger in Philadelphia, but have heard that Mr. Duché deserves that character, and, therefore, I move that Mr. Duché, an episcopal clergyman, be desired to read prayers to the Congress to-morrow morning." The motion was seconded and passed in the affirmative.*

When Congress adjourned at four o'clock, the people of Philadelphia were greatly excited by a confused account that had arrived during the day, of the bombardment of Boston. This intelligence was particularly alarming to the delegates from Massachusetts. Mr. Adams had removed his family to Quincy before his departure, and on hearing the news, he wrote to his wife, that if there was danger and distress in Boston, to invite as many of their friends as possible, and especially Mrs. Samuel Adams and Mrs. Cushing, to take an asylum with her. The startling rumor had birth in the fact, that on the first of September, General Gage, foolishly taking counsel of his fears, had sent a detachment of troops to Charlestown and Cambridge, to seize a quantity of gunpowder there, belonging to the province. The exasperated people of Cambridge gathered in large numbers, determined to attack the British troops in Boston. These movements were magnified into more serious events, and the rumor went abroad, that the ships-of-war in Boston harbor were bombarding the town, and the regular troops were massacring the people, sparing neither age nor sex. The news spread rapidly, and the thrill of horror produced by the report was

* John Adams's Letters to his Wife, i., 25

succeeded by the cry of vengeance. In less than thirty-six hours, the country, for almost two hundred miles in extent, was aroused. From the shores of Long Island to the green hills of Berkshire, "To arms! to arms!" was the universal shout. Instantly, on every side, men of all ages were seen cleaning and burnishing their weapons, furnishing themselves with provisions and warlike stores, and preparing for an immediate march; gentlemen of rank and fortune exhorting and encouraging others by voice and example. All over New England the minute-men were in arms. The roads were soon crowded with armed men, marching for Boston with great rapidity, but without noise or tumult. Full thirty thousand men were under arms and speeding toward that town; nor did they halt until well assured that the report was untrue. If, as was supposed by some, the report was circulated in order that its effects might show General Gage what multitudes would rise to crush his troops if he dared to abuse his power by committing the least act of violence, it certainly had the desired effect, for Gage adopted more conciliatory measures, and summoned the assembly to convene in October.

That seizure of powder roused the patriots to still bolder and more decisive action. At a convention of delegates from the several towns in Suffolk county (the shire in which Boston was situated), held on Tuesday, the sixth of September, at the house of Mr. Richard Woodward, of Dedham, and by adjournment, at the house of Mr. Vose, of Milton, on Friday, the ninth, a preamble and resolutions, more defiant in tone than any yet adopted, were agreed to, and a certified copy was sent to the continental Congress. After declaring the rights of the colonists and the wrongs they had suffered, and expressing an opinion of the solemn duty of the oppressed at this crisis, it was resolved, that no obedience was due to any part of the late acts of Parliament; that collectors of taxes and other officers holding public money, should be advised to retain the funds in their hands until the old charter was restored; that persons who had accepted seats in the mandamus council,* had

* A writ of mandamus is a command from a higher power, to any person, corporation, or in

violated the duty they owed to their country; that those who did not resign by the twentieth of September, should be considered public enemies; that the Quebec act, establishing the Roman catholic religion in Canada, was dangerous to protestantism and liberty; and that they were determined to act on the defensive only so long as just reason required. They also recommended the people to seize and keep as a hostage any servant of the crown who might fall in their way, when they should hear of a patriot being arrested for any political offence. They also drew up an address to General Gage, telling him frankly that they did not desire to commence hostilities, but that they were determined not to submit to any of the late acts of Parliament; and they complained loudly of the fortifications on Boston Neck. Gage denounced this convention as treasonable, and in reply to their address, he declared that he should take such measures for the safety of his troops, and the friends of government, as he thought proper; at the same time assuring them, that the cannon placed in battery on the Neck should not be used, except to repel hostile proceedings.

While this convention was in progress, in which open rebellion was first avowed and menaces of war were distinctly presented, the continental Congress exhibited scenes of great interest. Mr. Duché accepted the invitation of Congress to open the session on the morning of the seventh with prayer, and at the appointed hour, "he appeared with his clerk, and in his pontificals."* The preliminaries of the Congress had been arranged, and as they were about to enter upon the general business, the delegates publicly sought divine aid. They assembled in Carpenters' hall that morning, at ten o'clock, under solemn impressions, for they believed the rumor of the attack on Boston; and when, after reading several prayers,

ferior court, requiring them to do some specified act, which appertains to their official duty. By the charter of Massachusetts, the council had always been elective, but by one of the bills passed by Parliament in the spring of 1774, that charter was declared void, and the king appointed a council by mandamus. They were, of course, chosen from among the loyalists, and many of them accepted the office, and took the prescribed oath. These councillors became very detestable to the whigs, who regarded their act as equivalent to joining the crown in its oppressions.

* John Adams's Letter to his Wife, September 8, 1774.

Mr. Duché turned to the appointed psalm for the seventh day of the month, its appropriateness on that occasion was very marked, and the effect of the reading of it was powerful. It was the thirty-fifth psalm, in which David thus prays for protection against his enemies:—

“Plead thou my cause, O Lord, against them that strive with me, and fight thou against them that fight against me.

“Lay hand upon the shield and buckler, and stand up to help me.

“Bring forth the spear, and stop the way against them that persecute me: say unto my soul, I am thy salvation.”

“Awake and stand up to judge my quarrel: avenge thou my cause, my God and my Lord.

“Judge me, O Lord, according to thy righteousness, and let them not triumph over me.

“Let them not say in their hearts, There, there, so would we have it; neither let them say we have devoured them,” et cetera.

All hearts present warmly responded Amen to the supplications of that psalm. “I never saw a greater effect upon an audience,” said John Adams, in a letter to his wife. “It seemed as if Heaven had ordained that psalm to be read on that morning. After this, Mr. Duché unexpectedly struck out into an extempore prayer, which filled the bosom of every man present. Episcopalian as he is, Dr. Cooper himself never prayed with such fervor, such ardor, such earnestness and pathos, and in language so eloquent and sublime, for America, for the Congress, for the province of Massachusetts Bay, and especially for the town of Boston. It has had an excellent effect upon everybody here.” Bishop White, who was present, says, that Washington was the only delegate present who knelt during these prayers, that being the custom of episcopalians, other denominations standing on such occasions.

The only business transacted by the Congress, on the seventh, was the appointment of two committees, one to state the rights of the colonies, &c., and the other to examine and report upon certain

statutes, &c., which had been authorized by resolution the previous day. It was agreed that the first committee should consist of two delegates from each of the colonies, and the second of one from each colony.* It was then resolved, that the president should have power to adjourn the Congress, from day to day, when he should not find business prepared to be laid before them; and that he also might call them together before the time to which they might stand adjourned, if necessary. Accordingly the Congress was adjourned from time to time, until Wednesday, the fourteenth.

In the meanwhile the two committees had pursued their labors with assiduity. The first, or larger committee appointed to prepare a bill of rights, and a list of infringements or violations of those rights, met every morning, and the topics were considered and debated with great deliberation. The two points which most engaged their attention, were, 1. Whether they should recur to the law of nature, as well as to the British constitution, and the American charters, and grants; and, 2. What authority they should concede to Parliament. The first question involved others of a very grave nature. Mr. Galloway, Mr. Duane, Mr. Rutledge, and Mr. Pendleton, were for excluding the law of nature. "I never could find the rights of Americans," said Mr. Galloway, "in the distinction between taxation and legislation, nor in the distinction between laws for revenue and for the regulation of trade. I have looked for our rights in the law of nature, but could not find them in a state of nature, but always in a state of political society. I have looked for them in the constitution of the English government, and there found them. We may draw them from this source securely." Others contended that the Congress had been called to secure the *rights* of the colonies, and that the people who appointed the delegates, had, in their resolves and declarations, limited their action to

* The first committee was composed of the following delegates: *New Hampshire*, Sullivan and Folsom; *Massachusetts*, John and Samuel Adams; *Rhode Island*, Hopkins and Ward; *Connecticut*, Dyer and Sherman; *New York*, Duane and Jay; *New Jersey*, Livingston and De Hart; *Pennsylvania*, Galloway and Biddle; *Delaware*, Rodney and M'Kean; *Maryland*, Johnson and Goldsborough; *Virginia*, Lee and Pendleton; *South Carolina*, Lynch and John Rutledge.

The second committee was composed as follows, taking the colonies in the same order as above: Sullivan, Cushing, Hopkins, Deane, Low, Kinsey, Mifflin, Read, Chase, Henry, and Gadsden.

the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and these colonies. If the law of nature was to determine their rights, then all allegiance to the British crown was to be regarded as at an end.

Mr. Adams, Mr. Jay, Mr. Livingston, Mr. Sherman and others, were favorable to an appeal to the elder law—the law of nature—for their rights. If the principles of the English constitution in the charters, they argued, were to be the standard for determining these rights, the law of nature, to which Parliament might soon compel them to look, must be excluded from consideration. This they were unwilling to do. As they proceeded in their discussions, it was perceived, that the question of the authority of Parliament was the essence of the whole controversy, some denying it altogether, others acknowledging it concerning the regulation of trade, but denying its right to interfere with the internal affairs of the colonies.

After several fruitless essays to arrive at some conclusion, the general committee determined to appoint a sub-committee to make a draft of a set of articles that might be laid, in writing, before the grand committee, and become the foundation of a more regular debate and final decision.

This sub-committee was in session on the tenth, twelfth, and thirteenth of September, while the full committee and the Congress did nothing, awaiting its action. "After a multitude of motions had been made," says Mr. Adams, "and they had been discussed and negatived, it seemed as if we should never agree upon anything." The alternatives were, either to establish an American legislature, that could control and regulate the trade of the whole country, or else to give the power to Parliament; for, from the local circumstances of the colonies, and their disconnection with each other, the absolute necessity for some such regulation was plain. The committee finally agreed to recommend submission to Parliament in measures regulating the external trade of the colonies for the common benefit of the whole empire, but denying its power over taxation and internal affairs. They placed this concession upon the ground of the necessities of the case, and the mutual

interests of both countries.* Other questions having been settled to the satisfaction of the sub-committee, they reported to the general committee on the thirteenth. But it was not until Thursday, the twenty-second, nine days afterward, that the grand committee was ready to report.

The Congress assembled on the fourteenth, when very little was done, and it was adjourned from day to day, until Saturday, the seventeenth. Its action on that day was really more important, in its bearings upon the great question at issue, than on any other during the session. On that day, the resolves of the Suffolk county convention, and the address of that body to General Gage having been received, were laid before the Congress, and action thereon occupied the time until the early hour of adjournment. The proceedings of that convention were read by Secretary Thomson, and the sentiments contained in the resolutions found a hearty response in every heart. It was on this occasion that the eloquence of Richard Henry Lee was first heard in the Congress. When the reading was concluded by the secretary, he arose, and with his sweet musical voice, he vividly and indignantly described and enumerated the wrongs of America; and exhibiting a vast variety of political and legal knowledge, he accurately stated her constitutional rights. All ears were charmed by his words; and when, at the conclusion of his brief address, he offered the following resolutions, they were adopted without discussion, and almost without remark, except hearty words of approbation:—

“Resolved unanimously, That this assembly deeply feels the suffering of their countrymen in the Massachusetts Bay, under the operation of the late unjust, cruel, and oppressive acts of the British Parliament

* “Mr. John Rutledge, of South Carolina, one of the committee, addressing himself to me, was pleased to say: ‘Adams, we must agree upon something; you appear to be as familiar with the subject as any of us, and I like your expressions — *the necessity of the case, and excluding all ideas of taxation, external and internal*; I have a great opinion of that same idea of the necessity of the case, and I am determined against all taxation for revenue. Come, take the pen, and see if you can’t produce something that will unite us.’ Some others of the committee seconding Mr. Rutledge, I took a sheet of paper and drew up an article. When it was read, I believe not one of the committee was fully satisfied with it; but they all soon acknowledged that there was no hope of hitting on anything in which we could all agree with more satisfaction. All, therefore, agreed to this, and upon this depended the union of the colonies.” — *John Adams’s Autobiography.*

—that they most thoroughly approve the wisdom and fortitude with which opposition to these wicked ministerial measures has hitherto been conducted, and they earnestly recommend to their brethren a perseverance in the same firm and temperate conduct as expressed in the resolutions determined upon, at a meeting of the delegates for the county of Suffolk on Tuesday, the sixth instant, trusting that the effects of the united efforts of North America in their behalf, will carry such conviction to the British nation, of the unwise, unjust, and ruinous policy of the present administration, as quickly to introduce better men and wiser measures.

*“Resolved unanimously, That contributions from all the colonies for supplying the necessities and alleviating the distresses of our countrymen at Boston ought to be continued, in such manner, and so long, as their occasions may require.”**

By these resolutions the disputes between Massachusetts and Great Britain were adopted by all the other colonies as their own; and the wrongs sustained by one province became the wrongs of the whole. This was really the first public measure of Congress. Then, for the first time, the *nation* spoke out, in full voice and defiant tones; and these resolutions—the first sound of the tocsin for independence—were sent forth by order of the Congress, upon the wings of the newspaper press in all the colonies, as the deliberate expression of the sentiments of the people of the continent. “They were passed,” wrote John Adams to his wife the next day, “in full Congress, with perfect unanimity. The esteem, the affection, the admiration for the people of Boston and the Massachusetts, which were expressed yesterday, and the fixed determination that they should be supported, were enough to melt a heart of stone. I saw the tears gush into the eyes of the old, grave, pacific Quakers of Pennsylvania.” And on the day of their adoption, he wrote in his diary: “This was one of the happiest days of my life. In Congress we had generous, noble sentiments, and manly eloquence. This day convinced me that America will support the Massachusetts, or perish with her.”

* Journals of Congress, i., 19.

CHAPTER XL.

SLOW PROGRESS OF CONGRESS—LIMITATION OF ACTION CONCERNING GRIEVANCES—INFLUENCE OF VIRGINIA—NON-IMPORTATION RESOLUTION—GALLOWAY'S PROPOSITION—THE DEBATES AND RESULT—SAMUEL ADAMS'S SENTIMENTS—DIFFERENCES OF OPINION IN CONGRESS—LETTER FROM BOSTON—THE NOBLE RESOLUTION—DECLARATION OF RIGHTS—THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION—STATE PAPERS—DISSOLUTION OF CONGRESS.

For several days after taking action upon the Suffolk county resolves, the Congress made slow progress in the despatch of business. There was a short session on the nineteenth, when Thomas Cushing, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Mifflin, were added to the large committee appointed to state the rights of the colonists. The Congress was then adjourned from day to day, until Thursday, the twenty-second. After a resolution requesting the merchants to cease importing from Great Britain, until the sense of the Congress on the means to be taken for the preservation of the liberties of America should be made public, was adopted on that day, and ordered to be published in hand-bills, the grand committee made a report, the consideration of which was postponed until Saturday, the twenty-fourth. On that day the subject was debated with much earnestness and warmth, by nearly all the members who were in the habit of speaking; and near the hour of adjournment* it was "*Resolved*, That the Congress do confine themselves, at present, to the consideration of such rights only as have been infringed by acts of the British Parliament since the year 1763, postponing

* The sessions were usually six hours in duration. "We go to Congress at nine, and there we stay, most earnestly engaged in debates upon the most abstruse mysteries of state, until three in the afternoon; then we adjourn, and go to dine with some of the nobles of Pennsylvania, at four o'clock and feast upon ten thousand delicacies, and sit drinking Madeira, claret, and Burgundy, till six or seven, and then go home, fatigued to death with business, company, and care."—John Adams to his wife, September 29, 1774

the further consideration of the general state of American rights to a future day.”* This limitation evinced some hesitation in the Congress, in taking into consideration the general rights of the Americans, founded upon the laws of nature, and the English constitution. It was evident that there was a disposition, among the more timid and conservative members, to avoid discussions of abstract principles, on which there might be a difference of opinion, and to confine action to the more practical subject of the measures of the ministry during the current reign. This view, according to the report of the South Carolina delegates, was sustained by Virginia; and the influence of the delegates from that colony caused the adoption of the above resolution.

As soon as this point of limitation was settled, the remainder of the report, stating the violations and infringements of American rights, was presented and read, when Congress resolved, that the consideration of it should be postponed till Monday, and that, in the meanwhile, they should deliberate on the means most proper to be pursued for a restoration of those rights.

Soon after the assembling of Congress on Monday, the twenty-sixth, Richard Henry Lee offered a resolution—“That from and after the first day of December next, there be no importation into British America from Great Britain or Ireland, of any goods, wares, or merchandises whatever, or from any other place, of any such goods, wares, or merchandises, as shall have been exported from Great Britain or Ireland, and that no such goods, wares, or merchandises imported after the first of December next, be used or purchased.”

Mr. Lee's motion was warmly debated by himself and many other leading men in Congress, and was adopted, by unanimous vote, on Tuesday, the twenty-seventh. On the following day, Joseph Galloway, the confidential friend of Doctor Franklin, and one of the most able and popular of the leaders in Pennsylvania, submitted a plan of union which came very near proving fatal to the cause of liberty in America. To those who had not examined

* Journals of Congress, i., 20

the great subject under discussion with the keen analytical eye of a philosopher, and relied upon temporary expedients for redress of grievances, his plan appeared feasible, and several members, allured by its promises of peace and security, were captivated by it. When, on the morning of the twenty-eighth, a proposition for a non-exportation agreement was submitted, Mr. Galloway arose, and said: "A general non-importation from Great Britain and Ireland has been adopted, but, I think, this will be too gradual in its operations for the relief of Boston. A general non-exportation I have ever looked on as an undigested proposition. It is impossible for America to exist under a total non-exportation. We, in this province, should have tens of thousands of people thrown upon the cold hand of charity. Our ships would lie by the walls, our seamen would be thrown out of bread, our shipwrights out of employ—it would effect the landed interest, and it would weaken us in another struggle which I fear is too near."*

After speaking some time against the policy of interrupting trade with Great Britain, Mr. Galloway urged the necessity of a supreme legislature for the general control of affairs. Referring to events during the French war, he said: "Requisitions came over. A number of the colonies gave most extensively and liberally; others gave nothing, or gave at the last. Pennsylvania gave late, not for want of zeal or loyalty, but owing to their disputes with the proprietaries. They were disunited, and could not agree upon measures for the common good. These delinquencies were handed up to the parent-state, and gave occasion for the stamp-act. Of that act, America, with the greatest reason and justice, complained. Had ministers proposed some plan of policy, some conciliatory measures; had some negotiation been set afoot, it would have terminated in the most happy harmony between the two countries. They repealed the stamp-act, but they passed the declaratory act. Without some supreme legislature, some common arbiter, you are not, say they, part of the state." "We want," he continued, "the aid, assistance, and protection of the arm of our mother-country

* John Adams's Diary.

Protection and allegiance are reciprocal duties. Can we lay claim to the money and protection of Great Britain upon principles of honor or conscience? Can we, on the other hand, wish to become aliens to the mother-state? We must come upon terms with Great Britain. Some gentlemen are not for negotiation. I wish I could hear some reason against it. I am as much a friend of liberty as exists on this continent, and no man shall go further, in point of fortune, or in point of blood, than the man who now addresses you, to obtain it, but I think it the highest wisdom to hold out the olive-branch of reconciliation and peace until the last moment." He then presented his plan, which contemplated a complete union of the colonies, with a grand council elected by the several colonies, authorized to regulate colonial affairs jointly with the British Parliament, each to have a mutual negative on each other[†]—a British-American legislature.*

This proposition elicited the most important debate of the session. It was favorably received by many delegates of the first ability; while those who had looked deeper into the causes of the crisis, and foresaw the improbability of such a measure receiving the sanction of the king and Parliament, were alarmed, and vehemently opposed it. Patrick Henry, whose jealousy of state-rights made him oppose the federal constitution fourteen years afterward, said: "We shall liberate our constituents from a corrupt house of commons, but throw them into the arms of an American legislature, that may be bribed by that nation which avows, in the face of the world, that bribery is a part of her system of government. The original constitution of the colonies was founded on the broadest and most generous base. The regulation of our trade was compensation enough for all the protection we ever experienced from her."[†] It was on this occasion that Samuel Adams, regarding the proposition as a concession to tyranny, uttered those noble sentiments which he reiterated twenty months later, when debating the resolution on independence—"I should advise," he said, "persisting

* This plan is printed in full in Sabine's *Lives of the American Loyalists*, p. 309.
John Adams's Diary

in our struggle for liberty, though it were revealed from heaven that nine hundred and ninety-nine were to perish, and only one of a thousand were to survive and retain his liberty! One such free-man must possess more virtue, and enjoy more happiness, than a thousand slaves; and let him propagate his like, and transmit to them what he has so nobly preserved." Mr. Galloway's plan was defeated by a majority of only one state.

Looking back from this remote stand-point, upon the proceedings of that first Congress, as they appear on the records, we are apt to think that there was very little diversity of opinion among the delegates, and that everything went on harmoniously. On the contrary, there was the greatest, and sometimes apparently irreconcilable differences of opinion, among those whom we delight to honor for their wisdom, patriotism, and boldness.* They were placed in a position of great delicacy. It was a novel one. There were no precedents to consult. The alternatives seemed to be war, or dishonorable peace; both dreadful in the sight of the patriot and Christian. The wonder is not that they so much disagreed, but that they ever agreed at all upon those plans and measures which challenge our admiration, and which led to the independence of the colonies.

The consideration of the grievances of the colonies was not resumed until the fourteenth of October. In the meanwhile several important committees were appointed, and grave measures adopted. A non-exportation resolution was agreed to on the thirtieth of September, and a committee was appointed to bring in a plan for carrying into effect the non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation resolves.† On the following day a loyal address to

* The Virginia delegates hesitated to come into the measure of non-exportation, on the ground of insufficient powers. Judge Drayton, of South Carolina, in his *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, i., 168, alluding to the proceedings on that point, says: "It was then pressed in Congress, that the other colonies should, in this measure, act independently of Virginia; but Maryland and North Carolina represented, that as their exports were similar to those of Virginia, so they could not, with any advantage to the common cause, act independently of her; for their own commodities would be carried to the Virginia ports, which would run away with all their trade." But the delegates from Virginia finally signed the agreement.

† The committee consisted of Thomas Cushing, Isaac Low, Thomas Mifflin, Richard Henry Lee, and Thomas Johnson.

his majesty was resolved on, and a committee appointed to prepare it.* For three or four days, the subject of the proper matter to be contained in the address to the king, was debated.

On the sixth of October, during a debate on the proper means for the restoration of American rights, an express arrived from Boston with a letter from the committee of correspondence, dated the twenty-ninth of September, giving information of the hostile movements of General Gage, and his fortifying the Neck and points on the peninsula. On the following day, a committee was appointed† to prepare a letter to General Gage, representing that "the town of Boston, and province of Massachusetts Bay, are considered by all Americans as suffering in the common cause, for their noble and spirited opposition to oppressive acts of Parliament, calculated to deprive us of our most sacred rights and privileges." They were also to draw up a protest against his warlike measures, and entreat him to discontinue his fortifications. On the following day the whole business of Congress was the consideration of the letter from Boston, and the adoption of a resolution, "*That this Congress approve the opposition of the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay to the execution of the late acts of Parliament; and if the same shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in such case, all America ought to support them in their opposition.*"‡ This was a noble and emphatic re-affirmation of the resolution already given, which was adopted by Congress on the seventeenth of September, after receiving the Suffolk county resolves. It spoke in a voice still more decided than that of the former, the determination of the Americans to fight for freedom rather than submit to inglorious political servitude.

On the twelfth of October, the committee appointed to prepare a plan for carrying into effect the non-importation agreement, brought in a report, which was laid upon the table. The consideration of the subject of the rights and grievances of the colonies was then resumed, and after being debated for two days, Congress

* Richard Henry Lee, John Adams, Thomas Johnson, Patrick Henry, and John Rutledge.

† Thomas Lynch, Samuel Adams, and Edmund Pendleton.

‡ Journals of Congress, i., 24

unanimously adopted a declaration of rights. That document summed up the grievances and rights of the colonies, and placed the latter on the triple foundations of the laws of nature, the English constitution, and the colonial charters. It declared, that as the colonies were not, and from their peculiar local situation, could not be, represented in the British Parliament, they were entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their respective colonial legislatures, where they were represented, and where alone, taxation and internal polity could be legislated upon, such acts being subject, as before, to the negative of their sovereign. It was also declared, that from a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, they would cheerfully concede to Parliament the right to regulate their external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole to the mother-country, and the commercial benefit of its respective members; but that every idea of taxation, internal and external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America, without their consent, should be excluded. They asserted the great and inherent right guarantied to them as British subjects, to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural born subjects within the realm of England; to the common law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law; to all immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws, and the right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and to petition the king.

They then enumerated some of their grievances, and the acts of Parliament which were infringements and violations of their rights; and concluded by the following declaration: "To these grievous acts and measures Americans can not submit; but, in hopes their fellow-subjects in Great Britain will, on a revision of them, restore us to that state in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, we have, for the present, only resolved to pursue the following peaceable measures: 1. To enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement or association. 2. To

prepare an address to the people of Great Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America; and, 3. To prepare a loyal address to his majesty, agreeable to resolutions already entered into."*

This plan, called the AMERICAN ASSOCIATION, was taken up on Saturday, the fifteenth, and debated until Thursday, the twentieth, when it was read and signed at the table by every delegate present, fifty-two in number.† As this was the *great act* of the first continental Congress, toward which all other proceedings had been tending, we here give the several articles of the association in full, as they appear in the record, omitting the preamble in which the several grievances of the colonies are recited:—

"To obtain redress of these grievances, which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of his majesty's subjects in North America, we are of opinion, that a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure: And, therefore, we do, for ourselves and the inhabitants of the several colonies whom we represent, firmly agree and associate, under the sacred ties of virtue, honor, and love of our country, as follows:—

"First. That from and after the first day of December next, we will not import into British America, from Great Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares, or merchandises whatever, or from any other place, any such goods, wares, or merchandises, as shall have been exported from Great Britain or Ireland; nor will we, after that day, import any East India tea from any part of the world; nor any molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, or pimento, from the British plantations, or from Dominica; nor wines from Madeira or the Western islands; nor foreign indigo.

"Second. We will neither import nor purchase any slave imported

* Journals of Congress, i., 28, 29, 30.

† It is related that the earl of Dartmouth inquired of an American, in London, of how many members the Congress consisted? The reply was, "Fifty-two."—"Why that is the number of cards in a pack," said his lordship; "how many *knaves* are there?"—"Not one," answered the American, "your lordship will please to recollect that *knaves* are *court cards*."

after the first day of December next; after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave-trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.

“Third. As a non-consumption agreement, strictly adhered to, will be an effectual security for the observation of the non-importation, we, as above, solemnly agree and associate, that from this day, we will not purchase or use any tea imported on account of the East India Company, or any on which a duty hath been or shall be paid; and from and after the first day of March next, we will not purchase or use any East India tea whatever; nor will we, nor shall any person, for or under us, purchase or use any of those goods, wares, or merchandise, we have agreed not to import, which we shall know, or have cause to suspect, were imported after the first day of December, except such as come under the rules and directions of the tenth article hereafter mentioned.

“Fourth. The earnest desire we have not to injure our fellow-subjects in Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, induces us to suspend a non-exportation until the tenth day of September, 1775; at which time, if the said acts and parts of acts of the British Parliament hereafter mentioned, are not repealed, we will not directly or indirectly, export any merchandise or commodity whatsoever, to Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, except rice to Europe.*

Fifth. Such as are merchants, and use the British or Irish trade, will give orders as soon as possible, to their factors, agents, and correspondents, in Great Britain and Ireland, not to ship any goods to them on any pretence whatever, as they can not be received in America; and if any merchant residing in Great Britain or Ireland,

* This exception was made, as a compromise, to secure the signature of the South Carolina delegation. Mr. Gadsden says, that his colleagues were so strenuous in favor of excepting rice and indigo, then the chief productions of their colony which were exported, that, while the members were signing the association, the exception of these articles not being inserted, the South Carolina delegation actually withdrew, and the union so nearly formed, was likely to be broken up by their ungenerous conduct. A compromise was finally effected, by excepting rice and not indigo. This discrimination caused a violent struggle between two parties in the provincial legislature of South Carolina, the indigo cultivators considering their interests sacrificed for the benefit of the rice-planters. — See W. H. Drayton's *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, i., 168–174, inclusive.

shall directly or indirectly ship any goods, wares, or merchandise for America, in order to break the said non-importation agreement, or in any manner contravene the same, on such unworthy conduct being well attested, it ought to be made public; and, on the same being so done, we will not, from thenceforth, have any commercial connection with such merchant.

“Sixth. That such as are owners of vessels will give positive orders to their captains, or masters, not to receive on board their vessels any goods prohibited by the said non-importation agreement, on pain of immediate dismissal from their service.

“Seventh. We will use our utmost endeavors to improve the breed of sheep, and increase their number to the greatest extent; and to that end we will kill them as seldom as may be, especially those of the most profitable kind; nor will we export any to the West Indies or elsewhere; and those of us who are, or may become overstocked with, or can conveniently spare any sheep, will dispose of them to our neighbors, especially to the poorer sort, on moderate terms.

“Eighth. We will, in our several stations, encourage frugality, economy, and industry, and promote agriculture, arts, and manufactures of this country, especially that of wool; and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shows, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments; and on the death of any relative or friend, none of us, nor any of our families, will go into any further mourning-dress, than a black crape or ribbon on the arm or hat, for gentlemen, and a black ribbon and necklace for ladies, and we will discontinue the giving of gloves and scarfs at funerals.

“Ninth. Such as are venders of goods or merchandise will not take advantage of the scarcity of goods, that may be occasioned by this association, but will sell the same at the rates we have been respectively accustomed to do for twelve months last past. And if any vender of goods or merchandise shall sell any such goods on higher terms, or shall, in any manner, or by any device

whatsoever, violate or depart from this agreement, no person ought nor will any of us deal with such person, or his or her factor or agent, at any time thereafter, for any commodity whatever.

“Tenth. In case any merchant, trader, or other person, shall import any goods or merchandise, after the first day of December, and before the first day of February next, the same ought, forthwith, at the election of its owner, to be either reshipped, or delivered up to the committee of the county or town wherein they shall be imported, to be stored at the risk of the importer, until the non-importation agreement shall cease, or be sold under the direction of the committee aforesaid; and in the last-mentioned case, the owner or owners of such goods shall be reimbursed, out of the sales, the first cost and charges, the profits, if any, to be applied toward relieving and employing such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston, as are immediate sufferers by the Boston port-bill; and a particular account of all goods so returned, stored, or sold, to be inserted in the public papers; and if any goods or merchandises shall be imported, after the said first day of February, the same ought, forthwith, to be sent back again, without breaking any of the packages thereof.

“Eleventh. That a committee be chosen in every county, city, and town, by those who are qualified to vote for representatives in the legislature, whose business it shall be attentively to observe the conduct of all persons touching this association; and when it shall be made to appear, to the satisfaction of a majority of any such committee, that any person within the limits of their appointment has violated this association, that such majority do, forthwith, cause the truth of the case to be published in the gazette, to the end that all such foes to the rights of British America may be publicly known, and universally condemned as the enemies of American liberty; and thenceforth we respectively will break off all dealings with him or her.

“Twelfth. That the committee of correspondence, in the respective colonies, do frequently inspect the entries of their customhouses, and inform each other, from time to time, of the true state thereof,

and of every other material circumstance that may occur relative to this association.

"Thirteenth. That all manufactures of this country be sold at reasonable prices, so that no undue advantages be taken of a future scarcity of goods.

"Fourteenth. And we do further agree and resolve, that we will have no trade, commerce, dealings, or intercourse, whatsoever, with any colony or province in North America, which shall not accede to, or which shall hereafter violate this association, but will hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of their country.

"And we do solemnly bind ourselves and our constituents, under the ties aforesaid, to adhere to this association, until such parts of the several acts of Parliament passed since the close of the last war, as impose or continue duties on tea, wine, molasses, sirups, pan-eles, coffee, sugar, pimento, indigo, foreign paper, glass, and painter's colors, imported into America, and extend the powers of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorize the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to from a trial by his peers, require oppressive security from a claimant of ships or goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, are repealed. Also until the several other obnoxious acts of Parliament heretofore mentioned in these pages, should be repealed.

"The foregoing association being determined upon by the Congress, was ordered to be subscribed by the several members thereof; and thereupon, we have hereunto set our respective names accordingly."*

* This association was signed by all the delegates mentioned in the note on page 411, except Mr. Goldsborough, of Maryland, who was not present; and with the addition of Henry Wisner and Simon Boerum, of New York; John Dickenson and George Ross, of Pennsylvania; Mathew Tilghman and Thomas Johnson, of Maryland; and William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell, of North Carolina.

Norwithstanding he was opposed to the measure, Joseph Galloway signed it, at the head of the Pennsylvania delegation. He soon afterward showed disaffection. Before the meeting of the second continental Congress, the following May, he manifested great lukewarmness; and, in 1776, he abandoned the whigs, and became one of the most violent and proscriptive loyalists of the time.

The names of the delegates who last signed the association, were affixed to it on the twenty-fourth of October. Three days before, an "Address to the People of Great Britain," written by John Jay, was read and approved. On the same day a "Memorial to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies," written by William Livingston, was also read and approved. On the following day it was resolved, "as the opinion of this Congress, that it will be necessary that another Congress should be held on the tenth day of May next, unless the redress of grievances which we have desired, be obtained before that time. And we recommend that the same be held at the city of Philadelphia, and that all the colonies in North America choose deputies, as soon as possible, to attend such Congress."

On the twenty-sixth of October, an "Address to the Inhabitants of Quebec," written by John Dickenson, was read and approved; and on the same day, a "Petition of Congress to the King," drawn up by John Adams, and corrected by John Dickenson, was adopted. The petition to the king was signed by all the delegates present, and the other documents by the president and secretary of Congress only.

The adoption of the petition to the king was the last public act of the Congress, and on that day, Wednesday, the twenty-sixth of October, 1774, that body, in the words of the last entry in the journal, by Secretary Thomson, "dissolved itself," after a session of fifty-one days.

He joined the royal army in New York, where he continued until 1778, when, accompanied by his only daughter, he went to England. There he remained until his death, in 1803. His estate, valued at two hundred thousand dollars, was confiscated, but most of it was afterward restored to his daughter, as it was derived from his wife. Galloway was a good writer, and his pen was much employed in the service of the loyalists. He wrote a pamphlet, entitled "A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great Britain and the Colonies," in which he explains his seeming inconsistency in subscribing to the association. He says, concerning his plan, that being "read and seconded by several gentlemen of the first abilities, after a long debate, was so far approved, as to be thought worthy of further consideration, and referred, under a rule for that purpose, by a majority of the colonies. Under this promising aspect of things, and an expectation that the rule would have been regarded, or at least that something rational would take place to reconcile our unhappy differences, the member proposing it [himself] was weakly led to sign the non-importation agreement, although he had uniformly opposed it."

CHAPTER XLI.

EFFECTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS—LETTERS OF REED AND GAGE ON THE SUBJECT—SATISFACTION OF LORD CHATHAM—CONDUCT OF THE KING AND PARLIAMENT—WASHINGTON IN CONGRESS—PATRICK HENRY'S OPINION OF HIM—CHATHAM'S ESTIMATE OF THE CONGRESS—WASHINGTON'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH CAPTAIN MACKENZIE—OTHER TESTIMONY RESPECTING INDEPENDENCE—WASHINGTON'S RETURN TO MOUNT VERNON—DEPARTURE OF GEORGE WILLIAM FAIRFAX FOR ENGLAND—DESTRUCTION OF BELVOIR—SEPARATION OF FRIENDS.

THE proceedings of the first continental Congress when published to the world, produced a profound sensation on both sides of the Atlantic, composed of the emotions of joy, fear, hope, indignation, and exalted admiration. The high character of the members of that great council, their consistent boldness, their loyalty to the throne, their exhibitions of statesmanship, and the remarkable state-papers which they put forth at the close, challenged the most thorough respect of every reflective mind, and made the subsequent proceedings of the British cabinet and legislature, in relation to America, more palpably stupid and ridiculous than they had ever appeared before. The delegates had been unanimous throughout the session, in denying the right of Parliament to levy internal or external taxes upon them, and they had differed only—and that very widely as we have seen—in the *mode* of resistance to such oppression, and for obtaining a redress of grievances. They separated as they had assembled, with ardent desires to serve their country and benefit mankind. "They have parted," wrote Joseph Reed to Lord Dartmouth, "with great affection and friendship, and carry to their several provinces the fullest resolutions to see the measures they have planned duly executed." "United as one man," Mr. Reed wrote to his brother-in-law, in London, "and breath-

ing a spirit of the most animating kind, the colonies are resolved to risk the consequences of opposition to the late edicts of Parliament. All ranks of people, from the highest to the lowest, speak the same language, and, I believe, will act the same part. I know of no power in this country that can protect an opposer of the public voice and conduct. A spirit and a resolution is manifested which would not have disgraced the Romans in their best days. I hope they will mingle with them prudence and temperance, so as to avoid extremities as long as possible. No man dares open his mouth against non-importation." Even General Gage, who had affected contempt for the Americans, and a belief that the Congress would prove unequal to the task of uniting the continent in opposition to the imperial government, was compelled to express his fears of a different result, when the session of that body had ended. "The proceedings of the continental Congress," he wrote to Dartmouth, "astonish and terrify all considerate men; but though I am confident that many of their resolutions neither can nor will be observed, I fear they will be generally received, as there does not appear to be resolution and strength enough, among the more sensible and moderate people in any of the provinces, openly to reject them."

The spirit of the delegates, and the results of their deliberations, found a sympathetic response in England, even from that citadel of aristocracy, the house of lords. "I have not words to express my satisfaction," wrote the earl of Chatham, "that the Congress has conducted this most arduous and delicate business with such manly wisdom and calm resolution, as do the highest honor to their deliberations. Very few are the things contained in their resolves, that I could wish had been otherwise. Upon the whole, I think it must be evident to every unprejudiced mind in England, who feels for the rights of mankind, that America, under all her oppressions and provocations, holds forth to us the most fair and just opening for restoring harmony and affectionate intercourse, as heretofore. I trust that the minds of men are more than beginning to change on this great subject, so little understood; and that

it will be found impossible for freemen in England, to wish to see three millions of Englishmen slaves in America.”* Not so thought the misguided king and his cabinet; and a corrupt Parliament, then the mere echo of the voice from the throne, acted in accordance with the monarch’s thoughts. In a speech from the throne, on the twentieth of November, the king informed Parliament that a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the laws unhappily prevailed in the province of Massachusetts; that those proceedings were countenanced and encouraged in his other colonies; that unwarrantable attempts were made to obstruct the commerce of his kingdom by unlawful combinations; and that he had taken measures, and given such orders as he judged most proper and effectual, for carrying into execution the acts passed in the commencement of the year in regard to Massachusetts. To this speech, as in apparent duty bound, both houses of Parliament, by large majorities, responded Amen, in re-echoing addresses; and they adjourned for the Christmas holydays, without troubling themselves further about the American colonies, where the agitation of the public mind can not be fully comprehended at this day.

We have no record of the part taken by Colonel Washington in the first continental Congress. He did not engage in the public debates, for he had no abilities as an extemporary speaker. Nor does his name appear in the journals of the proceedings as a member of any committee during the session. His diary shows that he was assiduous in his attendance at Carpenters’ hall, whenever Congress was in session; and while he exhibited no marked brilliancy to the outside world, those who were brought into daily intercourse with him in the discussion of the great subjects which occupied the

* Earl of Chatham to Stephen Sayre: “Correspondence of the Earl of Chatham,” iv., 368. Mr. Sayre was a native of New York, and a successful banker in London. In 1773, he was elected one of the sheriffs of London. Dr. Franklin said, in a letter to his son, in July of that year, “The new sheriffs elect of London (could you think it?) are both Americans, viz.: Mr. Sayre, the New Yorker, and Mr. William Lee, the brother of Dr. Lee.” In October, 1775, Mr. Sayre, who was known to have been a true friend of the Americans, was accused of having asserted, that he and others intended to seize the king on his way to Parliament, take possession of the town, and overthrow the government. Lord Rochford, one of the secretaries of state, caused him to be committed to the Tower, and his papers to be seized. Sayre was acquitted, and prosecuted Rochford for seizing his papers. The corrupt court awarded him five thousand dollars damages, on conditions that prevented his recovery of the money.

thoughts of that national council, perceived and appreciated his substantial worth. Patrick Henry, when asked, on his return home, whom he considered the greatest man in Congress, replied: "If you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, is by far the greatest orator; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on that floor.

With such testimony before us, we are warranted in the conclusion, that in the preparation of the state-papers written by Lee, Jay, Adams, Dickinson, and Livingston, the mind of Washington—his "solid information and sound judgment"—had much to do; for the committees were in continual consultation with the other members of the Congress. Of the character of those papers, and the men who produced them, the great Chatham expressed his opinion in a remarkable speech on American affairs in the house of lords, in January following, when he said: "When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America; when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you can not but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation—and it has been my favorite study—I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master-states of the old world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in perference to the general Congress at Philadelphia."*

But while we can not positively hear the voice, nor see the hand of Washington in the proceedings of that old Congress, we are not ignorant of his sentiments. At the close of September, he received a letter from his old friend and companion-in-arms, Captain Robert Mackenzie, who had been at the head of a company in Washington's Virginia regiment in the French and Indian war. Captain Mackenzie was now a commissioned officer in the regular army, and attached to the forty-third regiment of foot, stationed at Boston.

* Hugh Boyd's Report of Chatham's two speeches on this occasion, published by Dodsley, in the year 1779.

He and Washington had maintained a very friendly relationship, and in the letter in question, he informed his friend that he should stop at Mount Vernon on his way to or from the James river, during the approaching winter, and added: "Mr. Acheson can sufficiently inform you of the state of this unhappy province, of their tyrannical oppression over one another, of their fixed aim at total independence, of the weakness and temper of the mainsprings that set the whole in motion, and how necessary it is that abler heads and better hearts should draw a line for their guidance.... The rebellious and numerous meetings of men in arms, their scandalous and ungenerous attacks upon the best characters in the province, obliging them to save themselves by flight, and their repeated but feeble threats to dispossess the troops, have furnished sufficient reasons to General Gage to put the town in a formidable state of defence, about which we are now fully employed, and which will be shortly accomplished to their great mortification." This letter was written only four days before the general Congress, by unanimous vote, adopted the quarrel of Massachusetts as the concern of the nation. Washington answered this letter on Sunday, the ninth of October.* After expressing his pleasure on hearing that Mackenzie would visit Mount Vernon, he said: "When I have said this, permit me, with the freedom of a friend (for you know I always esteemed you), to express my sorrow that fortune should place you in a service that must fix curses to the latest posterity upon the contrivers, and, if success (which, by-the-by, is impossible) accompanies it, execrations upon all those who have been instrumental in the execution.... I conceive that when you condemn the conduct of the Massachusetts people, you reason from effects, not causes; otherwise you would not wonder at a people, who are every day receiving fresh proofs of a systematic assertion of arbitrary power, deeply planned to overthrow the laws and constitution of their country, and to violate the

* "October 9. — Went to the presbyterian meeting in the forenoon, and the Romish church in the afternoon: dined at Bevan's."—*Washington's Diary*. John Adams, who attended the same Romish church that afternoon, says in his diary: "Heard a good discourse upon the duty of parents to children, founded in justice and charity."

most essential and valuable rights of mankind." After assuring him that he was surrounded by venal men, who, for honors or pecuniary gratifications, were ready to introduce arbitrary government, he continued: "Although you are taught, by discoursing with such men, to believe that the people of Massachusetts are rebellious, setting up for independence, and what not, give me leave, my good friend, to tell you, that you are abused, grossly abused. This I advance with a degree of confidence and boldness, which may claim your belief, having better opportunities of knowing the real sentiments of the people you are among, from the leaders of them, in opposition to the present measures of the administration, than you have from those whose business it is not to disclose truths, but to misrepresent facts, in order to justify, as much as possible, to the world their own conduct.* Give me leave to add, and I think I can announce it as a fact, that it is not the wish or interest of that government, or any other upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence; but this you may, at the same time, rely on, that none of them will ever submit to the loss of those valuable rights and privileges which are essential to the happiness of every free state, and without which life, liberty, and property are rendered totally insecure".... "Is it to be wondered at," he continued, "that men who wish to avert the impending blow should attempt to oppose it in its progress, or prepare for their defence, if it can not be averted? Surely I may be allowed to answer in the negative; and again give me leave to add, as my opinion, that more blood will be spilled on this occasion, if the ministry are determined to push matters to extremity, than history has ever yet furnished instances of in the annals of North America, and such a vital wound will be given to

* Washington had spared no pains to ascertain the sentiments of the delegates from the different provinces, on this, as well as on other questions then occupying the public mind, for it can not be denied, that the idea of the political independence of the colonies, not only existed in some minds, but had found indirect expression already. Washington alludes to his interview with the delegation from Massachusetts, in the sentence above quoted. He entered in his diary, on the twenty-eighth of September, the following: "Spent the afternoon with the Boston gentlemen." John Adams entered in his own diary, on the same day: "Dined with Mr. R. Penn . . . Spent the evening with Colonel Lee, Colonel Washington, and Doctor Shippen, who came in to consult with us."

the peace of this great country as time itself can not cure, or eradicate the remembrance of." In conclusion, Washington repeated his assurances, that independence was not thought of. "I am well satisfied," he said, "that no such thing is desired by any thinking man in all North America; on the contrary, that it is the ardent wish of the warmest advocates for liberty, that peace and tranquillity, upon constitutional grounds, may be restored, and the horrors of civil discord prevented."*

This is important testimony in proof of the genuine loyalty of the Americans, and the sincerity of their representatives in Congress, in what they set forth in their petition to the king and address to the people of Great Britain.† These assurances in a private letter, that the Americans were seeking for justice, not independence, is an iteration of the ninth resolution adopted by the meeting at Fairfax courthouse, on the eighteenth of July previously, over which Washington presided;‡ and a confirmation of the assurances which Joseph Reed gave to Lord Dartmouth, in a letter written on the twenty-fifth of September. Alluding to the falsehoods of venal men, he said: "Such men, my lord, have wickedly practised upon the unsuspecting integrity of our best friends in Britain, infused jealousies of independence, and what not, which the true friends of government in this country never perceived the least foundation for. It would be equally fair to judge of his majesty from the publications of Junius, as of this country from such representations, or from the hasty and violent resolves of inconsiderable town-meetings. No king ever had more loyal sub-

* Sparks's Life and Writings of Washington, ii., 399.

† In that address they say: "You have been told, that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independence. Be assured that these are not facts, but calumnies." We omitted to mention, in the proper place, that the "Declaration of Rights" adopted by the continental Congress, of which a synopsis is given in chapter xl., was undoubtedly written by Samuel Adams. Although there exists no *positive* proof of such authorship, the *circumstantial* evidence is so convincing, that a doubt is inadmissible. This evidence will be given in full, in the "Life and Writings of Samuel Adams," now in preparation, from original materials, by William V. Wells, Esq., a great-grand-son of the distinguished patriot, who has kindly permitted us to examine his manuscript. We shall again have occasion to refer to this valuable source of information. And we deem it proper here to say, that the work will be one of the most important contributions ever made to our historical literature.

‡ See page 400.

jects; or any country more affectionate colonists than the Americans *were*. I, who am but a young man,* well remember when the former was always mentioned with respect approaching to adoration; and to be an *Englishman* was alone a sufficient recommendation for any office of friendship and civility. But I confess, with the greatest concern, that these happy days seem passing swiftly away, and unless some plan of accommodation can be speedily formed, the affection of the colonists will be irrevocably lost.† We shall again recur to this subject.

Congress, as we have seen, "dissolved itself" on the twenty-sixth of October. On that evening all the delegates met at the City tavern, where they spent the hours in agreeable social intercourse, and friendly leave-taking. Early the next morning Washington started for home. He dined at Chester, and lodged at New Castle, in Delaware; and three days afterward he was at Mount Vernon. His arrival was a joy to his loving wife, for she still wept, in the hours of her loneliness, over the loss of her daughter. Her son was now away with his bride, and these voids made the absence of her husband more painful to her. And there had been a social bereavement in the neighborhood, which deepened the loneliness. Colonel Washington's warm friend and nearest neighbor, George William Fairfax, had left the country to become the possessor of estates in England, and when Washington returned to Mount Vernon, Belvoir, the beautiful seat of his friend, was in charge of a steward. Fire, ignited by accident, soon afterward consumed it; and the kindling of the war of the Revolution at almost the same moment, prevented its owner, who was a loyalist, from returning to America. Thus suddenly was Belvoir mansion swept from existence, and the social intercourse of two long-tried friends was closed for ever. George Washington and George William Fairfax never met again.

* Mr. Reed was then thirty-three years of age.

† Life and Correspondence of President Reed, i., 76.

CHAPTER XLII.

OPPOSITION OF THE QUAKERS—THEIR ATTEMPT TO PRODUCE DISUNION IN CONGRESS—THEIR LOYAL TESTIMONY—CAUSES OF THE DISAFFECTION—THE “QUAKER COMPANY”—SECRET INFLUENCE OF THE QUAKERS—VIGILANCE OF CONGRESS—QUAKERS AND OTHERS BANISHED TO VIRGINIA—WASHINGTON’S ORDERS CONCERNING QUAKERS—EXECUTION OF ROBERTS AND CARLISLE—INFLUENCES OF OTHER RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS—THE ASSOCIATION ENFORCED—APPROACH OF CIVIL WAR—THE VOICE OF JOSIAH QUINCY, JR.

WE will leave Washington in his retirement for awhile, and note the course of political events after the dissolution of the Congress, in which he was so deeply interested and engaged.

The most subtle and powerful opponents of the union and harmony of the colonies, in 1774, and for sometime afterward, were the Quakers of Pennsylvania, whose influence was then controlling in the affairs of that province. Unlike the Quakers of our day, they were much engaged in public matters; and by a system of unequal representation, they had, at the time in question, a majority of their sect in the Pennsylvania house of assembly. Among the most influential members of this sect, were Israel and James Pemberton, men of wealth and extensive family connections. Israel appears to have been a far-sighted politician; and during the session of the continental Congress, he managed to collect quite a number of the delegates and of his own people, in Carpenters’ hall, at an early hour one evening, to listen to some communications. The object of the meeting was unknown until Israel arose and remarked, that the Congress was endeavoring to form a union of the colonies, but that there were grave difficulties in the way of such a consummation. He then enumerated, among other difficulties, the Sunday laws of New England, and the subjection of all sects to an assessment, levied in Massachusetts, for building churches.

He called these, infringements upon the rights of conscience, and asked the Massachusetts delegates to assure the Quakers, that in the event of union, these laws should be repealed, and that the more liberal system of Pennsylvania should generally prevail. John Adams, who now perceived the object of the meeting, replied with a warmth which was in strong contrast with the mildness of Israel. He told the Quakers that no such assurance should be given, for those laws were in accordance with the conscience of New England, and that they "might as well turn the heavenly bodies out of their annual and diurnal courses, as the people of Massachusetts from their meeting-house and Sunday laws." Pemberton rejoined, that liberty of conscience rested not in such laws, and that they ought not to be respected. It was the opinion of Adams and others at that time, that this movement was intended to prevent the union, and to retain the Pennsylvania Quakers on the side of the king. Subsequent events appeared to warrant such conclusion; but the title of "artful Jesuit,"* which Adams applied to Pemberton, was not justified by his character.

At about this time (October, 1774), a yearly meeting of the society of Quakers, which had convened on the twenty-fourth of September, had been concluded, and the members had gone home, leaving the consideration of public matters, in which they had a concern, in charge of a committee in Philadelphia, of which Pemberton was an active member. That meeting was a very important one, and from it went forth an epistle which gave great offence to the friends of liberty throughout the colonies. No doubt a large number of the Quakers sympathized with the proceedings of the Congress, but their doctrine of non-resistance, enforced by their "Discipline," made them pause. The tendency of events was toward war. They were much perplexed, and held extraordinary and protracted meetings, extending sometimes far into the evening, while considering what to do. They perceived a growing spirit abroad favorable to the strict enforcement of the American Association, and to this they were opposed, in principle, because it usurped,

* John Adams's Autobiography.

in their estimation, the dearest prerogatives of conscience, and pronounced the exercise of honest opinion to be a political misdemeanor.

When, early in November, 1774, a great committee was to be chosen in Philadelphia to carry the association into execution, the Quakers directed the members of their society not to serve upon it,* and when the patriots of that province called a provincial convention to meet in Philadelphia in January, 1775, the Quakers called a special meeting of the society, to convene at the same time and place, with the evident intention of counteracting the republican tendency of the political convention. And yet, strangely paradoxical as it appears, the assembly of Pennsylvania, in which there was a clear majority of Quakers, actually passed a resolution, on the tenth of December, approving of the conduct of Congress. This result, which elicited the expressed astonishment of Governor Penn,† was wrought by the skilful management of John Dickinson and Thomas Mifflin; and before the close of the session, delegates for the Congress of 1775 were chosen.

The meeting held in January, was composed of the great body of the Quakers in the colonies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. On the seats of the preacher's gallery were seen many of their shining lights of that day. At the head sat James Pemberton, the leading minister of the sect; erect, immoveable, with both hands crossed on the top of his long cane. There, too, was seen the sunny face of Nicholass Waln; and near him frowned the severe, dark features of Thomas Scattergood. There, too, with his head buried to the coat collar in his broad-brimmed hat, was the thoughtful Arthur Howell; and in the testimonies and deliberations were

* Letter of Joseph Reed to Josiah Quincy, Nov. 6, 1774.

† On the thirty-first of December, Governor Penn wrote to the ministry: "Since my last the assembly of this province have met agreeably to adjournment, and have, to my great surprise, unap-
provingly approved the transactions of the late Congress, and appointed deputies to attend another." According to Cæsar Rodney, one of the delegates in Congress, Governor Penn really sympathized with the patriots. Speaking of his brother, Richard Penn, as a friend to liberty, and very kind to the delegates, Mr. Rodney remarked, in a letter to his own brother, on the twenty-fourth of September, 1774: "More or less, dine with him every day; and his brother wishes his station would admit of his acting the same part. All these matters are for your own private speculation, and not for public view."

heard the soft voice of William Savery, in beautiful and harmonious contrast with that of Daniel Offley, the stalwart smith, who, "among his dozen hammer-men, was always accustomed to raise his piercing voice distinctly above their pattering sounds."*

Long and earnestly did the Quakers deliberate how they should defeat the pacific proceedings of the continental Congress; and on the twenty-fourth of January, they sent forth the following TESTIMONY:—†

"Having considered, with real sorrow, the unhappy contest between the legislature of Great Britain and the people of these colonies, and the animosities consequent thereon, we have, by repeated public advices and private admonitions, used our endeavors to dissuade the members of our religious society from joining with the public resolutions promoted and entered into by some of the people, which, as we apprehended, so we now find, have increased contention, and produced great discord and confusion. The Divine principle of grace and truth which we profess leads all who attend to its dictates to demean themselves as peaceable subjects, and to discountenance and avoid every measure tending to excite disaffection to the king as supreme magistrate, or to the legal authority of his government, to which purpose many of the late political writings and addresses to the people appearing to be calculated, we are led by a sense of duty to declare our entire disapprobation of them, their spirit and temper being not only contrary to the nature and precepts of the gospel, but destructive of the peace and harmony of civil society, disqualifies men, in these times of difficulty, for the wise and judicious consideration and promoting of such measures as would be most effectual for reconciling differences, or obtaining the redress of grievances.

"From our past experience of the clemency of the king and his royal ancestors, we have ground to hope and believe that decent and respectful addresses from those who are vested with legal

* Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, i., 507.

† "The Testimony of the people called Quakers, given forth by a meeting of the representatives of said people in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, held at Philadelphia the twenty-fourth day of the first month, 1775 "

authority, representing the prevailing dissatisfactions and the cause of them, would avail toward obtaining relief, ascertaining and establishing the just rights of the people, and restoring the public tranquillity; and we deeply lament that contrary modes of proceeding have been pursued, which have involved the colonies in confusion, appear likely to produce violence and bloodshed, and threaten the subversion of the constitutional government, and of that liberty of conscience for the enjoyment of which our ancestors were induced to encounter the manifold dangers and difficulties of crossing the seas and settling in the wilderness. We are, therefore, incited, by a sincere concern for the peace and welfare of our country, publicly to declare against every usurpation of power and authority in opposition to the laws and government, and against all combinations, insurrections, conspiracies, and illegal assemblies; and as we are restrained from them by the conscientious discharge of our duty to Almighty God, 'by whom kings reign and princes decree justice,' we hope, through his assistance and favor, to be enabled to maintain our testimony against any requisitions which may be made of us, inconsistent with our religious principles, and the fidelity we owe to the king and his government, as by law established; earnestly desiring the restoration of that harmony and concord which have heretofore united the people of these provinces, and been attended by the Divine blessing on their labors."

Such was the loyal manifesto put forth by the Quakers just as the old war for independence was kindling, "signed in and on behalf of the said meeting," by James Pemberton, "clerk at this time," and widely circulated throughout the continent.* From that time, until the close of the war, the Quakers, as a body, were friends

* Christopher Marshall, in his diary of that date, says: "Meetings daily amongst the Quakers, in order, if possible, to defeat the pacific proceedings of the continental congress, calling upon their members not to meet the county committees, but entirely to withdraw from them, under the penalty of excommunication. . . . This day [January twenty-fourth, 1774], was also a paper published, called a Testimony of the people called Quakers, in which is contained such gross abuse against all persons that oppose their fallacious schemes, and stuffed with such false contradictions, that it will be a lasting memento of the truth of what Robert Walker, one of their public preachers, now here, often told them, and warned them to take care, 'because,' says he, 'the Lord is departed from you, as he did from Saul, and has given you over to your own devices.'" The harsh epithets of Marshall are not justified by the words of the "Testimony."

of the king, though generally passive, so far as public observation could determine. Yet there were many exceptions. A large number of the Quakers of Philadelphia were offended by this "Testimony," and publicly repudiated it. Some of them separated from their loyal brethren, formed a separate meeting, and built for themselves a new place of worship at the southwest corner of Fifth and Arch streets. Others so far seceded as to break the "Discipline," and formed themselves into a military corps, under Captain Humphreys, which was called *The Quaker Company*. And in the provincial convention, convened, as we have seen, at the same time with the Quaker meeting, Thomas Mifflin, a young member of the sect, of great energy and irrepressible zeal, was earnestly exhorting his countrymen to take up arms, if necessary.

From this time, the Quakers were marked as decided loyalists, yet they seldom took any part openly in the political movements of the day. In secret meetings and through their "testimonies," they continually "gave aid and comfort to the enemy;" and in their yearly meetings, according to common report and the authority of a contemporary writer,* they matured schemes against the patriots. To such an extent was their secret influence exerted, that Congress, in 1777, thought it proper to recommend the executives of the several states, wherein these people resided, to keep a watch upon their movements. For this suspicion and vigilance there seemed to be ample excuse. When, in December, 1776, the British army, before which Washington had fled across the Jerseys, was menacing Philadelphia, a "testimony" of the Quakers, seditious in its character, signed by John Pemberton, "in behalf of the meeting of sufferings, held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the twenty-sixth of twelfth month," was published and circulated throughout the society in the different states. At about the same time Congress was placed in possession of many papers and records of the yearly meetings of the Quakers, by the defeat and capture of some loyalists on Staten Island, opposite Perth

* See extract from Samuel Wharton's manuscript, quoted by Watson in his *Annals of Philadelphia*, i., 506.

Amboy. These gave such positive evidence of the disaffection of the great body of them, that quite a large number of the leading members of the society in Philadelphia, together with the Honorable John Penn (late governor of the province) and chief-justice Chew, were banished to Fredericksburg, in Virginia.*

In the winter of 1778, while the American army was suffering at Valley Forge, some twenty miles from Philadelphia, Washington became convinced that the Quakers of the surrounding country, were acting as spies, in conveying intelligence of the condition of his camp, and other facts, to the British commander in the city; and also that they made their religious meetings there occasions for political deliberations, and the arrangement of seditious plans. Accordingly, on the twentieth of March, he issued the following order to General John Lacy, an active officer of the Pennsylvania militia: "Sunday next being the time on which the Quakers hold one of their general meetings, a number of that society will probably be attempting to go into Philadelphia. This is an intercourse that we should by all means endeavor to interrupt, as the plans settled at these meetings are of the most pernicious tendency. I would, therefore, have you dispose of your parties in such manner as will most probably fall in with these people, and if they should, and any of them should be mounted upon horses fit for draught or the service of light dragoons, I desire they may be taken from them, and sent over to the quartermaster-general. Any such are not to be considered as the property of the parties who may seize them, as in other cases. Communicate the above orders to any of the officers who may command scouting parties on your side of the Schuylkill." To this General Lacy promptly responded, by ordering his horsemen to arrest all Quakers on their way toward Philadelphia, and "if they refused to stop, when hailed, to fire into them, and leave their bodies lying in the road."†

These orders had the desired effect, yet the secret agency of the

* Among these leaders, who were banished, were James, John, and Israel Pemberton, Joshua Fisher, Abel James, Henry Drinker, John James, Samuel Pleasants, Thomas Wharton, senier, Thomas Fisher, and Samuel Fisher.

† Niles's Principles and Acts of the Revolution, 334.

disaffected members of the sect in the city continued to be potent. Two of the chief of these offenders—James Roberts and Abraham Carlisle—who were known as the active enemies of the patriots, were arrested a few months later, when the Americans held possession of Philadelphia, and were hanged as spies and traitors, in November of that year. It was clearly proven that they had been employed by Joseph Galloway and other loyalists, as detectors of foes to the government; that Carlisle, under the meek garb and demeanor of the Quaker, was a Torquemada, exercising the functions of an inquisitor-general, by watching at the entrance to the city and pointing out obnoxious persons coming from the country, who were arrested and cast into prison on his bare suggestion; and that both Roberts and Carlisle, who would not bear arms for the wealth of the Indies, had acted as guides to a British detachment, sent out from Philadelphia by General Howe, to fall upon and massacre a corps of Americans, lying in a wood near the road to Frankford! These facts, fully attested by competent witnesses, justified the execution of these men, according to the implacable rules of war, and parried the keen shafts of bitter vituperation with which the patriots were assailed by the loyalists, on account of that act.

Such, in brief, are some of the most prominent facts in the history of the opposition of the Quakers to the war for independence—an opposition based primarily upon their great distinctive doctrine of non-resistance, and their love of peace. They saw, in the increasing turmoils of politics, much to disturb their tranquillity; and when they perceived the torch of war actually lighting up the whole country with its lurid glare, they felt it to be their duty to do all in their power to quench the devastating flame. Their love of peace and quiet made them habitually submissive to all laws which did not interfere with the rights of conscience, and they were consequently passive loyalists. When, therefore, they heard words of defiance uttered against the imperial government, they were disturbed; and when independence, which implied a bloody conflict, was preached, they were amazed. No doubt the great body of the Quakers, who opposed the war, did so pursuant to the dictates of a

lively conscience, and therefore we should not withhold our respect for them. There were very few Roberts and Carlises among them; and the thousands who composed that important and widely influential opposition—an opposition which bore heavily upon Congress in its earlier sessions in Philadelphia*—ought not to suffer reproach as the real enemies of freedom, because of the sins of these recreant ones.

Other religious sects had much influence in shaping the course of political events in various colonies, at this crisis. In New England, the congregational ministers, a numerous and very influential class, headed by Chauncey and Cooper, of Boston, were unanimously opposed to the rule of Great Britain, and their flocks sympathized with them, for it was a traditionary sentiment. Their zeal in the cause of civil liberty was heightened by the recent revival of a long-cherished scheme for the introduction of episcopacy into America, to which we have alluded; and the people of New England presented almost a solid phalanx of opposition to ministerial measures. In the middle provinces, and in some portions of the southern colonies, the presbyterians, who derived their origin from the dissenting sections of the Scottish church, were almost all zealous whigs; but the Scotch Highlanders, in New York, North Carolina, and Georgia, who were generally very ignorant, and the Scotch traders and merchants, who were numerous at the South, were tories, as the loyalists were called, from the beginning, and remained so.

The episcopal clergy, especially in the middle and northern prov-

* John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, a firm patriot throughout the war, was steadily opposed to independence, and spoke and acted against it. John Adams, in his autobiography, when writing about the proceedings in Congress on the subject of independence, early in the summer of 1776, says: "Mr. Charles Thomson, who was then rather inclined to our side of the question, told me that the Quakers had intimidated Mr. Dickinson's mother and his wife, who were continually distressing him with their remonstrances. His mother said to him, 'Johnny, you will be hanged; your estates will be forfeited and confiscated; you will leave your excellent wife a widow, and your charming children orphans, beggars, and infamous.' From my soul I pitied Mr. Dickinson. I made his case my own. If my mother and my wife had expressed such sentiments to me, I was certain that if they did not wholly unman me, and make me an apostate, they would make me the most miserable man alive." Thomas Willing and Charles Humphreys, Pennsylvania delegates in the continental Congress, in 1776, voted against independence. They were, doubtless, influenced in their decision by the Quakers, with whom they were intimately connected.

inces, and a large portion of their parishioners, were generally loyal, while those in Virginia and South Carolina, who had not participated in the controversy respecting the establishment of episcopacy in the colonies, were very little governed by their religious associations. In New York, the influence of the episcopalians was powerful against the patriots, in and out of the assembly; and that body was very tardy in yielding its acquiescence in the scheme of the American association, and in appointing delegates to a new Congress. The Roman catholics, who were more numerous in Maryland than in any other colony, were generally the friends of liberty; and that province was among the earliest to approve the acts of the continental Congress. The descendants of the Huguenot settlers in New York and South Carolina, appeared to have an instinctive love of freedom, for they were almost unanimously in favor of the association, and of armed resistance, if necessary.

In all the colonies, at the beginning of 1775, measures were either consummated or were in progress, to enforce the American association, by the appointment of committees of inspection; and provincial congresses, assuming the functions of regular civil government, soon began to germinate, in defiance of the menaces of royal representatives, and the preparations in Parliament to crush the rising rebellion.

At the dawn of 1775, the colonies were on the verge of civil war. The conviction of that fact was sensibly felt in both hemispheres, and the friends of freedom everywhere looked on with intense anxiety, and gave cheerful words of encouragement. With the later days of the waning year, the voice of Josiah Quincy—the dying Josiah Quincy*—uttered as if from the margin of the

* Josiah Quincy was born in Boston, on the twenty-third of February, 1744. As a student he was remarkably persevering. He graduated with honor at Harvard in 1763. He pursued legal studies under the celebrated Oxenbridge Thacher, of Boston. The circumstances of the times turned his thoughts to political topics, and he took sides with Otis, Adams, and others, against the aggressive policy of Britain. As early as 1768, he used this bold language: "Did the blood of the ancient Britons swell our veins, did the spirit of our forefathers inhabit our breasts, should we hesitate a moment in preferring death to a miserable existence in bondage?" In 1770 he declared, "I wish to see my countrymen break off—*off for ever!* all social intercourse with those whose commerce contaminates, whose luxuries poison, whose avarice is insatiable, and whose unnatural oppressions are not to be borne." Mr. Quincy was associated with John Adams in the defence of the perpetrators of the "Boston Massacre," in 1770, and did not, by that defense, alienate the good

grave beyond the Atlantic, whither he had gone to serve his country, with feeble pulse but giant heart and brain, warbled hymns to liberty in solemn prose, as exquisite in cadence as the music of the expiring swan, to cheer and soothe his countrymen; or with the vehemence of a Stentor sounded the trumpet-notes anew, with which he had already, upon old Shawmut, aroused his countrymen.* "Let me tell you," he wrote from London in December; "let me tell you one very serious truth, in which we are all agreed—*your countrymen must seal their cause with their blood*. You know how often and how long ago, I said this. I see every day more and more reason to confirm my opinion. Every day I find characters dignified by science, rank, and station, of the same sentiment.... Surely my countrymen will recollect the words I held to them this time twelve months. Hundreds, I believe, will call these words, and many more of the same import, to remembrance. Hundreds, who heretofore doubted, are long ere this convinced I was right. The popular sentiments of the day prevailed; they advanced with

opinion of the people. In February, 1771, he was obliged to go to the south on account of a pulmonary complaint. At Charleston he formed an acquaintance with Pinckney, Rutledge, and other patriots, and, returning by land, conferred with other leading whigs in the several colonies. In the autumn of 1773, he took a very active part in the public meetings and other proceedings in Boston, which resulted in the destruction of tea in the harbor of that city, in December. Continued ill health, and a desire to make himself acquainted with English statesmen, induced him to make a voyage to England in 1774, where he had personal interviews with most of the leading men. He asserts that, while there, Colonel Barré, who had travelled in America, assured him that such was the ignorance of the English people, two thirds of them thought the Americans were all negroes! Becoming fully acquainted with the feelings and intentions of the king and his ministers, and hopeless of reconciliation, Mr. Quincy determined to return and arouse his countrymen to action. He embarked for Boston, with declining health, in March, and died when the vessel was in sight of land, on the twenty-sixth of April, 1775, aged thirty-one years.

* His words quoted below, were uttered before an immense concourse of people, assembled in the old South meeting-house, and its vicinity, in Boston, on the afternoon of the sixteenth of December, 1773, a few hours before the tea was destroyed in the harbor. Mr. Quincy was the principal speaker on that occasion. "It is not, Mr. Moderator," he said, "the spirit that vapors within these walls that must stand us in stead. The exertions of this day will call forth events which will make a very different spirit necessary for our salvation. Look to the end. Whoever supposes that shouts and hosannas will terminate the trials of the day, entertains a childish fancy. We must be grossly ignorant of the importance and value of the prize for which we contend; we must be equally ignorant of the powers of those who have combined against us; we must be blind to that malice, inveteracy, and insatiable revenge, which actuate our enemies, public and private, abroad and in our bosom, to hope we shall end this controversy without the sharpest—the sharpest conflicts; to flatter ourselves that popular resolves, popular harangues, popular acclamations, and popular vapor, will vanquish our foes. Let us consider the issue. Let us look to the end. Let us weigh and consider before we advance to those measures which must bring on the most trying and terrible struggle this country ever saw."

“resolutions” to hazard and abide the consequences. They must now stand the issue—they must preserve a consistency of character—THEY MUST NOT DELAY—they must —— or be trodden into the vilest vassalage, the scorn, the spurn of their enemies, a byword of infamy among all men.”

“In the sight of God, and of all just men,” he continued, “the cause is good. We have the wishes of the wise and humane, we have the prayers of the pious, and the universal benison of all who seek to God for direction, aid, and blessing. I own I feel for the miseries of my country; I own I feel much desire for the happiness of my brethren in trouble; but why should I disguise, I feel, ineffably, for the honor—the honor, I repeat it—the honor of my country. Need I explain myself further? When you shall act agreeably to your past ostentations; when you have shown that you are, what Englishmen once were, whether successful or not, your foes will diminish, your friends amazingly increase, and you will be happy in the peaceful enjoyment of your inheritance; or, at least, your enemies will, in some measure, stay their intemperate fury from a reverence of your virtue, and a fear of reanimating your courage. But if in the trial you prove, as your enemies say, arrant poltroons and cowards, how ineffably contemptible will you appear; how wantonly and superlatively will you be abused and insulted by your triumphing oppressors!”*

Two days afterward, when writing of Lord North’s apology for his expression, “I will have America at my feet,” and the probability of a *suspension* of the obnoxious acts of Parliament, he uttered words of warning, which his countrymen, often deceived, were quick to heed. “Be the event as it may,” he said, “continue true to yourselves, and the day is your own. If they only suspend, do not, for heaven’s sake, think of relaxing your agreements while you are treating. Beware of the arts of negotiation. The ministry are adepts in them; at least they are skilled in the science of corruption. There is no doubt but the ministry sent large sums to New York, in order to bribe the continental delegates. It was

* Memoir of Josiah Quincy, Jr., 266.

openly avowed and vindicated, and great boast was made of ministerial success. It was said that they had effected a disunion which would be fatal to the cause of all America. You can not well imagine the chagrin with which the ministry received the result of that glorious body. They are viewed as the northern constellation of glorious worthies, illuminating and warning the new world. I feel a pride in being an American.”*

A little later, he wrote: “How elevated must be feelings of an American, who sees his countrymen distinguish themselves as wise and virtuous, calm and brave; rising in the estimation of all mankind, as the illustrious remnant of the sons of freedom. You see, my worthy friend, that the glitter of a court hath not yet fascinated me with its splendor, nor the corruption of Britain made me an apostate from the cause of my country. The pageantry I see here makes me every day more attached to the simplicity of my native soil; and while I hourly survey the extended miseries of enormous wealth and power, I warm with more enthusiastic fervor in the cause of freedom and my country; and in what cause ought the pulse of man to beat with a more full and genial current?”†

Other Americans in England, with less glowing enthusiasm, but equal zeal and firmness, sent words—strong, electrifying, animating words—to their countrymen, commending them for their wisdom and prudence, and exhorting them to be vigilant, persistent, and unyielding.

* Memoir of Josiah Quincy, Jr., page 272.

† Ibid., page 278.

CHAPTER XLIII.

MEETING OF MASSACHUSETTS ASSEMBLY—PROVINCIAL CONGRESS FORMED—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—ROYAL POWER VIRTUALLY ABOLISHED—THE ARMY OF MINUTE-MEN—PREPARATIONS ELSEWHERE—INDEPENDENT COMPANIES IN VIRGINIA—THE COMMAND OFFERED TO WASHINGTON—LEE AND GATES—INDIAN WAR ON THE FRONTIER—DUNMORE IN THE FIELD—BATTLE AT POINT PLEASANT—TREATY WITH THE INDIANS—LOGAN'S SPEECH—DUNMORE'S WICKEDNESS SUSPECTED—DISSATISFACTION OF THE VIRGINIANS—SECOND VIRGINIA CONVENTION—WASHINGTON A MEMBER—THE PROCEEDINGS—PATRICK HENRY'S RESOLUTIONS AND SPEECH—RICHARD HENRY LEE—THE RESULT—WASHINGTON'S LETTER TO HIS BROTHER.

MASSACHUSETTS, upon whom the arm of ministerial vengeance was most heavily laid, took the earliest and boldest steps in the direction of absolute rebellion and revolution. Gage had summoned the house of representatives of that province, to assemble at Salem on the fifth of October. The course of events in that colony, and at Philadelphia, alarmed him, and he thought it expedient to issue a proclamation countermanding that order. He did so, and refused to call the assembly together. The people denied his right to thus interfere with the course of legislation, and most of the members elect, to the number of ninety, were at Salem on the appointed day. Of course Gage was not there to meet them; and as no official appeared to administer the oaths, they resolved themselves into a provincial Congress, adjourned to Concord, about eighteen miles from Boston, and there organized by the appointment of the wealthy and influential John Hancock their president, and Benjamin Lincoln, a middle-aged farmer of Hingham, and afterward an eminent general of the Revolution, their secretary. A large committee, appointed to consider the state of the province, prepared an address to Gage, in which they asserted the loyalty of the people of Massa-

chusetts, their attachment to Great Britain, and their love of peace and good order; but complained of the acts of Parliament as tending to enslave the Americans, and remonstrated with the governor in such a manner, as virtually to call him to account for his conduct in fortifying Boston Neck, and making other hostile demonstrations. This address was adopted by the Congress, and that body then adjourned to Cambridge, where they appointed a committee to carry the document to Governor Gage. Influenced by his fears, that functionary so far recognised the legality of the Congress, as to enter into explanations, and disavowals of unfriendly intentions. He declared that his measures were only defensive and precautionary; that Parliament had no desire to enslave the Americans; and he begged them to consider how revolutionary were their present proceedings, and urged them to desist.

The provincial Congress would not listen to the soft and deceptive words of the governor, but went forward in preparations for the inevitable storm. They appointed a committee of safety, with John Hancock at its head, delegating to it general executive powers, and the right of calling out the militia of the province. Another committee was appointed, to provide arms, ammunition, and stores, for which purpose upward of sixty thousand dollars were appropriated. Provision was also made for the general arming of the minute-men of the province; and Jedediah Preble, an old militia officer of Falmouth, Artemas Ward, a judge of the Worcester county court of common pleas, and Seth Pomeroy, who was at the head of a regiment in the battle at Lake George, in 1755, were commissioned as generals. Henry Gardner was chosen treasurer of the colony, with the title of receiver-general; and constables and tax-collectors were ordered to place in his hands alone, all public moneys that they might collect. These proceedings of the Congress were generally approved by the people throughout the province. Ammunition and stores were speedily collected at Concord, Woburn, and other places. Mills were erected for making gunpowder; manufactories of arms were established, and great encouragement was given to the production of saltpetre.

Royal power, except what resided in the military force in Boston, was now virtually at an end in Massachusetts. Gage denounced the proceedings of the Congress, but no attention was paid to his proclamation; and at a session of that body toward the close of November, it was voted to enrol twelve thousand minute-men. An invitation was sent to other New England provinces to follow the example. It was quickly responded to, and the army of twelve thousand was soon increased to twenty thousand, with John Thomas, of Plymouth, who had commanded a regiment in the French war, and William Heath, a Roxbury farmer, commissioned as additional generals.

This army, strong, determined, generous, and panting for action, was invisible to the superficial observer. It was not seen in the camp, the field, nor the garrison. No drum was heard calling it to action; no trumpet was sounded for battle. It was like electricity, harmless when latent, but terrible when aroused. It was all over the land. It was at the plough, in the workshop, and in the counting-room. Almost every household was its headquarters and every roof its tent. It bivouacked in every chamber; and mothers, sisters, wives, and sweethearts, made cartridges for its muskets, and supplied its commissariat. It was the old story of Cadmus repeated in modern history. British oppression had sown dragon's teeth all over the land, and a harvest of armed men were ready to spring up, but not to destroy each other.

The flame of rebellion that burst out in New England spread southward. In the middle provinces, the people were seen everywhere, in the practice of military discipline. In almost every village and hamlet, in quiet valleys and upon the breezy hills, the roll of the drums was heard. Virginia, with its quick ear, had early caught the sound of martial preparations; and when Washington returned to Mount Vernon, he found the independent companies throughout the province waiting for the voice of his experience to teach them how to prepare for the conflict. Many of them had been on the frontiers during the summer and autumn, engaged in war with the Indians of the Ohio country. Now, perceiving that

a broader and holier field of action was opening for the American soldier who loved his country as his birthright, they turned toward Washington, the trusted and beloved as a hero, patriot, and sage, for advice and discipline.

Washington coveted the pleasures of rural pursuits, and the quiet of domestic life, after his long absence at Philadelphia, but urgent calls to public duty would not allow him to enjoy that boon undisturbed. A few days after his arrival the *Independent Company of Cadets* of Prince William county, a well-appointed corps, whose significant motto was, *Aut liber aut nullus*, solicited him to take command of them as a field-officer.* Other companies offered him the same honor; and throughout the province, when the people felt that war with the mother-country was inevitable, they turned, as with one heart and one mind, to Washington as the destined leader of the Virginia battalions in the army of freemen. He yielded to these solicitations, and reviewed the troops which assembled at various places; and much of the winter and spring of 1774-'75, was spent by him in this important service. During that time, Charles Lee and Horatio Gates, English officers of distinction, were frequently guests at Mount Vernon, and accompanied Washington in these military excursions. There, too, his old companions-in-arms, Hugh Mercer, of Fredericksburg, and Doctor James Craik, his family physician, were frequently seen, in consultation on public affairs; and Mount Vernon became the headquarters of military councils for the leaders of the arming people.

The war in the west, carried on by the Virginians, was commenced by the Indians, who were incited to hostilities by some white scoundrels, eager to gain some personal advantage in the contest. War against the savages was encouraged by Governor Dunmore; and the training of the independent companies which had occurred in the summer and autumn of 1774, was warmly

* At a meeting of the *cadets* (of whom William Grayson, afterward a member of the Federal Congress, was captain), held on the eleventh of November, 1774, it was *Resolved, unanimously*, That Thomas Blackburn, Richard Graham, and Philip Richard Francis Lee, gentlemen, do wait on Colonel George Washington, and request him to take the command of this company, as their field-officer, and that he will be pleased to direct the fashion of their uniform; and that they also acquaint him with the motto of their company, which is to be fixed on their colors."

commended by him. Little did he think that such discipline was preparing the people to act efficiently against himself and his royal master, a few months later.

The Indians might have been pacified by judicious management, but Dunmore and his agents appeared bent on war. Doctor Connolly, whom the governor had appointed magistrate of Augusta county, on the frontier, was among the most active in keeping the flame alive. In the spring of 1774, he informed Colonel Cresap, a leader among the pioneers, that war was inevitable. Cresap assembled the people late in April, and made a solemn declaration of hostilities. Some skirmishes ensued, much bad feeling was engendered, and a general Indian war was apprehended.

A little later there was a scene of blood at the cabin of a man who sold rum, on the bank of the Ohio opposite the dwelling of Logan, a celebrated Mingo chief, which heightened the increasing exasperation of the Indians. Some of Logan's people, in his absence, determined to go over and treacherously murder the family of the runseller, in revenge for the shooting of two Indians a little while before. The white people were forewarned, and were consequently forearmed. The Indians went over, drank freely, became intoxicated, and were all slain. Logan's mother, brother, and sister, were among the fallen. The vengeance of the chief was aroused, and during nearly all of that summer Logan was out upon the war-path.

Early in August Dunmore took the field in person, with a force of three thousand men. The chief rendezvous of the Indians was then on the Sciota, in the present Pickaway county, Ohio. The Virginians marched in two divisions, one under Colonel Andrew Lewis, and the other was led by Dunmore himself. Lewis's division struck the Great Kanawha and followed that stream to the Ohio at Point Pleasant; the other passed through the mountains of the Potomac gap, and reached the Ohio above Wheeling. It was now October, and at Point Pleasant, Lewis halted to be joined by Dunmore, and there he cast up intrenchments. Dunmore came not, but the foe did, stealthily and swiftly from the Pickaway plains, a

thousand strong, under the great chief Cornstalk. Within an hour after the Virginia scouts discovered the van of the savages, a terrible battle was in progress. For hours the combatants swayed to and fro, and the voice of the gigantic Cornstalk was constantly heard crying, "Be strong! be strong!" Night came on. Half of the Virginia officers and more than fifty privates were slain. In the darkness the Indians, who had suffered far greater loss, fled.

On the following day a summons from Dunmore called Lewis and his broken army away toward the Shawnee towns on the Sciota. They pressed forward and joined the governor in time and in numbers to have struck an exterminating blow. But Dunmore, so ready for war in the spring, was now more ready for peace. The Indians, perceiving the destruction of their towns to be inevitable, had sent an infamous white man, the companion of the notorious Girty and M'Kee, white savages on the frontier, with a flag of truce to Dunmore, and he had consented to treat. The Virginians, full five-and-twenty hundred strong, were eager to crush the foe that had so long disturbed the peace of the province, and they almost mutinied when the governor opened the treaty council.

Cornstalk was the chief speaker of the savages on that occasion, while Logan, who then sat in sullen silence at old Chillicothe, disdained to meet the white man in council, but by John Gibson, the temporary husband of his murdered sister, who was commissioned to invite him thither, he sent a memorable speech: "I appeal," he said, "to any white man, to say whether, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him no meat? if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not? During the last long and bloody war Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the friend of the white man.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relatives of Logan,* not even sparing women and

* Justice to the memory of Michael Cresap, a brave, honorable, and humane man, demands an explanation here. Cresap was importuned by the pioneers he had assembled, to be allowed to fall

children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge! I have sought it; I have killed many; I have fully glutted my vengeance! For my people, I rejoice at the beams of peace; but do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear—Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life! Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one!"

The conduct of Governor Dunmore during that campaign has been differently construed by different writers. It is generally believed by the best informed, that he was, even at that time, in secret friendly intercourse with the Indian chiefs in the Ohio country, through Girty, McKee, Elliot, Connolly, and other white men, for it is well known that he employed Connolly, the following summer, in exciting the Indians to fall upon the white settlements on the frontiers of the province, hoping, thereby, to weaken the power and resources of the people, then engaged in their struggle for independence. There seems to be ample testimony to give color to the suspicion, that Dunmore arranged the campaign in 1774, in such a way, that the whole Indian force should fall upon and annihilate Lewis's detachment, and thus break down the spirit of the Virginians, then so high in vindication of their rights.

The fact that the great body of the Indians left their towns to attack Colonel Lewis at Point Pleasant, while Dunmore, with a force equally strong, was approaching them in another direction, together with the eagerness displayed by his lordship to treat with the Indians rather than chastise them, made suspicions of the treach-

upon the settlement of Logan, but he would not listen to it, and the project was abandoned. At the time of the massacre, Cresap was with his family in Maryland, and had no knowledge of the matter until some time afterward. As Cresap commanded the pioneers in the spring of 1774, and as the massacre was perpetrated by some of those people, Logan held him responsible. Soon after that event, Logan made a white prisoner in his hands write the following note, with ink made of gunpowder and water: "Captain Cresap.—What did you kill my people on Yellow creek for? The white people killed my kin at Conestoga, a great while ago, and I thought nothing of that. But you killed my kin again on Yellow creek, and took my cousin prisoner. Then I thought I must kill too; and I have been three times to war since. But the Indians are not angry—only myself."

"CAPT. JOHN LOGAN."

This was dated, "July 21, 1774." It was attached to a war-club, and left in the house of a man whose whole family had been murdered by the savages.—See the Discourse of Brantz Mayer, Esq., on LOGAN, before the Maryland Historical Society, in May, 1851.

ery of the governor rife in the camp, at the time of the treaty. Sharp words passed between him and the indignant Lewis, before the assembling of the council; and at the conclusion of the treaty, and while the army was on its return to Virginia, early in November, the officers held a meeting at Fort Gower, at the mouth of the Hocking, for the purpose of "considering the grievances of British America." The proceedings of that meeting offended the governor, notwithstanding they passed a resolution quite complimentary to him, and declared their loyal attachment to their sovereign, because they also resolved to "maintain the just rights of the Americans by every means in their power." Both parties returned home dissatisfied.

These events were chief topics for conversation when Washington arrived at Mount Vernon, and his sagacious mind comprehended the dangers and necessities of his beloved Virginia, at that time, with such a man as Dunmore in power. This perception made him more ready to give his time and efforts to the service of his people, and these were lavished by him with unsparing liberality whenever occasion required. Even the earnest entreaties of a friend—a dying friend—who wished him to become guardian of his only son, were listened to with reluctance, and his prayer was almost denied, because of the calls of public business which interfered so much with Washington's private concerns. To this request he answered on the thirteenth of January, 1775: "What with my own business, my present ward's [Mr. Custis], my mother's, which is wholly in my hands,* Colonel Colvell's, Mr. Savage's, Colonel Fairfax's, Colonel Mercer's, and the little assistance I have undertaken to give in the management of my brother Augustine's concerns (for I have absolutely refused to qualify as an executor), together with the share I take in public affairs, I have been kept constantly engaged in writing letters, settling accounts, and negotiating one piece of business or another; by which means I have really been deprived of every kind of enjoyment."† This sentence is full of

* Washington's mother then resided at Fredericksburg, and she was becoming quite enfeebled by age and disease.

† Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington*, ii., 403

significance in forming an estimate of the business character of Washington.

On Wednesday, the twentieth of March, 1775, the second Virginia convention assembled in old St. John's church, on Richmond Hill, in Richmond. Washington was a member of that convention, and was there promptly at the appointed time. He lodged with Samuel Ege, at his stone house on Main street, the first dwelling erected in the place; and on the morning of the meeting, he walked up to the old fane with Peyton Randolph and Richard Henry Lee. It was a soft, balmy morning. The trees and shrubbery were in full foliage, and the air was sweet with the perfumes of the early flowers. Here and there were seen groups of grave men, just before the hour for assembling, sauntering among the tombstones, thoughtful and serious, talking low and earnestly, for they had a great work before them. Their thoughts were of their country, its present trials and its future destiny. The glorious view from that eminence, overlooking the fields and forests of Henrico and Chesterfield for many a league, arrested not their attention. Then the now flourishing city which is spread over several hills, was a germ at their feet—a little village of two or three hundred inhabitants. Shockoe hill on which the stately capitol, and Crawford's proud monument to the memory of Washington, and the elegant dwellings of the modern town, now stand, was then covered with the primeval forest, or green fields made beautiful by the tiller's hand; and the leaping cascades of the James river were undisturbed in their courses by mill-races or bridges.

When the convention was organized, there was evidently much conservative hesitation in the whole body. They all felt that a fearful storm was gathering, but were perplexed to know how to meet it the most efficiently. They proceeded first to express unqualified approbation of the acts of the continental Congress, and applauded the wisdom and patriotism of its members. Then they complimented the deputies from Virginia, in the general Congress, who were appointed by a former convention, by a vote of thanks, "for their cheerful undertaking, and faithful discharge of

the very important trust reposed in them." Three days passed away, and very little of the business for which they had assembled was even entered upon.

The morning of the twenty-third was lowery, and at ten o'clock the rain fell copiously, yet every member was in his seat. A memorial from the assembly of Jamaica, "to the king's most excellent majesty," was read, and thanks were voted to "that very respectable assembly," for its patriotic course. All this while, Patrick Henry, who represented Hanover, and had said little, was restless and impatient. The proceedings were altogether too tame and temporizing for his bold spirit, and after an earnest consultation with Richard Henry Lee, he arose and offered the following resolutions:—

1. "That a well-regulated militia, composed of gentlemen and yeomen, is the natural strength and only security of a free government; that such a militia in this colony would for ever render it unnecessary for the mother-country to keep among us, for the purpose of our defence, any standing army of mercenary soldiers, always subversive of the quiet, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, and would alleviate the pretext of taxing us for their support.

2. "That the establishment of such a militia is, *at this time*, peculiarly necessary, by the state of our laws for the protection and defence of the country, some of which are already expired, and others will shortly be so; and that the known remissness of government in calling us together, in legislative capacity, renders it too insecure, in this time of danger and distress, to rely upon, that opportunity will be given of renewing them, in general assembly, or making any provision to secure our inestimable rights and liberties from those further violations with which they are threatened.

3. "*Resolved, therefore*, That this colony be immediately put into a state of defence, and that ——— be a committee to prepare a plan for the embodying, arming, and disciplining, such a number of men as may be sufficient for that purpose."

These resolutions, like others from the same pen, that were

offered in the Virginia house of burgesses, ten years before, alarmed even the stoutest patriots, for they breathed of civil war; and such tried men as Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton, and Robert C. Nicholas, stanch and unyielding friends of liberty, opposed them as rash in policy, and ungenerous in feeling. They yet hoped for reconciliation with Great Britain, and were unwilling to do aught to extinguish that hope, while its entertainment was reasonable. They insisted upon a longer display of dignified patience, believing that already a change in the public feeling in England, in favor of the Americans, was working out the final deliverance of the colonies from their complained-of oppressions. They pointed to the puissance of Britain and the weakness of the colonies, and painted, in dark colors, the miseries into which a war with the mother-country would plunge all America. "Are we ready for war?" they asked. "Where are our stores—where are our arms—where our soldiers—where our generals—where our money, the sinews of war? They are nowhere to be found. In truth, we are poor, we are naked, we are defenceless," they continued. "Yet we talk of assuming the front of war! of assuming it, too, against a nation, one of the most formidable in the world; a nation ready and armed at all points; her navies riding triumphant on every sea, her armies never marching but to certain victory! What is to be the issue of the struggle we are called upon to court? What *can* be the issue, in the comparative circumstances of the two countries, but to yield up *this country* an easy prey to Great Britain, and to convert the illegitimate right which the British Parliament now claims, into a firm and indubitable right, *by conquest*? The measure may be brave, but is the bravery of madmen. It has no pretension to the character of prudence, and as little to the grace of genuine courage. It will be time enough to resort to measures of *despair*, when every well-founded *hope* has entirely vanished."*

Every appearance, at that time, justified these remarks, but they had no other effect upon Henry, than to arouse his spirit to loftier

* Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry.

action. He arose with unusual dignity, and with a soft, subdued voice, said, that no man thought more highly than he did of the patriotism, as well as of the abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who had just addressed the house. He then went on to say, that different persons views things differently, and as his opinions were contrary to theirs, he should speak his sentiments freely and without reserve. It was no time for ceremony. The question was one of awful moment to the country. To him it seemed a question of freedom or slavery. Should he keep back his opinions, at such a time, through fear of giving offence, he should consider himself as guilty of treason toward his country, and as an act of disloyalty toward the Majesty of Heaven, which he revered before all earthly kings.

"Mr. President," he continued, as his voice arose with the kindling of his higher emotions, "it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren, till she transforms us into beasts.".... "He had," he said, "but one lamp by which his feet were to be guided, and that was the lamp of experience." Then referring to the apparently gracious manner with which the king had received the petition of the continental Congress, to which the other speakers had alluded, he exclaimed: "Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed by a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called in to win us back to our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir! These are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask, gentlemen, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Has Great Britain any enemy in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of armies and navies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British

ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying argument for the last ten years.... We have petitioned; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned with contempt from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of reconciliation. *There is no longer any room for hope.* If we wish to be free; if we wish to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending; if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained, **WE MUST FIGHT!** I repeat it, sir, **WE MUST FIGHT!*** An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us.

"They tell us, sir, that we are weak—unable to cope with so formidable an enemy. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be next week, or next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are *not* weak, if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of

* These words were used by Major Joseph Hawley, four months before, in a letter to John Adams, in which he sent a paper that he had drawn up, called, "Broken Hints to be communicated to the Committee of Congress for Massachusetts." These "Hints" commenced with the words, "*We must fight*, if we can not otherwise rid ourselves of British taxation," &c. John Adams communicated this paper to H. Niles, editor of the "Weekly Register," in 1819, with these words: "This is the original paper that I read to Patrick Henry, in the fall of the year 1774, which produced his rapturous burst of approbation, and solemn asseveration, '*I am of that mind.*'"—See Niles's "Principles and Acts of the Revolution," page 324. The editor of the "Life and Works of John Adams," ix., 343, says of Hawley, "Of this remarkable man, it is to be regretted that so few traces remain. Even under the pen of an enemy like Hutchinson, his character shines like burnished gold."

Liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. And again, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest.* There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! *The war is inevitable!* and let it come!! I repeat it, sir, *let it come!!!*

It is vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace; but there is no peace! The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms!† Our brethren are already in the field! What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me," he cried, with both arms extended aloft, his brow knit, every feature marked with the resolute purpose of his soul, and with his voice swelled to its loudest note, "GIVE ME LIBERTY, OR GIVE ME DEATH!!!"‡

The effect of this speech, especially of its peroration, was too deep to allow of a murmur of applause. In a few moments Richard Henry Lee arose, and with his polished eloquence, ably supported Mr. Henry's resolutions, quoting, in conclusion, the line—

"Thrice armed is he, who has his quarrel just."

But his words were almost lost in the echo of those of Patrick Henry. "The cry *To arms!*" says Mr. Wirt, "seemed to quiver on every lip. That supernatural voice still sounded in their ears, and

* The boldness of Mr. Henry on this occasion caused his name, with those of Samuel and John Adams, John Hancock, Thomas Jefferson, Peyton Randolph, and others, to be presented to the British government in a bill of attainder.

† This prediction was speedily fulfilled; for almost "the next gale from the North" conveyed the boom of the signal gun of freedom at Lexington

‡ Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry.

shivered along their arteries. They heard in every pause, the cry of *Liberty or Death!* They became impatient of speech. Their souls were on fire for action."

Mr. Henry's resolutions were adopted, and a committee of twelve was appointed to prepare a plan, pursuant to the recommendation of the third one.* The convention then proceeded to elect delegates to the second continental Congress, to assemble at Philadelphia in May.† On the final adjournment of the assembly, on the twenty-fifth, Richard Henry Lee, while taking leave of two of his colleagues in the vestibule of the church, wrote, with a pencil, the following lines from "*Macbeth*" upon the doorway:—

"When shall we three meet again,
In thunder, lightning, or in rain?
When the hurly-burly's done,
When the battle's lost and won!"

The members of the Virginia convention left Richmond full of zeal in the cause of freedom, and firmly resolved to draw the sword, if necessary. On the day of the adjournment, and before leaving for home, Washington wrote to his brother, John Augustine, commending him for his services in training an independent company, and offering to command it, "if occasion require it to be drawn out." A company at Richmond had also tendered the command of themselves to Washington in such an event, and he had agreed to review them. No doubt he felt a full assurance at that time, that the occasion was certain and near; and he closed his letter to his brother with the significant words, "It is my full intention to devote my life and fortune in the cause we are engaged in, if needful."‡

* Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Robert C. Nicholas, Benjamin Harrison, Lemuel Riddick, George Washington, Adam Stephen, Andrew Lewis, William Christian, Edmund Pendleton, Thomas Jefferson, and Isaac Zane, were appointed.

† Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Edmund Pendleton, Benjamin Harrison, and Richard Bland, were chosen.

‡ Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington*, ii., 404

CHAPTER XLIV.

TARDY INTERCOMMUNICATION—REBELLIOUS MOVEMENTS IN NEW ENGLAND—THE NEW PARLIAMENT AND THE MINISTRY—EFFORTS OF FRANKLIN AND OTHERS—COUNTER-EFFORTS OF DOCTOR ROEBUCK—OPPOSING PETITIONS—CARICATURES—DEAN TUCKER'S PROPOSITION—CONDUCT OF THE MINISTRY—CHATHAM AND FRANKLIN—CHATHAM'S PROPOSITION AND GREAT SPEECH—THEIR EFFECT—REJECTION OF THE PROPOSITION—CHATHAM'S CONCILIATORY PLAN—ITS FATE—VOTES OF THANKS—COERCIVE MEASURES PROPOSED—PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT IN RELATION TO THESE MEASURES—NORTH'S CONCILIATORY SCHEME.

IN the days we are now considering, ships were comparatively slow sailers, and a voyage between America and Europe generally occupied several weeks. Cause and effect in the political relations of Great Britain and her colonies were thus placed distant from each other, and in the interim, events occurred which materially changed the aspect of questions in their bearing upon existing circumstances. While intelligence of an act of Parliament was coming slowly over the sea, the colonies might be making progress in measures which would render that act inapplicable to their changed position; and criminations and explanations, passing each other in mid-ocean, produced misunderstandings at each point of departure. It was this confusion, wrought by distance, more than anything else aside from the principles involved, that kept open the breach between the government and the colonists.

In November, 1774, before the dignified measures and respectful remonstrances and petitions of the continental Congress reached England, the new Parliament had taken action in relation to the colonies, which produced great indignation in America. This was followed by a proclamation of the king, prohibiting the exportation, from Great Britain to her colonies, of arms and military stores. No sooner was this mandate known, than the colonists resolved to

secure such munitions of war as were within their reach. The inhabitants of Rhode Island took the first step in that direction. They immediately seized upon and removed from the batteries at Newport, forty-four pieces of cannon, and conveyed them to Providence ; and Governor Wanton bluntly told Sir James Wallace, who came to cruise in Narraganset bay, and who questioned him concerning the matter, that they were taken away to prevent their falling into his hands, and to be used in self-defence when the people should be molested by British officials. Soon afterward, in mid-December, Paul Revere, the patriotic engraver and mechanic of Boston, inflamed some of the inhabitants of New Hampshire by recitals of the wrongs inflicted by Gage, and the necessity of preparing for war ; and four hundred of them, led by John Sullivan, who was to be a major-general in the Revolution, and John Langdon, a principal merchant in Portsmouth, they proceeded to take possession of the fort at that place, which was guarded by less than half a dozen men. Captain Cochrane, the commander of the little garrison, fired a three-pounder and some small arms at the insurgents. But Cochrane and his men were speedily made prisoners, and while they were kept in custody, the patriots carried off, in boats, one hundred barrels of powder, some cannon, and small arms. The royal governor, Wentworth, was incensed by this high-handed measure ; and Secretary Atkinson, who was the personal friend of Langdon, said to him, "Your head will be a button for a gallows-rope," and advised him to flee from the country. The people assured Langdon of the protection of their strong arms, and he remained, to become a member of the continental Congress, the speaker of the New Hampshire provincial assembly, and with associate legislators to fight for his country, as a volunteer, upon the heights of Saratoga. These movements of the people were soon imitated by the representatives of royalty in America, as we shall observe presently.

Many conservative patriots, among whom Washington may be ranked, earnestly wishing for reconciliation with Great Britain, but not with any genuine hope, had looked with intense interest for the

result of the general election for members of Parliament in the autumn of 1774, and to the effect which the acts of the continental Congress would have upon the king and that body. That result did not foreshadow any good for the colonists, for Lord North and his colleagues found themselves supported by an overwhelming majority in the house of commons. The king, too, had resolved to bring the colonies into unconditional submission to the imperial government; and the attitude of rebellion which the inhabitants in some of the provinces had assumed, had seriously prejudiced the people of England against the Americans, toward the close of 1774.

Meanwhile, the able papers put forth by the continental Congress had arrived in Britain, and produced a profound impression upon the public mind. Doctor Franklin and other colonial agents at court, were exceedingly active in giving general circulation to those papers, through the gazettes and otherwise, especially the "Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain." These, assisted by other friends of the Americans (some of them members of Parliament), traversed all of the manufacturing towns of the north of England,* and by personal communications, enlightened the inhabitants upon the great questions at issue. The ministry became alarmed, and at once made efforts to counteract this itinerant rebellion, before it should gain strength and permanency. Adam Smith, the political economist, and Wedderburne, the solicitor-general, who had recently abused Doctor Franklin before the privy council, persuaded the popular and eloquent Doctor Roebuck, of Birmingham, to follow in the wake of these missionaries of freedom, and, if possible, to undo the mischief, so called, which they might accomplish.

While Franklin and his associates had right and justice on their side, and the powerful advocacy of self-interest to sustain them, Doctor Roebuck had the strength of the entire government—king, lords, and commons—to aid his efforts. In the American Association, that powerful instrument forged by the continental Congress,

* The manufacturers of these districts were chiefly dissenters, and viewing the established Church somewhat in the light of an oppressor, their loyalty was quite as weak as any portion of the population of England.

the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain saw a menace of commercial ruin to themselves, and they acted promptly. In this, self-interest was the prime motive. Strong but respectful petitions in favor of conciliatory measures toward the Americans, were consequently sent in to Parliament from the dissenting manufacturers; and equally strong petitions went from London, Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, Norwich, Birmingham, Glasgow, and other cities, in which the great detriment to business from the troubled state of American affairs, was glowingly portrayed, and Parliament was earnestly implored to re-establish pacific relations with the colonies. Doctor Roebuck, by the employment of menace, duplicity, and sophistry, also procured some petitions, adverse to the others, and while the former were referred to an inactive committee, aptly styled by Burke, "the committee of oblivion," these were all presented at once, without reference, and were acted upon and treated with the greatest consideration, as "the voice of the people."

Never, in the history of constitutional legislation, was there given an instance of more flagrant disregard of the voice of the people than in this, and it excited great clamor. Writers of every degree, in the gazettes, in pamphlets, and in broadside placards, engaged in the discussions that arose; and the sharp pencil of caricature in the hands of art, embodied in *magic* lines the prevailing spirit of the people. Satire, too, sometimes humorous and sometimes severe, sent its shafts right and left. The ministry formed the chief target, but the king did not escape without many severe punctures. While one caricature represented Lord North as "blustering Boreas," eying the distant colonies through his glass, and showing his ignorance of the difficulties with which he had to contend by the flippant and vaunting threat, "I promise to reduce the Americans in three months;"* another represented the not very intellectual features of his majesty, as a figure-head to "the Whitehall pump," from which North was ejecting cold water upon prostrate Britannia and

* See Wright's "England under the House of Hanover, illustrated from Caricatures and Satires of the Day," ii. 24

her daughter, America, to his apparent delight. But of all the writers and speakers of that time, only Dean Tucker, a famous pamphleteer, had the hardihood and the manly wisdom to propose a peaceful separation of the colonies from the parent government. He proposed that Parliament, by solemn act, should declare that the colonies had forfeited all the privileges of British subjects, by sea and land, and that they should be cut off from the British empire, and disallowed any application for the restoration of those rights and privileges, until, by humble petition, they should ask for pardon and reinstatement.* Had this pacific course been pursued, the independence of the United States might have been achieved without the fearful expenditure of life and treasure which it cost. Blind as moles, the ministry also shut their ears to the voice of entreaty and the menaces of desperation. The haughty contempt with which the prayers of the merchants and manufacturers, joined with those of the colonists, were treated at that time, can be accounted for only by supposing, that the loyal bearing of the New York assembly gave ministers encouraging hope that the other provinces were on the point of bowing submissively to the authority of Parliament.

On the nineteenth of January, 1775, Parliament reassembled. It had adjourned, for the Christmas holydays, early in December. Meanwhile positive information concerning the proceedings of the Congress had been received; and the earl of Chatham, as we have seen, full of zeal for the Americans, was in his place. He had written to his wife, in London, on the sixteenth, asking her for positive information whether the house of lords would meet on a certain day, saying: "I fear jockeyship, am resolved to be there on the first day of meeting, and wish you would tell Lord Stanhope that I shall propose something relative to America on the first day;

* Josiah Tucker was the son of Abraham Tucker, an English squire; but instead of enjoying the pleasures of the chase and other amusements, he studied metaphysics at his father's country-seat, and became a celebrated divine. Under the fictitious name of Edward Search, he published a work entitled, "The Light of Nature pursued," which has been pronounced by the best critics, the most original work of its kind, ever produced. It was in nine octavo volumes. Mr. Tucker was afterward made dean of Gloucester, and became a famous pamphleteer at the time of our war for independence.

which purpose I wish to have generally known and propagated, as early as may be.”* Two days afterward Lady Chatham replied: “I think it important that you should know what infinite pains are taken to circulate an authoritative report, that you are *determined* to give yourself *no* trouble upon American affairs, and that, for certain, you do not mean to come to town.”† She told him that this rumor had given his friends great uneasiness; and the countess herself was much distressed. On the same day Chatham replied: “For God’s sake, sweet life, don’t disquiet yourself about the impudent and ridiculous lie of the hour. The plot does lie very deep. It is only a pitiful device of fear; court fear, and faction fear. If gout does not put in a veto, which I trust in Heaven it will not, I will be in the house of lords on Friday, then and there to make a motion relative to America. Be of good cheer, noble love—

“Yes, I am proud—I must be proud—to see,
Men, not afraid of God, afraid of me.”‡

On the following morning he wrote to Lord Stanhope: “I mean to-morrow, to touch only the threshold of American business, and knock at the minister’s door to wake him, as well as show I attend to America. I shall move for an address, to send orders immediately for removing the forces from the town of Boston as soon as practicable.... I greatly wish Doctor Franklin may be in the house, if the house is open to others than members of Parliament.”§ Immediately after the receipt of this, Stanhope sent a note to Franklin, acquainting him with the expressed desire of Chatham. Accordingly, at an appointed hour the next day, Franklin met Chatham in the lobby of the house, when the latter took him by the arm, saying, “I am sure your presence at this day’s debate, will be of more service to America than mine.” The earl then approached the doorkeeper, and said, in a loud voice, “This is Doctor Franklin, whom I would have admitted into the house.” The door was readily opened; and this public proclamation of communications between the eminent English statesman and American sage

* Correspondence of the earl of Chatham, iv., 369.

† Ibid. iv., 370.

‡ Ibid. iv., 371

occasioned much remark. "The appearance of Chatham in the house," said Doctor Franklin, "caused a kind of bustle among the officers, who were hurried in sending messengers for members, I suppose those in connection with the ministry, something of importance being expected when that great man appears; it being but seldom that his infirmities permit his attendance."

Chatham opened the proceedings by first noticing the fact, that Lord North had laid before both houses of Parliament, the day before, a great mass of documents received from the colonial governors, together with the proceedings of the American Congress, in detail, and then proposed, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to desire and beseech that, in order to open the way toward a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities there; and, above all, for preventing, in the meantime, any sudden and fatal catastrophe at Boston, now suffering under the daily irritation of an army before their eyes, posted in their town, it may graciously please his majesty, that immediate orders be despatched to General Gage, for removing his majesty's forces from the town of Boston, as soon as the rigor of the season, and other circumstances indispensable to the safety and accommodation of the said troops, may render the same practicable."

This proposition was advocated by the earl, in a speech of over an hour in length, of great power, and such, according to some who heard it, as never before fell from his lips. "I wish, my lords," he said, "not to lose a day in this urgent, pressing crisis. An hour now lost may produce years of calamity. For my part, I will not desert, for a single moment, the conduct of this weighty business, from the first to the last; unless nailed to my bed by the extremity of sickness I will give it unremitted attention; I will knock at the door of this sleeping and confounded ministry, and will rouse them to a sense of their impending danger. When I state the importance of the colonies to this country, and the magnitude of danger from the present plan of misadministration practised against them, I desire not to be understood to argue for a reciprocity of indulgence

between England and America. I contend not for indulgence, but justice for America; and I shall ever contend, that the Americans justly owe obedience to us in a limited degree."

After stating the bases on which the supremacy of Parliament was justly predicated, the great orator continued: "Resistance to your acts was as necessary as it was just; and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of Parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally impotent to convince, or to enslave your fellow-subjects in America, who feel that tyranny, whether ambitioned by an individual part of the legislature, or the bodies who composed it, is equally intolerable to British subjects." He then drew a picture of the condition of the troops in Boston, suffering from the inclemencies of winter, despised and insulted by the inhabitants, wasting with sickness, and pining for action, and pronounced them, "an army of impotence and contempt; and, to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation and vexation." Then, with bitter scorn, he said, "I find a report creeping abroad, that ministers censure General Gage's inactivity: let *them* censure him—it becomes them—it becomes their *justice* and *honor*. I mean not to censure his inactivity; it is a prudent and necessary inaction. But it is a miserable condition, where disgrace is prudence, and where it is necessary to be contemptible."

"But our ministers say," he continued, "the Americans must not be heard. They have been condemned unheard. The indiscriminate hand of vengeance has lumped together innocent and guilty; with all the formalities of law, has blocked up the town of Boston, and reduced to beggary and famine thirty thousand inhabitants. But his majesty is advised, that the union in America can not last! Ministers have more eyes than I, and ought to have more ears; but with all the information I have been able to procure, I can pronounce it an union, solid, permanent, and effectual. If illegal violences have been, as it is said, committed in America, prepare the way, open the door of possibility for acknowledgment and satisfaction. But proceed not to such coercion, such proscription; cease

your indiscriminate inflictions; amerce not thirty thousand; oppress not three millions for the fault of forty individuals. Such severity of injustice must for ever render incurable the wounds you have already given your colonies. You irritate them to unappeasable rancor. What though you march from town to town, and from province to province; though you should be able to enforce a temporary and local submission, which I only suppose, not admit—how shall you be able to secure the obedience of the country you leave behind you in your progress, to grasp the dominion of eighteen hundred miles of continent, populous in numbers, possessing valor, liberty, and resistance?.... The spirit which now resists your taxation in America, is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and ship-money, in England; the same spirit which called all England on its legs, and by the bill of rights vindicated the English constitution: the same spirit which established the great fundamental, essential maxim of your liberties, *that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent*. This glorious spirit animates three millions in America, who prefer poverty with liberty, to gilded chains and sordid affluence, and who will die in defence of their rights as men, as freemen."

After speaking of the members of the continental Congress and their acts, in those noble words that we have quoted in a former chapter, the earl continued: "I trust it is obvious to your lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be fatal. We shall be forced ultimately to retract; let us retract while we *can*, not when we *must*." "To conclude, my lords," he said, "if the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the king, I will not say that they *can* alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown; but I will affirm, that *they will make the crown not worth his wearing*. I will not say that the king is betrayed; but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone."*

Such are some of the most salient points in that great speech—a speech which had not the desired effect upon the obdurate house

* Boyd's Report, published by Dodsley, in 1779

of lords, but caused a profound sensation out of doors. Referring to it, in a letter to Lord Stanhope, Franklin said he had seen, in the course of his life, sometimes eloquence without wisdom, and often wisdom without eloquence; but, in the present instance, he had seen both united, and both, as he thought, in the highest degree possible. The ministry felt it keenly. They "were violent beyond expectation, almost to madness. Instead of recalling the troops now there, they talked of sending more."*

Chatham was ably supported by Lords Shelburne, Camden, Rockingham, and Richmond. They were answered by Lord Suffolk, in a weak speech, and by others; and when the vote was taken on Chatham's proposition for an address, it was rejected by sixty-eight to eighteen. But the earl was not discouraged by defeat. He was superior to such emotions, and on the first of February, he presented a bill containing a plan, which he had submitted to Doctor Franklin, for the settlement of troubles in America.† It proposed to renounce the power of taxation, but to call upon Congress to acknowledge the supreme legislative power of Great Britain, and invite them to make a free grant of a certain annual revenue to be employed in meeting the charge on the national debt. This being effected, it proposed an immediate repeal of the ten obnoxious acts,‡ of which the colonists complained. This proposition was received with great coldness, and hardly obtained a superficial examination of its merits. Lord Dartmouth, the colonial secretary,

* William Pitt (son of the earl of Chatham), to his mother.

† Doctor Franklin, in his "Memoirs," has given an interesting account of his interview with Chatham, at his country-seat, at Hayes. He gave Franklin an outline of his plan, and read portions of it to him. He told the sage, that though he had studied and considered the American business thoroughly, in all its parts, he was not so confident of his own judgment; but that he came to set it right by his, "as men set their watches by a regulator." The fact that Franklin had been at Hayes, at that time, leaked out, and in the course of the debate upon the plan, the earl of Sandwich insinuated that it was not the mind and hand of Chatham, but of Doctor Franklin that had conceived and framed it. In reply to this insinuation, Chatham complimented Franklin very highly, as "one, he was pleased to say, whom all Europe held in high estimation, for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranked with our Boyles and Newtons; who was an honor, not to the English nation only, but to human nature!"

‡ These were the Sugar Act, the two Quartering Acts, the Tea Act, the Act suspending the New York Legislature, the two Acts for the Trial in Great Britain of Offences committed in America, the Boston Port-Bill, the Act for regulating the General Government of Massachusetts, and the Quebec Act

moved to lay it upon the table, but the proposition was condemned by other members. After a warm debate, during which the earl of Sandwich, a violent partisan of the crown, moved the "rejection of the bill, now and for ever," it was negatived by sixty-one against thirty-two. Such a hurried rejection of a plan so wise and conciliatory, and arranged by one so capable and exalted—a noble servant of his country in the hour of its greatest need—afterward drew from Lord Camden, the most bitter reproaches. "Obliterate the transaction from your records," he said; "let not posterity know it." And the thinking men—the wise and practical men of England—warmly thanked the earl of Chatham for proffering this olive-branch to ministerial hands, that they might hold it out to the colonists. The corporation of London honored him with a vote of thanks, and a similar compliment was bestowed upon his colleagues who supported him. The plan had the hearty approval of Franklin, and he sent forth an address to the people of England, and to his own countrymen, in which he portrayed the wickedness of rejecting this plan of reconciliation, the only one that had been offered for years.

But these things had no effect upon the king and his advisers, except to make them more stubborn or stupid. Governed by the ethics of the lion (without his magnanimity), "might makes right," the ministry followed their foolish rejection of the pacification plan, by proposing measures tantamount to an actual declaration of war upon the American colonists, as rebels.

On the twenty-ninth of January, Franklin, Bollan, and Lee, colonial agents in England, had presented a petition, praying to be examined at the bar of the house of commons, in support of the demands of the general Congress. Their prayer was denied, on the plea that such permission would appear like a sanction of the acts of an illegal body, as ministers denominated Congress; and on the second of February, Lord North proposed the first of a series of measures, designed to coerce the colonies into passive obedience. He moved in the commons, in committee of the whole, for an address to the king, thanking him for the presentation of the numerous documents

from America; affirming that the province of Massachusetts had been, and was, in a state of rebellion; that the house was resolved never to relinquish any part of the sovereign authority; and professing their readiness to listen to petitions and redress grievances, when the subjects were brought before them in a dutiful and constitutional manner. They also urged his majesty to take effectual measures for enforcing obedience to the laws; and then followed the usual resolution to support him with their "lives and fortunes."

In his speech on the proposed address, Lord North distinctly foreshadowed the nature of the coercive measures which ministers, in council, had determined to enforce. A part of the scheme was to materially increase the military force in America, and to restrain the entire commerce of New England, with Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, and the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, until the colonists should become dutiful according to prescription. Charles James Fox, a young and eloquent member of the house of commons, who had been dismissed from office, and was now one of the most dangerous opponents of government, moved an amendment, censuring the ministry, and praying for their removal. Dunning denied the existence of rebellion in the colonies, and was ably answered by the great Thurlow. Others engaged in the debate, and it became very stormy. Fox's amendment was rejected by a large majority, and North's original motion for an address was carried by an equally large vote.

When, on the sixteenth of February, the address was reported by a committee appointed to prepare it, there was another warm debate, in which John Wilkes, editor of the "North Briton," who had given the government a world of trouble during a portion of the first eight years of the reign of George the Third, took a conspicuous part in favor of the Americans. He declared that a proper resistance to wrong was *revolution*, not *rebellion*, and intimated, prophetically, that if the Americans should be successful in the impending struggle, they might, in after-times, celebrate the revolution of 1775, as the English did that of 1688. Earnest recommendations to pursue milder measures were offered by the opposi-

tion, but without effect. The ministry refused to modify a single harsh feature of the proposition, which was, in fact, an extension of the penalties of the Boston port-bill from one city to four provinces, and the address, as reported, was carried by a large majority—nearly four to one.

The king, in reply to the address, assured Parliament that he would take the most speedy and effectual measures to secure obedience to the laws; that he was ready to extend just and reasonable indulgence to any truly repenting colony; and concluded with an expressed wish that the disposition which he manifested would have a good effect upon the temper and conduct of the Americans. The king also sent a message to the commons, informing them that it would be necessary to augment the naval and military forces in America, in order to enable them to act in accordance with the spirit of their address.

A violent debate arose on the reception of these documents; and it was finally voted, that two thousand additional seamen, and fourteen hundred soldiers, should be sent to America. Gibbon, the historian, who was then a member of the house of commons, wrote to his friend Sheffield, on that occasion: "We voted an address of lives and fortunes, declaring Massachusetts bay in a state of rebellion; more troops, but, I fear, not enough, go to America, to make an army of ten thousand men at Boston; three generals, Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton! In a few days we stop the ports of New England. I can not write volumes, but I am more and more convinced that, with firmness, all may go well, *yet I sometimes doubt.*"*

* Gibbon was a vacillating politician, and his parliamentary career did not entitle him to any laurels. Bailey, in his "Records of Patriotism and Love of Country," page 169, says, that Gibbon was very much disposed to take sides with the Americans; and at Brooke's Coffehouse, had publicly said, that "there was no salvation for England, unless six of the heads of the cabinet council were cut off, and laid upon the tables of the houses of Parliament as examples." Gibbon appears to have had his price, for within a fortnight after making this expression, he took office under that same cabinet council, with a liberal salary and promise of a pension, and became silent. This fact was the occasion of the following poem, attributed to the pen of Fox:—

"King George in a fright, lest Gibbon should write
The story of Britain's disgrace,
Thought no means more sure, his pen to secure,
Than to give the historian a place

On the tenth of February, Lord North, pursuant to the intimations in his speech on the motion for an address, brought forward a bill, which provided for the destruction of the entire trade of New England, and at one sweep of the pen of the king in signing it, to paralyze the operations of four hundred ships, two thousand fishing shallops, and twenty thousand seamen, then employed in the British fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland. The bill had a clause, excepting those individuals from the blow who should produce a certificate from their respective governors testifying to their general good conduct, and who should acknowledge the supremacy of the British Parliament. This, like similar measures, awakened a stormy debate. Ministers represented it as a just and wise punishment of the Americans for their rebellious proceedings, and only a fair retaliation of a similar course which Congress had adopted. The opposition denounced it as cruel, unjust, tyrannical, and unnecessary. The merchants of London presented an earnest remonstrance against it, because the people of New England were, at that time, indebted to them nearly five millions of dollars, nearly all of which must be lost in the event of such a blow to their trade and industry being given. But the stubborn king and ministry would listen to no softening propositions, and the venal Parliament adopted the bill, by a large majority in both houses.

At this juncture, fresh intelligence arrived from America, representing the general adhesion of the colonists to the continental Congress and its important measures; and another bill (the substance of which had been embodied in an amendment made by the house of lords and withdrawn), was speedily passed, for restraining all the other colonies from commercial operations, except the more loyal sisters, New York and North Carolina. On the thirtieth of March, both bills received the royal signature and became laws.

But his caution is vain, 't is the curse of his reign
That his projects should never succeed;
Though he write not a line, yet a cause of *decline*
In the author's example we read.
His book well describes, how corruption and bribes
Overthrew the great empire of Rome;
And his writings declare a degen'racy there,
Which his conduct exhibits at home."

While these restraining acts were under consideration, Lord North had astonished all parties, and "seemed for a time almost to dissolve his own," by bringing forward, on the twentieth of February, in committee of the whole house, what he called a conciliatory bill. It proposed, that when the proper authorities, in any colony, should offer, besides maintaining its own civil government, to raise a certain revenue and place it at the disposition of Parliament, it would be proper to forbear imposing any tax, except for the regulation of commerce. North made a long speech in favor of the proposition, to a very full house. "At first the court party looked at each other with amazement, and seemed at a loss in what light to consider the motion, and the prime-minister who made it."* Then that party opposed it, because it was too conciliatory, and the opposition were dissatisfied with it, because it proposed to abate but a single grievance, and was not specific. "It is a mere verbiage, a most puerile mockery," wrote the earl of Chatham, who was confined with gout at Hayes, "that will be spurned in America, as well as laughed at here by the friends of America, and by the unrelenting enemies of that noble country. Everything but justice and reason will, I am persuaded, prove vain to men like the Americans, with principles of right in their minds and hearts, and with arms in their hands to assert those principles."†

To his great astonishment, Lord North found himself in the midst of a cross-fire from both parties. "He was, in the beginning," wrote Chatham the next day, "like a man *exploded*, and the judgment of the house, during about two hours, was that his lordship was going to be in a considerable minority."‡ But he stood his ground well, and adroitly carried his proposition through. Although the minister acknowledged that his proposition was really a cheat, with a fair exterior, and was intended to sow divisions and dissensions in the councils of the colonists, heedless and ignorant members of Parliament gave it their support, and the bill was passed by the large majority of two hundred and seventy-four to

* "Pictorial History of England," reign of George the Third, i., 205.

† Chatham to Viscount Mahon (son of Lord Stanhope), February 20, 1775.

‡ Letter to the countess of Chatham, in "Chatham's Correspondence," iv., 403.

eighty-eight.* Colonel Barré, ever the stanch friend of the colonists, justly denounced the scheme in unmeasured terms, as low, shameful, abominable—an attempt to dissolve that generous union which made the Americans as one man in the defence of the rights of British subjects—a scheme to cause the colonists to reject a proffered conciliation, and thus to draw down upon their heads tenfold vengeance that should have the appearance of justice!

Two days afterward, Edmund Burke, who had eloquently opposed the scheme of Lord North, presented a series of thirteen conciliatory resolutions, and prefaced them with one of his most admired speeches. "The proposition," he said, "is peace. Not peace through the medium of war; not peace to be hunted through the labyrinth of intricate and endless negotiations; not peace to arise out of universal discord, fomented from principles, in all parts of the empire; not peace to depend on the periodical determination of perplexing questions, or the precise marking the shadowy boundaries of a complex government. It is simple peace; sought in its natural course, and in its ordinary haunts. It is peace, sought in the spirit of peace; and laid in principles purely pacific. I propose, by removing the ground of the difference, and by restoring the *former unsuspecting confidence of the colonies in the mother-country*, to give permanent satisfaction to your people; and (far from a scheme of ruling by discord) to reconcile them to each other in the same act, and by the bond of the very same interest which reconciles them to the British government. My idea is nothing more." Burke's efforts were of no avail. His resolutions were rejected by

* This proposition no doubt originated in the effect of Chatham's conciliatory plan, and the seeming willingness of Doctor Franklin to agree to some measure of mutual forbearance. To his surprise, Franklin, after the failure of Chatham's plan, received some indirect intimations that conciliatory measures were desired by the ministry. Several weeks before, he had been approached with questions, as to the real intentions and wishes of the Americans, while spending a portion of a day with Miss Howe, sister of Lord Howe, who hoped that he would be incautious and reveal some thing, while playing chess, drinking wine, and indulging in social pleasures. But he lost neither his wit nor his wisdom. Afterward Franklin had several interviews, at the house of that lady, with her brother, the admiral, who stood high in the confidence of the cabinet. Other friends of the ministry held several earnest conversations with Franklin on the subject of a paper of "Hints," which the diplomat had drawn up, tending to an adjustment of the difficulties. But it was found impossible to agree with him upon terms of accommodation, and Lord North, without previous notice, brought forward his plan, above mentioned.

a large vote. On the twenty-seventh, David Hartley presented a scheme similar to that of the earl of Chatham's. It was negatived without a division. The "lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery of London," urged by the merchants, who were smarting under the effects of the lash applied to the Americans, addressed the king in condemnation of the late measures toward the colonies. They were sternly rebuked by his majesty, who expressed his astonishment that any of his subjects should presume to be abettors of rebels.

It was now evident that the king, his ministers, and the Parliament, were bent on making the Americans abject slaves, or driving them into armed rebellion. The acts of Parliament, sanctioned, and made puissant by the signature of the king, proclaimed the colonists to be rebels, and fleets and armies were prepared to subjugate them. The colonists, united and firm, had planted their feet immoveably upon the solid rock of justice; and appealing to Heaven as witness of the purity of their intentions, and the righteousness of their cause, they banished all thoughts of reconciliation with Great Britain, because they saw no hope of such a consummation, with honor. For ten years they had complained of wrongs, petitioned for redress, and suffered insults. Forbearance was no longer a virtue; and when the buds began to burst in the spring of 1775, they turned their backs upon the unnatural mother, resolved to leave the roof of their childhood for ever, rather than remain bond-slaves in the household of British subjects.

CHAPTER XLV.

SECRET MINISTERIAL ORDERS—PROCEEDINGS IN CHARLESTON—FERMENT IN NEW ENGLAND—BRITISH BOASTERS—RESTIFFNESS OF THE COLONISTS—ARMED RESISTANCE AT SALEM—A FARCE—PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS KNOWN—PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF MASSACHUSETTS AT WORK—EXPEDITION TO CONCORD—ITS DISCOVERY—THE PEOPLE AROUSED—GATHERING OF THE MINUTE-MEN—SKIRMISH AT LEXINGTON—EVENTS AT CONCORD—RETREAT OF THE INVADERS—REINFORCEMENTS—FLIGHT TOWARD BOSTON—TRIUMPH OF THE YEOMANRY—RESULT OF THE DAY'S WORK—ACTION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS PROVINCIAL CONGRESS—THE NEWS IN LONDON—DARTMOUTH AND LEE.

WHEN the British ministry were strengthened by Parliament in their preparations for crushing the rising rebellion in America, they sent secret orders to the royal governors, to seize the arms and ammunition belonging to the several provinces; to raise provincial troops, if possible; and to prepare for the reception of an army of British regulars to aid them. Suspicions of such orders had been communicated by Americans in London to their friends here, but it was not until after the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, that the fact was positively known. On that very day, the packet-ship *Swallow* arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, with despatches for the southern governors. The fact that General Gage had attempted the seizure of stores at Salem, had already been communicated to the vigilant patriots of Charleston, and a secret committee* had been appointed, to demand from the postmaster the next mail that should arrive from England, that they might intercept communications for Bull, the acting-governor. The committee performed their duty well, and the mails of the *Swallow* were subjected to their scrutiny. All private letters were left untouched, but those for the governor were opened. These revealed the hostile designs

* It consisted of William Henry Drayton, John Neufville, and Thomas Corbett.

of the ministry, and the papers were immediately sent by a messenger to the continental Congress, which assembled at Philadelphia twenty-one days afterward.

During the winter and early spring of 1775, the inhabitants of New England, and especially of Massachusetts, were in a state of continual feverish excitement. They felt the chill and shadows of the clouds of a fearful storm gathering in the firmament above them, and they knew not at what moment the herald thunder-peal might awaken them to brave it. The provincial Congress worked nobly and fearlessly. They had the confidence of the people, and their recommendations went out with all the force of law. They ordered the purchase of ammunition and stores for an army of fifteen thousand men, and it was done. They called upon the congregational clergy to preach liberty from their pulpits; and hearty responses were given. The towns freely voted money to arm, equip, and discipline "alarm list companies;" and in these ranks citizens of every calling and social position were to be seen. They had heard of the boast of a British officer in Boston, that all this preparation was "mere bullying, and would go no further than words, whenever it should come to blows;" and they prepared to show their traducer, who said that "any two regiments here ought to be decimated, if they did not beat, in the field, the whole force of the Massachusetts province," that he was a wicked and deceitful prophet. They were prepared to show Colonel Grant (the boastful military coxcomb who led the Virginians into such disasters by his foolish bravado before Fort Duquesne, in 1758, and who had recently tickled the ministerial members of Parliament with stories of the cowardice of the colonists, and the assurance, that with five regiments he might march unharmed through all America!) that he was a shameless and ungrateful braggart, and beneath even that silent contempt with which the great Chatham treated him when these words were uttered.

Vigilance—suspicious, sleepless vigilance—was everywhere seen and felt. With eagle eye and vulture scent, it detected every secret hostile movement of the foe; and so well were the patriots

prepared for the struggle, that the knowledge that an army of four thousand disciplined soldiers—a tiger chained and thirsting for blood—was waiting upon the peninsula of Boston for orders to desolate the land, did not make them falter. Indeed, they were eager to measure strength with the oppressors; and had the counsels of inflamed zeal and passion prevailed, blood would have flowed even before the close of 1774. But cool dignity bore supreme rule; and while the patriots were fully determined to strike back when smitten, they were also determined to allow the imperial government to bear the odium of having given the aggressive blow.

Salem was the first theatre of armed resistance. Late in February, General Gage discovered that arms and ammunition were being secretly conveyed out of Boston, in the wagons and carts of country people, who concealed them beneath loads of other things. At about the same time, he heard that some brass cannon and other munitions of war were at Salem, and he sent a detachment of troops, under Colonel Leslie, by the way of Marblehead, to seize them. It was Sunday. Intelligence of the landing of the British troops came to Salem during service-time. The people were immediately dismissed; and, led by Colonel Timothy Pickering, they confronted the British at a draw-bridge. A parley ensued, and a compromise was effected. Leslie was allowed to march over the bridge and back again, unmolested and unmolesting; and he wisely forebore to lay hands upon anything belonging to the people. It was the first repulse of British troops, by the armed minute-men, bloodless but effectual, and drew from a poet of the time those words of bitter satire:—

“Through Salem straight, without delay,
The bold battalion took its way,
Marched o’er a bridge, in open sight
Of several Yankees armed for fight;
Then, without loss of time or men,
Veered round for Boston back again,
And found so well their projects thrive,
That every soul got back alive”*

* “McFingal, an Epic Poem.” by John Trumbull.

A few weeks later, and blood actually flowed. The insolence of the troops daily increased. Parties of them occasionally marched into the country a few miles. The people, irritated and restless, were insulted by them; and everything calculated to hasten a collision, was seen and felt. Meanwhile the committee of safety collected a large amount of stores at Concord. Couriers were engaged in Charlestown, Cambridge, and Roxbury, to alarm the country, when necessary, and every suspected man from Boston was narrowly watched.

Intelligence of the proceedings in Parliament soon came. On the fourth of April, the gazettes of Boston announced, that reinforcements were on their way, and that "the most speedy and effectual measures" to put down the rebellion, had been set in motion by the government. On the following day the provincial Congress adopted rules and regulations for the establishment of an army. On the seventh they sent a circular to the committees of correspondence throughout the province, recommending them to have the minute-men in order. On the eighth it was resolved to raise an army and ask the co-operation of the other New England colonies. And so, day after day, that body of patriots worked on in making military preparations, without any attempt at concealment; while Gage, pursuant to instructions from the ministry, was preparing to deprive them of the means of resistance, by seizing their arms, ammunition, and stores. Many patriots who apprehended arrest, and transportation to England, left Boston; but Doctor Warren, the bold, the brave, and the beloved, remained, and kept those in the country continually advised of every movement of the army and the tories in the city.

On the eighteenth of April, General Gage ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn to proceed with eight hundred light infantry and grenadiers, to seize the stores of the patriots at Concord. Every preparation for the expedition was made with the utmost secrecy. Boats for the transportation of the troops from the foot of Boston common to Lechmere's point, were launched and moored under the sterns of the men-of-war; and the troops that

were to march were relieved from duty early in the day. British officers were also sent out on the road toward Lexington, to prevent any information of the expedition getting into the country. At sunset, Gage issued orders that no persons should leave the town that night, after eight o'clock; and at near midnight, when the troops embarked, the British officers believed the movement to be a profound secret, unknown to all but their own friends. But vigilant eyes were upon them. Dr. Warren had seen the preparations; and early in the evening, when well assured of the destination of the troops, he sent messengers to Samuel Adams and John Hancock, who were at Lexington, to apprise them of their danger, for already orders for their arrest had been given. These messengers arrived at midnight, and the people were startled by the cry, "The regulars are coming!" Meanwhile a signal lantern was hung toward Charlestown from one of the windows of a church in Boston. Its import was understood by the patriots, and several started immediately to alarm the neighboring inhabitants.

The British troops marched cautiously and silently into the country, and for almost an hour they perceived no danger. But they were watched by sleepless eyes. Gerry, Orne, and Lee, members of the provincial Congress, who were at West Cambridge, saw them pass, and they aided Revere and Dawes, the messengers of Warren, in awakening the minute-men. Suddenly the discharge of a solitary gun, and then the sound of a church-bell fell ominously upon the ears of the soldiery. As they approached Lexington these became more frequent, and the British were convinced that the yeomanry were rising. The moon was waning, and in its pale light solitary figures were seen hurrying across the fields. The minute-men were in motion; and at two o'clock in the morning, one hundred and thirty of them were collected upon the green in front of the Lexington meetinghouse, under Captain Parker. These all retired from the chilly air, except some sentinels, to be ready for action at the roll of the drum.

Colonel Smith was alarmed by these movements, and sent a messenger to General Gage, asking for reinforcements immediately.

At the same time he detached six companies, under Major Pitcairn, with orders to press forward through Lexington, and secure the bridges at Concord. Pitcairn advanced with quick march, and captured several countrymen on the way. When near Lexington he was discovered by a horseman, who dashed forward and gave the alarm. It was now between four and five o'clock. The bells were rung, guns were fired, and drums were beaten. Almost a hundred of the minute-men appeared upon the green; and when, in the gray of the early morning, they saw the scarlet uniforms of the British soldiers, and an overwhelming force approached and halted near the meetinghouse, they stood firm.

The militia had been ordered not to pull a trigger until fired upon by the foe, and for a moment, silence and hesitation prevailed, for neither party seemed willing to become the aggressor. It was a moment of awful import. It was a pivot of time upon which hinged the most wonderful events recorded in the history of the nations. But the parley with justice and prudence, with right and expediency, was only for a moment. Pitcairn and other officers rode forward with speed, waving their swords and shouting, "Disperse, you villains! Lay down your arms! Why don't you disperse, you rebels? disperse!" The minute-men did not move in obedience, and the troops rushed forward to surround and capture them. Great confusion now ensued, and a flash of powder inaugurated the battles of the REVOLUTION.* Then there was firing by both parties; irregular by the unskilled Americans, but precise and fatal by the trained British. Eight minute-men were killed and ten were wounded on the green and in their retreat for security behind walls and buildings, and the remainder were dispersed. The victors then formed their line upon the spot where blood first

* Both parties claimed the meed of forbearance on this occasion. Pitcairn always maintained that the first flash of powder was in the gun of a countryman behind a wall, and that almost instantly he heard the report of two or three muskets. He supposed these were fired by the Americans, because his horse and a soldier near him were wounded. Then, he said, a promiscuous fire took place. The testimony of many eye-witnesses, taken under oath, and submitted to the continental Congress, shows conclusively that the British fired first. This was a question of great moment. It was important to know who was the aggressor, and, therefore, every kind of information was eagerly sought.—See Journals of Congress, i., 79.

flowed, fired a *feu de joie* in a single volley, and gave three cheers! Never was a victory more inglorious; and never had true men greater reason for weeping because of the necessity which compelled them to become fratricides. They should have bent their heads and dropped sad tears in silence, rather than uttered shouts of joy on that glowing April morning.*

Colonel Smith reached the scene of action just as the skirmish had ended, and the whole body of British regulars pushed on toward Concord, six miles distant. They were in high spirits, for they felt confident of success in their undertaking. That confidence proved fallacious. The whole country was thoroughly aroused. Alarm-bells had been ringing since midnight, for Revere and Dawes, tarrying not at Lexington, had hurried on toward Concord with the startling intelligence, "The regulars are coming!" They were made prisoners, but the people were awakened; and when word came to Concord that blood had been shed at Lexington, the committee of safety and other leading men had made arrangements for the reception of the foe. Colonel James Barrett was out at the head of the gathering militia; and men, women, and children, had engaged in the toil of removing the stores to a place of concealment and safety. Minute-men continually flocked in from Lincoln and other places, and paraded on the common, under Captain Farrar; while some of the militia marched down the Lexington road to watch for the approach of the regulars.

At about seven in the morning, the invaders appeared advancing, and the militiamen came flying back with the intelligence, that their numbers were three times greater than that of the Americans. These, with Farrar's division, immediately fell back to an eminence about eighty rods from the centre of the town, and there

* In 1799 a granite monument, with an appropriate inscription on a marble tablet, was erected upon the green at Lexington, where four of the eight minute-men were killed. The inscription contains their names. When the writer visited Lexington, in the autumn of 1848, Jonathan Harrington, who (then a lad of seventeen years) played the fife for the minute-men on that memorable morning, the nineteenth of April, 1775, was yet living, well and sprightly, at the age of ninety years. He died in March, 1854. For a portrait of Mr. Harrington, views of the monuments, &c., at Lexington and Concord, names of those who were slain at those places and elsewhere, on the day of the skirmishes, and minute particulars of the events, see the first volume of Lossing's "Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution."

they were joined by those under Colonel Barrett. The whole force was then arranged in two battalions. They had just formed, when the glittering uniforms of the British appeared. After a short consultation, it was agreed to retire to the high ground beyond the North bridge, about a mile from the town, to receive reinforcements which were continually coming in.

The British entered Concord in two divisions, and detachments were sent to secure the two bridges over the Concord river, and to ferret out and destroy the concealed stores. But the vigilance and industry of the people had so effectually secured them that a greater portion of them was saved. Some near the South bridge were destroyed; sixty barrels of flour were broken open in the centre of the town; the trunnions of three twenty-four pound iron cannons were knocked off; sixteen new carriage-wheels, and a few barrels of wooden trenchers and spoons were burned; five hundred pounds of balls were thrown into the mill-pond and wells; the liberty-pole was cut down, and the courthouse was set on fire. That building was saved by the delicate hands of a woman; and almost half the flour was afterward gathered up.

While the marauders were thus engaged, the militia from the neighboring towns had come in by dozens, and at ten o'clock, the little army of Americans upon the height was full four hundred strong, and was momentarily augmenting. The rising smoke from the courthouse excited their fierce indignation, and three hundred of them, under Major Buttrick, pushed toward the North bridge to dislodge the regulars. As the Americans approached the British fired upon them. This was returned by a full volley, when the regulars turned and retreated to the main body in the town, closely pursued by the militia some distance beyond the bridge. In this little skirmish the Americans lost two killed and one wounded; and the British three killed and several wounded and made prisoners.

Colonel Smith now perceived the rapid gathering of the militia, and thought it prudent to retreat. He collected his detachments, buried his dead, and at mid-day commenced his march toward Lexington, having his main column covered by strong flankers.

Difficulties were thick in his way. The country was swarming with armed men, who "seemed to drop from the clouds;" and from behind stone walls, trees, and buildings, they poured a galling fire upon the regulars. At Merriam's corner, at Hardy's hill, and at Fiske's hill, there were severe skirmishes. There was neither order nor concert among the militia. Each man acted upon his own responsibility, and damaged the public enemy to the extent of his power. Many of the British soldiers were killed, and others were wounded. Colonel Smith was seriously injured in the leg, by a bullet, when near Lexington; and his party, fatigued by the night's march, and the exertions of the day, must have been entirely destroyed, had not the reinforcements for which he had sent, been timely in their approach. Nor did the yeomanry escape injury. Sometimes the flankers would fall suddenly upon them; and during the running fire from Concord to Lexington, and in the several skirmishes, quite a number were slain.

The reinforcements, under Lord Percy, nine hundred strong, met the fugitives within half a mile of Lexington, between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, and forming a hollow square covered by cannons upon an eminence, received the exhausted troops within a secure retreat for the moment, when they lay down, perfectly prostrated. Percy had left Boston at nine o'clock, with three regiments of infantry and two divisions of marines; and with two field-pieces, he had crossed the Neck to Roxbury and marched rapidly into the country to the tune of Yankee-doodle, in derision of the "rebels," that being used in the army as a sort of rogue's march, when drumming offenders out of the camp. As they passed through Roxbury a lad was observed indulging in loud shouts and laughter. Percy inquired why he was so merry. "To think," replied the lad, "how you will dance by-and-by to Chevy Chase." Percy was prone to superstition and the influences of presentiments; and this allusion to the misfortunes of his house, made him sad and thoughtful all day.*

* Lord Percy was a son of the duke of Northumberland, who was a lineal descendant of Earl Percy, one of the heroes of the battle of Chevy Chase, and who was then slain. The popular English ballad, to which the bold lad referred, commemorates the fortunes and misfortunes of that day.

Percy dared not halt long, for a cordon of desperate men were gathering around him. After partaking of some refreshments and brief rest, the united forces resumed their march toward Boston. That movement was a signal for the minute-men to renew their harassing attacks. These were now done in a more systematic manner, for General Heath had arrived and taken command of the enrolled militia who were in the field; and Dr. Warren was also with them, encouraging and directing them. From every place of concealment, they terribly galled the regulars all the way to West Cambridge, where a very hot skirmish occurred, in which Percy and Warren narrowly escaped death. A musket-ball struck off a button from the waistcoat of the former; and another knocked a pin out of the ear-lock of the latter. In that skirmish the militia suffered much; and from that time, until they reached Charlestown, the regulars committed many atrocious acts. Houses were plundered, property was destroyed, and several innocent persons were murdered.* This conduct greatly inflamed the militia, and a cry of vengeance went from lip to lip. "Indignation and outraged humanity struggled on the one hand, veteran discipline and desperation on the other."†

The contest at West Cambridge was brief, and the British, with their wounded, pressed on toward Boston. They found the Cambridge bridge removed, and were compelled to go by the way of Charlestown. Every moment their retreat became more perilous and critical. Their ammunition was almost exhausted. The provincials were pressing close upon their rear, unawed by the field-pieces. Armed men were gathering around them by scores, from Roxbury, Dorchester, and Milton; while Colonel Pickering, with seven hundred Essex militia, threatened to cut off their retreat to Charlestown. At the base of Prospect hill another severe contest ensued, but the regulars, though in confusion, reached Charlestown, and reposed under cover of the guns of the ships-of-war in the harbor. At sunset, General Heath ordered the minute-men to halt,

* Address of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts to the Inhabitants of Great Britain.
Everett's "Lexington Address"

and the main body of the British troops, reinforced from Boston, occupied Bunker hill that night. On the following morning they crossed over to their quarters in the town, broken and dispirited. They had lost during the preceding day, sixty-five killed, one hundred and eighty-three wounded, and twenty-eight made prisoners; in all, two hundred and seventy-three. The Americans had lost fifty-nine killed, thirty-nine wounded, and five missing; in all, one hundred and three.

The events of that day were exceedingly mortifying to General Gage and to British pride. Well-disciplined troops, boastful and insolent, had gone out with the presumption of conscious strength; and the same troops had returned with trailing banners, beaten at every turn by raw militia, many of whom had never before heard the sound of a gun in battle. The entire expedition was not only fruitless of good results, but it was absolutely disgraceful to all the aggressors concerned in it; and the event weakened, immensely, the loyalty of the American people. The pen of satire, and the pencil of caricature, made it a fruitful theme; and the troops, their officers and tory abettors, were lampooned and derided without stint, on both sides of the Atlantic.*

On the following day the members of the provincial Congress were summoned to convene at Watertown. They met on the twenty-second, and chose Doctor Joseph Warren president pro tempore. A committee was appointed "to draw up a narrative of the massacre." Another was chosen to take depositions at Lexington and Concord, concerning the skirmishes at those places. When all proper material was collected, an elaborate account was prepared and sent to Arthur Lee, one of the colonial agents in London, together with the affidavits. An "Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain,"

* Among the most popular of these productions, was "The Irishman's Epistle," which closed with the following stanza, after alluding to the flight of the troops from Concord and Lexington:—

"And what have you got now with all your designing,
But a town without victuals to sit down and dine in;
And to look on the ground like a parcel of noodles,
And sing, how the Yankees have beaten the doodles?
I'm sure if you're wise you'll make peace for a dinner,
For fighting and fasting will soon make you thinner."

Moore's "*Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution*."

was also prepared and sent with the other papers; and was first published in the "London Chonicle," on the thirtieth of May. That address was signed by the members of the provincial Congress. While they asserted their loyalty to the sovereign, and their willingness to "defend his person, family, crown, and dignity," they also declared, with manly firmness, their determination no longer to submit to the tyrannical rule of a weak and wicked ministry.

This intelligence confounded the ministry. They had not received despatches from Gage, and affected to disbelieve the report. Dartmouth issued a card on the same day, in which he alluded to the report, and said, "It is proper to inform the public, that no advice has, as yet, been received in the American department of any such event." Arthur Lee, who was narrowly watching every movement of the ministry, immediately issued a card, in which, after alluding to Dartmouth's communication, he said, "I desire to inform all those who wish to see the original affidavits, which confirm that account [first published by Lee], that they are deposited at the Mansion house, with the right honorable the lord-mayor, for their inspection."

Gage's tardy despatches at length reached London, and their publication confirmed the startling rumor. London was almost as much excited as Boston; and the retreat of the troops from Concord and Lexington being regarded as a flight, the ministry heard, at every corner, the revilings of the populace, concerning "the great British army at Boston that had been scared and beaten by a flock of YANKEES!"

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE REVOLUTION BEGUN—NEW ENGLAND AROUSED—OLD SOLDIERS IN THE FIELD—AN ARMY AROUND BOSTON—CONDUCT OF GAGE—WARREN'S LETTER—ACTION IN OTHER NEW ENGLAND COLONIES—EFFECT OF THE EVENTS AT LEXINGTON AND CONCORD, IN OTHER COLONIES—VIRGINIA ON FIRE—SEIZURE OF POWDER BY GOVERNOR DUNMORE—LETTERS TO WASHINGTON—PATRICK HENRY IN THE FIELD—DUNMORE ALARMED—THE ASSEMBLY CONVENED—DUNMORE'S FLIGHT—EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA—MECKLENBURG CONVENTION—REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS AT CHARLESTON AND SAVANNAH—ROYAL AUTHORITY REPUDIATED—EXPEDITION AGAINST TICONDEROGA—CAPTURE OF TICONDEROGA AND CROWN POINT.

THE war of the Revolution—the war for justice and right—the war for freedom and independence—was now begun. The echo of the signal-gun, fired at Lexington, went over the land like a thunder-peal, and thrilled every nerve throughout the heart-confederated colonies. In less than thirty days there was a cry “to arms! to arms!” from the St. Croix to the Yadkin and the Alatamaha. The question, long in doubt, “Who shall be the aggressor?” was answered on the nineteenth of April. The greater question now to be solved was, “Who shall be the victor?”

The yeomanry of New England were first in the field, because their ears first heard the appeal of the blood of the early martyrs; and forty-eight hours after the flight of the British troops to Boston, full twenty thousand men were collected in the vicinity of that city. They came from every quarter, and from every class of society; some with arms in their hands and some with none, each anxious countenance expressing the question, “What can *I* do?”

The slumbering energies of the veterans of other wars were awakened. From the hills of New Hampshire, far up on the Merrimack, came John Stark, a trapper and hunter, who had shared



in the perils of the old French war upon Lakes George and Champlain, with Abercrombie and Amherst. With him came a crowd of volunteers, his neighbors and friends, zealous and bold; and Stark was commissioned a colonel. From his plough at Pomfret came the veteran Putnam, of Connecticut, who "dared to lead where any dared to follow," bearing upon his person the scars of many conflicts with Gallic and savage foes, and the frosts of sixty winters upon his head. A horseman, with a drum, had hastened through his neighborhood, and, with brief tarriance and hurried words, had told him the tale of blood at Lexington. The veteran stopped not to doff his blouse or change his linen, but mounting a horse, he aroused his neighbors and hastened to Cambridge at the head of a large body of earnest Connecticut men, who joined him on the way. And from Rhode Island came Nathanael Greene, a young iron-master, and a quaker by birthright, with a troop of volunteers. He had lately been disowned by the religious society to which he belonged, because of his military proclivities, and now he commenced that series of services in the field, which gave him rank next to Washington, as a soldier of the Revolution.

General Ward, by common consent, took the command; and in the course of a few days, the troops were tolerably well officered, their pay was agreed upon, and thirty thousand were enrolled. But great numbers returned home, some with their ardor abated, never to return; others to attend to the pressing duties of private business, and most of them to make arrangements to rejoin the army immediately. For nine consecutive days and nights, the important pass of Boston Neck was defended by six or seven hundred patriots, under Colonel Robinson, of Dorchester. But early in the succeeding month, the ranks were quite well filled again, and preparations for a regular siege of the city were commenced. Cambridge was made the headquarters, and a line of cantonments was soon formed, nearly twenty miles in extent, the left leaning upon the Mystic river, and the right upon Roxbury, thus completely enclosing the town on the land side.

General Gage, meanwhile, was greatly distressing the whig in-

habitants of Boston by rigorous restrictions, and a surveillance unnecessarily harsh. By his orders, all intercourse between the city and country was cut off; but, finally, an agreement was entered into between him and the municipal authorities, that the inhabitants might freely leave the town, after depositing their arms in Faneuil hall or elsewhere, under the charge of the selectmen, to be restored to the owners at a suitable time. This agreement was soon violated by Gage, and on the twenty-sixth, Doctor Warren, the president pro tempore of the provincial Congress, wrote a bold letter to that commander, concerning this town and country intercourse: "I think it of the utmost importance to us," he said, "that our conduct be such, as that the contending parties may rely entirely upon the honor and integrity of each other, for the punctual performance of any agreement that shall be made between them. Your excellency, I believe, knows very well the part I have taken in public affairs. I ever scorn disguise. I think I have done my duty; some may think otherwise; but be assured, sir, as far as my influence goes, everything which reasonably can be required of us to do, shall be done; and everything promised shall be religiously performed." Gage paid no attention to this letter, and utterly disregarded his agreement. Finally, he would not allow the families of patriots who were in the country to leave Boston, but kept them as a sort of hostages. This exhibition of bad faith disgusted and exasperated the people, as much as any of the previous acts of the governor.

The provincial Congress of Massachusetts, with Doctor Warren at their head, worked zealously. They resolved to raise thirteen thousand six hundred men; and they made an earnest appeal to the other New England colonies, to swell that amount to thirty thousand. That appeal was unnecessary, for already each colony was alive with excitement, and preparing for action in that direction. On the twenty-fifth of April, the assembly of Rhode Island voted an army of observation, fifteen hundred strong, and appointed Greene commander-in-chief, with the rank of brigadier. The Connecticut assembly resolved to raise six regiments of a thousand men each, four of them to serve in the army at Boston

Putnam, Wooster, and Spencer, who had been commissioned as generals, were each to have a regiment; and the remaining three were to be commanded by Hinman, Waterbury, and Parsons. A special convention of delegates, called by the New Hampshire committee of safety, agreed to furnish the volunteers from their province, with present supplies; and on the seventeenth of May, the provincial Congress of that colony resolved to raise two thousand troops, in addition to those already in the field. Of these, Nathan Folsom was appointed commander-in-chief, with the rank of brigadier. Two days afterward, the provincial Congress of Massachusetts clothed the committee of safety, then sitting at Cambridge, with full powers to regulate the movements of the gathering army. General Ward, as we have seen, was captain-general, and John Thomas was made his lieutenant. Richard Gridley, who had experienced siege-service at Louisburg, thirty years before, was commissioned a commander of a corps of artillery, authorized to be raised, and was appointed chief-engineer, with Henry Knox, a Boston bookseller, who had commanded an artillery company in that city, as his assistant. At the beginning of June, the combined forces then at Cambridge, amounted to about sixteen thousand men; and the British army in Boston, increased, meanwhile, by fresh arrivals from England and Ireland, numbered about ten thousand.

As the news of bloodshed went westward and southward, it aroused the people to immediate and decisive action. The New York assembly, thoroughly leavened with toryism, had steadily refused to sanction the proceedings of the first continental Congress, and to appoint delegates to the second. The American Association was very popular in New York, and a committee of sixty had been appointed by the people to enforce it. These, supported by the true sons of liberty, took the lead in political affairs. They had called a convention on the twenty-second of April, when delegates to the continental Congress were appointed; and, on their recommendation, the people proceeded to elect delegates for a provincial Congress, which assembled in New York a month later. The intelligence of the sacrifice of minute-men at Lexington,

reached them on Sunday, the twenty-third, while Captain Sears, one of the boldest of the popular leaders, was in official custody, because he had, in haranguing the people, advised them to arm themselves.* Sears was released, and the patriots took possession of the city-hall, armed themselves, demanded and received the keys of the customhouse, and closed its doors to prevent vessels clearing for other ports, and committed other acts of rebellion. On the fifth of May, they appointed a general committee of safety, composed of one hundred of the leading citizens of New York; and the next day, an "Association for the Defence of Colonial Rights," drawn up by the committee of correspondence, was signed by at least a thousand of the principal inhabitants of the city and county. Thus, early in 1775, royal power in that colony was virtually at an end. General alarm pervaded the tory ranks; the colonial assembly never met again; and the provincial Congress, which convened on the twenty-second of May, assumed all the legislative and executive functions of regular government.†

When the news from Lexington reached New Jersey, the people, in spite of the prompt action and strong remonstrances of Governor Franklin, took possession of the province treasury, in which there was about one hundred thousand dollars, and appropriated a part of it to the payment of troops they were then raising for the defence of their liberties. When the same intelligence reached

* The people of Boston refused to furnish either labor or materials to General Gage, when he was fortifying Boston Neck, in the autumn of 1774; and in the spring of 1775, he sent to New York for both, in order to erect barracks for the soldiers on Boston common. The patriots in New York, informed that a sloop laden with lumber was about to sail for Boston, held a meeting and resolved to seize the vessel. At that meeting Captain Sears exhorted the people to arm themselves with muskets, and twenty-four ball-cartridges each. For this he was arrested and taken before the mayor. He refused to give bail, and was about to be carried to prison, when the people took him from the officers, and bore him in triumph through the town, preceded by a band of music, and a banner. He addressed the assembled people again that night; and a few days afterward he was elected a member of the provincial Congress.

† New York has been unjustly taunted for its adhesion to the ministry at the commencement of the Revolution. It must be remembered that family influence was very great and extensive in that colony, and through it, the general assembly, as well as the provincial Congress, was loyally inclined. But the great body of the people were chiefly republicans in feeling, and when toryism was fairly crushed out of the popular assembly, no state was more zealous and patriotic, than New York. Of a population of thirty-two thousand five hundred liable to do military duty, New York furnished seventeen thousand eight hundred soldiers for the continental army; over three thousand more than Congress required

Philadelphia, on the twenty-fourth of April, a large meeting was held, and measures were adopted for organizing a volunteer military association. It was popular all over the province. The elders among the quakers shook their heads and uttered grave admonitions; but in spite of these, many of the younger members of the society, warmed by the fire of Mifflin's zeal, took part in the organization, and the "quaker company," already mentioned, about thirty in number, under Captain Humphreys, was formed. Leading men of Philadelphia, such as Dickinson, McKean, and Wilson, accepted military command; and the assembly, on the first of May, voted nine thousand dollars toward defraying the expenses of the volunteers. A committee of safety was appointed, and Doctor Franklin, who had just returned from England, convinced that peaceful relations between Great Britain and her colonies were at an end, was appointed chairman. That committee speedily took measures for the defence of Philadelphia, and in the absence of a provincial Congress, assumed executive authority.

The startling news reached Baltimore six days after the events, and the inhabitants immediately seized upon the provincial magazine, which contained fifteen hundred stand of arms, and other munitions of war. A numerous body of the citizens enrolled themselves as volunteers to join the army at Boston; and the provisional government, consisting of twenty-nine of the principal men of Baltimore, who were appointed in November previous a "committee of observation," recommended the discontinuance of fairs, as conducive to "mischiefs and disorders," and inveighed against horse-racing, cock-fighting, and general extravagance, as not only wrong in themselves, but as derogatory to the character of patriots at that solemn hour.

Virginia was all on fire when the news from Lexington arrived. Simultaneously with General Gage's obedience to the secret instructions of the ministry, Lord Dunmore had attempted, pursuant to the same instructions, to deprive the Virginians of the powder belonging to the province, by having it secretly conveyed from the magazine at Williamsburg, on board of a British schooner lying in

the York river, a little below that town. This attempt was made at near midnight, on the twentieth of April. The movement was discovered, and at dawn the following morning, the minute-men of Williamsburg assembled, with their arms, and were with difficulty restrained from seizing the governor. At that moment a servile insurrection was apprehended; and at a public meeting of the inhabitants, held early in the forenoon, a respectful remonstrance was sent to Dunmore, complaining of the injustice and cruelty of his act, at such a time. The governor made an evasive and unsatisfactory reply, which increased the irritation of the people, and they demanded the immediate restoration of the powder to the public magazine.

The martial spirit of the whole colony was aroused when intelligence of this act became known. The independent companies immediately flew to arms, and prepared to march to Williamsburg and compel the governor to restore the powder; and, on the twenty-fifth, the following letter was written to Colonel Washington, from Fredericksburg, signed by Hugh Mercer, G. Weeden, Alexander Spottswood, and John Willis, the first three of whom were afterward well known as officers in the continental army:—

“SIR: By intelligence from Williamsburg it appears, that Captain Collins, of his majesty’s navy, at the head of fifteen marines, carried off the powder from the magazine in that city, on the night of Thursday last, and conveyed it on board his vessel, by order of the governor. The gentlemen of the independent company of this town think this first public insult is not to be tamely submitted to, and determine, with your approbation, to join any other bodies of armed men, who are willing to appear in support of the honor of Virginia, as well as to secure the military stores yet remaining in the magazine. It is proposed to march hence on Saturday next for Williamsburg, properly accoutred as light-horsemen. Expresses are sent off to inform the commanding officers of companies in the adjacent counties of this our resolution, and we shall wait prepared for your instructions and their assistance.”*

* Sparks’s Life and Writings of Washington, ii. (Appendix), 507.

Similar letters came to Washington from the companies of other counties, and he would, doubtless, have led a little army to the Virginia capital, early in May, had not the prompt energy of Patrick Henry already accomplished the desired result. That patriot was at his home, in Hanover, when intelligence of Dunmore's act reached him. He immediately assembled a corps of volunteers at New Castle, on the Pamunkey (then a flourishing village, but now a desolation), and marched immediately for Williamsburg, to secure the provincial treasury from a like outrage, and to procure a restoration of the powder. His little band was considerably increased while on the march, and when he arrived at Doncaster's ordinary, within sixteen miles of the capital, on the fourth of May, Henry was at the head of one hundred and fifty well-armed and resolute men. There he was met by some of the lower Virginia delegation, on their way to the continental Congress, who informed him that his approach had alarmed the governor, and that Corbin, the receiver-general, was on his way, with authority from Dunmore, to compromise the matter. Corbin soon arrived. Henry demanded and received the value of the powder,* and sent the amount to the treasury at Williamsburg. He then disbanded his followers, returned to Hanover, and set out for Philadelphia to attend the continental Congress.

Henry's act greatly irritated Lord Dunmore, and he uttered strong menaces against the people. He declared, that if one of his officers should be injured by them, he would raise the royal standard, proclaim freedom to every slave who should join it, arm them, and lay Williamsburg in ashes. He issued a proclamation denouncing Patrick Henry and his followers as rebels; filled his palace with his adherents, and surrounded it with shotted cannon. This foolish display of impotent wrath, destroyed the last vestige of popular respect for the governor. In every county committees

* All the arms and ammunition in the magazine were not sufficient to cause a disturbance, for they were too insignificant to be of much service to either party. There were only fifteen half barrels of powder, of fifty pounds each. It was not the *value* for which Henry contended. It was a *principle* that he was quick to assert. He deemed it very important to strike a decided blow, before an overwhelming royal force should enter the colony and deprive the inhabitants of the power of resistance.

of safety were formed; and at numerous public meetings the act of Henry was warmly applauded. Dunmore had sown the wind by his unwise and ungenerous course, and he was now reaping the whirlwind. He had raised a tempest which he could not control.

While the storm was raging, and the hand of all Virginia was upon its sword-hilt, the governor unexpectedly convened the assembly, and there was a lull. His object was to lay before them the deceptive measure of Lord North, miscalled a conciliatory bill. They met on the first of June, and were proceeding quietly with business, when a plan of Dunmore's to blow up and destroy the magazine was discovered. This fact, and a false rumor circulated at the same moment, that a corps of marines were approaching to the support of Dunmore, brought matters to a crisis. The people flew to arms; and the governor, justly fearing personal violence, left Williamsburg with his family early in the morning of the eighth, and took refuge on board the *Fowey* man-of-war, then lying in York river. With this flight of the king's representative, royal power in Virginia was ended. Dunmore was the first to "abdicate government here."

Onward the news of the bloodshed at Lexington was carried. In North Carolina the inhabitants were in a great ferment when it reached there. More than a month before, Governor Martin and the people had quarrelled. That official had tried to prevent the organization of a provincial Congress in April. His efforts were vain. The Congress was formed, the acts of the continental Congress were approved, and royal power was virtually abolished. A little later a still bolder step was taken in the interior of the province. The committees of Mecklenburg county assembled at Charlotte toward the close of May, and by a series of resolutions, virtually declared themselves, and their constituents, independent of the British crown, and took measures to organize a provisional government, as an independent state. While that convention was in session, a courier arrived with intelligence from Boston, and this greatly increased the excitement all over the Yadkin and Catawba region.

The cry of blood from Lexington and Concord, reached Charleston twenty days after the skirmishes. The vigilant patriots there had already, as we have observed, discovered the secret orders sent to the governors, to seize the arms and ammunition of the colonists. Acting upon this discovery, made on the nineteenth of April, committees were appointed to seize all the powder in the magazines in the vicinity of Charleston, and the small arms in the depository there. The powder was secured on the night of the twentieth, and on the night of the twenty-first, they carried off to a place of safety, for the use of the patriots, eight hundred stand of small arms, two hundred cutlasses, and other important military articles. This business was performed under the sanction of the leading men of Charleston. The powder was boldly landed at the wharf of Christopher Gadsden; and no one dared to interfere with the seizure of the arms.*

The Charleston patriots sent intelligence of their discovery to their brethren at Savannah, and before the latter had heard of the tragedy in New England, six of the members of the council of safety† and others, had broken open the magazine, took out the powder, sent a portion of it to a place of safety in South Carolina, and concealed the remainder, in small parcels, in their garrets and cellars. Governor Wright offered a reward of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling for the apprehension of the offenders, but the secret of their names was never revealed until the patriots had driven the governor from the shores of Georgia, and were using the powder in defence of their liberties.

* Johnson, in his "Traditions and Reminiscences of the Revolution," says, that Captain Cochran, the powder-receiver at Charleston, "was well disposed to the American cause;" but he was compelled to do his duty, while in office. Much of the powder in his possession belonged to merchants, to whom he was responsible. So he took from each of these owners a bill of his powder, presented these to Colonel Henry Laurens, chairman of the executive committee of the province, received the money, paid the merchants the amount of their bills, "and delivered the powder into the hands of General Gadsden, for the revolutionists." This seizure of powder and firearms, was countenanced and encouraged by the leading patriots. In fact, such men as Henry Laurens; Christopher Gadsden, Charles C. Pinckney, president of the provincial Congress, Thomas Lynch, a member of the continental Congress, William Bull, a nephew of the governor, and William Henry Drayton, another nephew, and lately, a member of the governor's privy council, were prominent actors.

† Noble Wimberly Jones, Joseph Habersham, Edward Telfair, William Gibbons, Joseph Clay, and John Milledge. The magazine was at the eastern extremity of the town, and was so strong, that the governor had not considered a guard necessary.

Before the middle of June, when the first *battle* of the Revolution was fought, on Breed's hill, the inhabitants of all the colonies had virtually, if not actually, repudiated royal authority, and were controlled by that true government which is based upon the popular will. Obedience to the representatives of the crown was no longer a rule, but the exception; and the voice of the king, uttered from the throne, having declared the Americans to be rebels, left them free to act the rebel's part, as offenders as well as defenders. They had stood in an attitude of defence until the first blow had been struck. That blow had severed the bond of allegiance, and the civil and military authorities felt warranted in taking vigorous measures, even on the offensive. And these were accordingly adopted, as we shall now observe.

The policy of the ministry in wooing and winning the allegiance of the Canadians by the Quebec act, was wise and judicious, for at the time of its adoption, in the spring of 1774, it was evident that a general revolt of the American colonies might be anticipated as a possibility, if not a probability. In that event, it would be very important for Great Britain to have a stand-point, rendezvous, and depository, for an army and its supplies, so convenient as Canada to the scene of trouble, and with such a noble river as the St. Lawrence for the transportation of the paraphernalia of war. This was the secret motive for the passage of the Quebec act. This motive was clearly perceived by the leaders of the public mind in the other colonies, and from that time, Canada became an object of much solicitation. The continental Congress of 1774 sent a special address to the inhabitants of that province; and in March, 1775, Samuel Adams and Joseph Warren, members of the committee of correspondence in Boston, sent a secret agent into Canada, to ascertain the opinions and temper of the people there concerning the great political questions at issue, and the momentous events then pending. After a diligent but cautious performance of his task, the agent sent them word from Montreal, that the people were, at best, lukewarm; and he advised, that the moment hostilities should commence, the strong fortress of Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain.

should be seized. He gave his employers positive assurance, that the people of the New Hampshire Grants (now Vermont), were ready to undertake the bold enterprise.*

Three weeks after this information was received by Adams and Warren, hostilities commenced at Lexington, and the moment to act aggressively had arrived. The continental Congress would not assemble in less than twenty days. Delay was dangerous; and it would not be prudent to wait for the action of that body. Besides, secrecy was important; and so, without the official sanction of any civil authority, an expedition against Ticonderoga was prepared. It was originated in the Connecticut assembly. Wooster, Deane, Parsons, Stevens, and other members arranged the plan, and appointed two persons, as a committee to proceed to the frontier towns, ascertain the condition of the fort and the strength of the garrison, and, if they thought it expedient, to raise men and attempt the surprise and capture of that post. One thousand dollars were advanced from the provincial treasury to defray the expenses of the expedition. The assembly had perfect knowledge of the whole affair, but it was thought expedient to withhold its sanction.

A few men in Connecticut joined the committee; and after con-

* By the grant of Charles the Second to his brother James, duke of York, the tract in America called New York was bounded on the east by the Connecticut river, while the charters of Massachusetts and Connecticut, gave those provinces a westward extent to the "South sea" or the Pacific ocean. When, toward the middle of the last century, settlements began to be made westward of the Connecticut river, disputes arose, and the line between Connecticut and New York was finally drawn, by mutual agreement, twenty miles east of the Hudson. Massachusetts claimed a continuation of the Connecticut line as its western boundary, but New York contested the claim as interfering with prior grants to that colony. New Hampshire, lying north of Massachusetts, was not, as yet, disturbed by these disputes, for the country west of the Green mountains was a wilderness, and had never been surveyed. When Benning Wentworth was made governor of New Hampshire, he was authorized to issue patents for unimproved lands within his province, and in 1749 applications were made to him for grants beyond the mountains. He gave a patent that year for a township six miles square, having its western line twenty miles east of the Hudson, and in his honor it was named Bennington. The governor and council of New York remonstrated against this grant, yet Wentworth continued to issue patents; and, in 1754, fourteen townships of this kind were laid out, and settlements commenced. During the French and Indian war settlements increased tardily, but after the victory of Wolfe at Quebec, numerous applications for grants were made; and at the time of the peace, in 1763, one hundred and thirty-eight townships were surveyed west of the Connecticut river, and these were termed the New Hampshire Grants. The controversy between New York and the Grants became so violent, that military organizations took place in the latter section, to resist the civil power of New York, and about 1772, the military thus enrolled were first called Green Mountain Boys; among the most active and daring of whom were Ethan and Ira Allen, Seth Warner, and Remember Baker, men whom we shall have occasion to observe hereafter.—See Sparks's *Life of Ethan Allen*, and Thompson's *Vermont*, part ii

sulting Colonels Easton and Brown, at Pittsfield in Massachusetts, who agreed to join them, the latter enlisted about forty volunteers from his regiment, and the whole party went on to Bennington, the home of Colonel Ethan Allen, who possessed almost unbounded control over the Green Mountain Boys, as the train-bands of that region were called. He joined the expedition with a strong corps, and at dusk, on the seventh of May, the whole party, two hundred and seventy strong, halted at Castleton and held a council of war. Colonel Allen was appointed the commander-in-chief, Colonel Easton his lieutenant, and Colonel Seth Warner the third in command.

While these movements were in progress, a similar expedition, for the same purpose, had been concocted and arranged at Cambridge. When the news of the skirmishes at Lexington reached New Haven, Benedict Arnold (afterward the brave soldier and base traitor), then a druggist and bookseller in that town, hurried to Cambridge with a company of volunteers, of which he was captain, and joined the gathering army there. No doubt he had heard of the proposed expedition against the lake fortress before leaving home, for soon after his arrival at Cambridge he went before the committee of safety, offered the plan of an expedition, and procured for himself the appointment of its commander-in-chief, and the commission of colonel, from the Massachusetts provincial Congress. He was to raise not more than four hundred men; and the provincial Congress supplied him with money, horses, and munitions.

Arnold was instructed to raise his men in western Massachusetts. On reaching Stockbridge, he was disappointed in finding another expedition already in the field; and stopping only long enough to engage a few officers and men to follow him, he hastened forward to join the others at Castleton. Ambitious and selfish, he claimed the right to chief command, because of his commission, which, he averred, was superior to all others. His claim was denied; and the Green Mountain Boys declared, that they would shoulder their muskets and march home rather than serve under any other leader than their beloved Allen. Arnold yielded, but with a bad grace.

and he joined the expedition as a volunteer, maintaining the rank of his commission, but having no command.

On the evening of the ninth of May the expedition arrived upon the Vermont shore of Lake Champlain, opposite Ticonderoga, and small parties, already detached, went up and down the lake to secure some boats. All night the eager patriots awaited in vain the return of these parties, for they had few boats with them. These continued to cross and recross for some hours; but just before the dawn, only the officers and eighty-three men were upon the Ticonderoga shore, below the old grenadier's battery. Immediate action was necessary. Delay might be fatal, for the armed garrison, strongly posted, would make a stout resistance.

Allen, with Arnold at his side, arranged his followers in three lines below the bank, harangued them briefly in low tones, and then, led by a lad who knew the fort well, they all moved quickly and stealthily up the slope to the sally-port. The sentinel there snapped his fusee and fled along the covered way to alarm the garrison. The Americans followed closely, and the frightened fugitive, in his flight, led them directly to the parade within the fortress. There another sentinel was silenced, and the invaders, with a tremendous shout, awakened the sleeping garrison. As these rushed to the parade they were all made prisoners.

It was now four o'clock in the morning. The boy-guide* had led Allen up an exterior staircase to the door of the bedroom of Delaplace, the commandant of the garrison. Three loud raps with the heavy hilt of Allen's sword, and an order for his instant appearance, given in a voice of peculiar power, brought Delaplace to the door, half-dressed and greatly bewildered, with his pretty wife close behind him, shivering with fear. Allen and Delaplace had been old friends. When the latter perceived who his disturber was, he boldly demanded his errand. Pointing to his men and the disarmed garrison on the parade, Allen said, sternly, "I order you to surrender instantly!"—"By what authority do *you* demand it?" asked

* The name of the lad was Nathan Beman. He lived until December, 1846, when he died, in Franklin county, New York, at the age of almost ninety years.

the captain in astonishment. "By the Great Jehovah and the continental Congress!" thundered Allen, at the same time flourishing his sword over the head of the commander, and ordering him to be silent and obedient. There was no alternative. Delaplace had about as much respect for the "continental Congress" as Allen had for "Jehovah;" and they respectively relied upon and feared powder and ball more than either. Delaplace, making a virtue of necessity, surrendered gracefully; and he, with the garrison of forty-eight men, and the women and children, were sent prisoners to Hartford, in Connecticut. The spoils of victory were precisely such as the patriot army at Boston much needed. They consisted of one hundred and twenty iron cannons, fifty swivels, two mortars, a howitzer, and a cohorn, a large quantity of ammunition and other stores, a warehouse full of naval munitions, and quite a large quantity of provisions.

Just as the surrender was made complete, Colonel Warner came over with the remainder of the expedition; and when all had breakfasted, he was sent with a detachment of men, in boats, to attack Crown Point. He was driven back by a wind, but on the twelfth he reached that fortress, and it was surrendered without hesitation.

Arnold now again assumed the right to chief authority, by virtue of his commission, but his claim was resisted, and the semi-official committee of the Connecticut legislature, who had charge of the expedition, formally installed Colonel Allen in command of Ticonderoga and its dependencies, and authorized him to remain as such until he should receive further orders from the Connecticut assembly or the continental Congress. Arnold yielded, but sent a protest, and a statement of his grievances to the provincial Congress of Massachusetts, from whom he had received his commission. Soon after that he went down the lake, in command of a sort of amphibious expedition, where we shall meet him hereafter.

Six hours after the surrender of Ticonderoga, the second continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia.

CHAPTER XLVII.

WASHINGTON AND HIS GUESTS AT MOUNT VERNON—NEWS OF THE LEXINGTON SKIRMISH—WASHINGTON'S JOURNEY TO PHILADELPHIA—RECEPTION OF DELEGATES—MEETING OF THE SECOND CONGRESS—PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS—CHARACTER OF THE CONGRESS—ITS SUPREMACY ACKNOWLEDGED—CAUTION, VIGILANCE, AND ACTIVITY—WASHINGTON ON IMPORTANT COMMITTEES—CANADA—AMERICAN CONTINENTAL ARMY—APPOINTMENT OF COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF—ADAMS'S NARRATIVE—WASHINGTON CHOSEN—REASONS FOR THE CHOICE—WASHINGTON'S CHARACTER DELINEATED BY A BRITISH PEN—HIS ACCEPTANCE OF THE OFFICE—HIS SPEECH—LETTERS TO HIS WIFE AND FRIENDS—DEPARTURE FOR CAMBRIDGE.

COLONEL WASHINGTON was at his home on the Potomac, entertaining Horatio Gates, Bryan Fairfax, and a distant relative, as guests, when the intelligence of bloodshed came from New England. The powder-excitement which originated at Williamsburg, was then at its height, and Washington, who was preparing for his journey to Philadelphia, to attend the second continental Congress, was called upon to decide which field of duty, Virginia or the nation, demanded his first care.

The news from the east made a deep impression upon the inmates of Mount Vernon. Fairfax, gentle and timid, and drawn by ties of consanguinity and ancestral reverence to the side of the mother-country, was much distressed, for he perceived the peril of pleasant social relations. Gates, ambitious of military glory, and the honors and emoluments of office, for which he had vainly sought, was pleased by this opening avenue to a field of action whereon these might be won; while Washington, thoughtful and reserved, because he communed with the intuitions of his loftier spirit, talked little and wisely on the subject, but resolved firmly and nobly. All regarded the event as the severing blow to colonial allegiance; but

only Washington, with the clear eye of faith given him by inspiration, seemed to perceive the glorious end in the dim future.

As we have observed, the prompt action of Patrick Henry had quieted the excitement concerning the powder, and on the morning of the fifth of May, Washington, accompanied by Henry and Benjamin Harrison (who had supped, lodged, and breakfasted at Mount Vernon), started for Philadelphia. They arrived at Chester on the ninth, and while proceeding toward Philadelphia with other delegates from Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, and Delaware, they were met by a cavalcade of about five hundred gentlemen, six miles from the city. At Gray's ferry, a company of riflemen and of infantry, with a band of music, "met them, and conducted them through the city with great parade."* On the following day, at about one o'clock, most of the New England delegates arrived on horseback, and were met and escorted into the city with similar parade.

On Wednesday, the tenth of May, 1775, the second continental Congress commenced its session in Carpenters' Hall, at eleven o'clock in the morning. The Honorable Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was unanimously chosen president, Charles Thomson, secretary, and Andrew McNeare, doorkeeper. On motion, it was agreed that the Congress should be opened every morning with prayer; and Messrs. Willing, Sullivan, and Bland, were appointed a committee to invite the Reverend Jacob Duché to officiate. This comprised the business of the first day of the session. On the following morning, after prayers, the delegates from the several colonies presented their credentials, and the regular business was opened by resolving, unanimously, "That the doors be kept shut during the time of business, and that the members consider themselves under the strongest obligations of honor to keep the proceedings secret, until the majority shall direct them to be made public." At that time all the colonies were represented, except Georgia and Rhode Island. On the thirteenth a delegate from St. John's parish, in Georgia, appeared, and was admitted to a seat; and two days after-

* Marshall's Diary, page 28

ward delegates from Rhode Island also appeared and took their seats.

This Congress, according to the terms of appointment, was no more a legislative body than that of 1774; but the circumstances of the country had so changed within a few months, that it became, necessarily, legislative as well as deliberative. Civil war had commenced. Blood had been shed and petitions and remonstrances were at an end. By common consent the general Congress was regarded as the arbiter and director of the public affairs of the confederated nation—the supreme legislature. The provincial Congress of Massachusetts acknowledged this when, on the third of May, a communication from that body, addressed to the continental Congress, said, “The sudden exigency of our public affairs precluded the possibility of *waiting for your direction* in these important measures [raising and providing for an army];” and by asking for its direction and assistance, and suggesting that an American army should be forthwith raised. A similar acknowledgment came from New York, when the advice of Congress was asked concerning the proper conduct of the inhabitants there, when expected British troops from Ireland should arrive. Perceiving the responsibility thus being laid upon them, and the importance of assuming it, the Congress, on the sixteenth of May (the day after the admission of the Rhode Island delegation, made the representation of all the colonies complete), “resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America.”*

Assuming the control of continental affairs, the Congress proceeded vigorously but cautiously, to put the country in a state of defence. Intelligence of the capture of Ticonderoga reached Philadelphia on the morning of the eighteenth of May, and produced feelings of mingled exultation and anxiety. The event was inspiring, but Congress was unwilling to be instrumental in widening the breach unnecessarily. Accordingly, on the same day, it recommended that the committees of the cities and counties of New York and Albany should remove all the spoils taken at Ticon-

* Journals of Congress, edition of 1800, i., 95.

deroga to the south end of Lake George, where they might not be recaptured by any force from Canada; and "that an exact inventory be taken of all such cannons and stores, in order that they may be safely returned, when the restoration of the former harmony between Great Britain and their colonies, so ardently wished for by the latter, shall render it prudent and consistent with the overruling law of self-preservation." There was still a lingering feeling of attachment to Great Britain; and the most conservative of the members, among whom Washington may be ranked, still retained hopes, though feeble, that a reconciliation might be effected. Hence the caution exhibited in these proceedings of Congress.

But this caution did not overrule the prudence of Congress. Committees were appointed to prepare reports on military measures, of every kind, in the form of recommendations concerning what posts should be occupied; how to procure ammunition and military stores; what money would be necessary; and to prepare rules and regulations for the government of an army. Washington was appointed chairman of all these committees, and by this mark of confidence, Congress evinced its appreciation of his eminent executive abilities.

On the twenty-sixth the conciliatory resolutions of Lord North were laid before Congress; and the significant commentary upon them, made by that body on the same day, was a resolution that the colonies should be "immediately put in a state of defence." At the same time a "humble and dutiful petition to the king" was moved, while the colony of New York was strongly urged not to relax its vigilance and its preparations for defence.

The motion to petition his majesty was vehemently opposed, especially by the New England delegates. John Adams considered it an imbecile and temporizing measure, calculated to embarrass the proceedings of Congress, and to give the ministry time to send fleets and armies, while the Americans were vainly waiting to hear words of royal clemency. The motion was carried, however, but its advocates, as well as its opponents, went on vigorously in preparations to meet the wrath of offended Britain. The Congress evi-

dently considered it more as a formality than a means of usefulness at that time, for they had been taught by remembered experience, not to put their "trust in princes."

It was important to bring the Canadians into the union, and efforts toward that end were made in and out of Congress during the summer, which proved ultimately detrimental to the cause. On the twenty-ninth an address "To the Oppressed Inhabitants of Canada" was approved by Congress; and on the following day a letter was received from Colonel Arnold, at Crown Point, informing that body that a considerable number of British regulars were at St. John, on the Sorel, preparing to invade northern New York. Congress thereupon recommended the authorities of New York and Connecticut to take immediate measures to strengthen Ticonderoga and Crown Point; but, cautious, and hoping to secure the allegiance of the Canadians, it was resolved, on the first of June, "that no expedition or incursion ought to be undertaken or made, by any colony or body of colonists, against or into Canada."* This resolution, which defeated the hopes and desires of Ethan Allen and others, who were anxious to invade Canada immediately, was translated into the French language, and circulated in that province, with the letter to the inhabitants just referred to.

Notwithstanding these loyal and cautious measures, the work of preparation for war went vigorously forward, but not in unmindfulness of the Source of all strength, for a day of national fasting, humiliation, and prayer was appointed.† Then the armed yeomanry at Boston were adopted by Congress, and with other forces raised or to be raised for the defence of the colonies, became known as the "American Continental Army."‡ It was also resolved, on

* Journals of Congress, edition of 1800, i., 104.

† They appointed the twentieth of July for that purpose. Marshall, in his diary of the thirtieth of June, says, "This being monthly meeting [of the quakers] it is said J * * P * * [James Pemberton] took much pains in endeavoring to persuade the auditors, and they, their acquaintances, by no means to keep the twentieth of next month as a day of prayer and fasting, but to keep open shop and houses. This was, in plain terms, saying, you may frolic as much as you please on that day, but don't, by any means, suffer yourselves to be humble, or praying on that day, because it is appointed by the delegates for that service, to pray and worship God." In the resolution appointing this fast-day, Congress, for the first time, styled the confederation "The Twelve United Colonies."

‡ See Form of Enlistment, Journals of Congress, edition of 1800, i., 111.

the fourteenth of June, "that six companies of expert riflemen be immediately raised in Pennsylvania, two in Maryland, and two in Virginia," each company to consist of sixty-eight privates, besides officers, and to join the army at Boston as soon as possible, there to serve as light infantry.*

And now a subject of greatest import occupied the attention of Congress. A man was to be selected to lead the "American continental army," and accordingly, on Thursday, the fifteenth of June, Congress resolved "that a general be appointed to command all the continental forces, raised or to be raised, for the defence of American liberty;" and "that five hundred dollars, per month, be allowed for the pay and expenses of the general." This was a most difficult and delicate task, and yet it was one that would not admit of delay. The critical condition of the army at Boston demanded immediate action, for all was confusion. Without munitions of war, without arms, without clothing, and without pay, it was on the eve of dissolution, and New England legislatures, committees, and individuals, as well as the commanders of the motley forces, were importuning Congress to act with promptness and efficiency.

General Ward was at the head of the army, doing his best, but it was conceded that he did not possess all the requisites of a skilful and judicious commander, so essential for the important service now to be performed; and it was evident in Congress, that the southern delegates were desirous of having a southern man appointed to the chief command. They could not bear the idea of a New England army, commanded by a New England general. This local jealousy produced the embarrassment. Whether it was real or feigned—whether it arose from principle or pride, was of no consequence. It existed and had to be met in a conciliatory spirit.

The story of the scene on that occasion is well told by John Adams, who was a conspicuous actor. "The intention," he says, "was very visible to me, that Colonel Washington was their object; and so many of our stanchest men were in the plan, that we could

* Journals of Congress, i., 110

carry nothing without conceding to it. Another embarrassment, which was never publicly known, and which was carefully concealed by those who knew it, was, that the Massachusetts and other New England delegates were divided. Mr. Hancock and Mr. Cushing hung back; Mr. Paine did not come forward, and even Mr. Samuel Adams was irresolute. Mr. Hancock himself had an ambition to be appointed commander-in-chief. Whether he thought an election a compliment due to him, and intended to have the honor of declining it, or whether he would have accepted, I know not. To the compliment he had some pretensions, for, at that time, his exertions, sacrifices, and general merits in the cause of his country had been incomparably greater than those of Colonel Washington. But the delicacy of his health, and his entire want of experience in actual service, though an excellent militia officer, were decisive objections to him, in my mind. In canvassing this subject, out of doors, I found, too, that even among the delegates of Virginia there were difficulties. The apostolical reasonings among themselves, which should be greatest, were not less energetic among the saints of the ancient dominion, than they were among us of New England. In several conversations, I found more than one very cool about the appointment of Washington, and particularly Mr. Pendleton was very clear and full against it.

“Full of anxieties concerning these confusions, and apprehending daily that we should hear very distressing news from Boston, I walked with Mr. Samuel Adams in the statehouse yard, for a little exercise and fresh air, before the hour of Congress, and there represented to him the various dangers that surrounded us. He agreed to them all, but said, ‘What shall we do?’ I answered him, that he knew I had taken great pains to get our colleagues to agree upon some plan, that we might be unanimous; but he knew that they would pledge themselves to nothing; but I was determined to take a step which should compel them and all the other members of Congress, to declare themselves for or against something. ‘I am determined, this morning, to make a direct motion that Congress should adopt the army before Boston, and appoint

Colonel Washington commander of it.' Mr. Adams seemed to think very seriously of it, but said nothing.

"Accordingly, when Congress had assembled, I rose in my place, and in as short a speech as the subject would admit, represented the state of the colonies, the uncertainty in the minds of the people, their great expectation and anxiety, the distresses of the army, the danger of its dissolution, the difficulty of collecting another, and the probability that the British army would take advantage of our delays, march out of Boston, and spread desolation as far as they could go. I concluded with a motion, in form, that Congress would adopt the army at Cambridge, and appoint a general; that though this was not the proper time to nominate a general, yet, as I had reason to believe this was a point of the greatest difficulty, I had no hesitation to declare, that I had but one gentleman in my mind for that important command, and that was a gentleman from Virginia who was among us, and very well known to all of us; a gentleman whose skill and experience as an officer, whose independent fortune, great talents, and excellent universal character, would command the approbation of all America, and unite the cordial exertions of all the colonies better than any other person in the Union. Mr. Washington, who happened to sit near the door, as soon as he heard me allude to him, from his usual modesty, darted into the library-room. Mr. Hancock—who was our president,* which gave me an opportunity to observe his countenance while I was speaking on the state of the colonies, the army at Cambridge, and the enemy—heard me with visible pleasure; but when I came to describe Washington for the commander, I never remarked a more sudden and striking change of countenance.

* Mr. Hancock was chosen to that office on the twenty-fourth of May, when Peyton Randolph, the president, left Philadelphia to attend to his duties as speaker of the Virginia assembly, which was to convene on the first of June. Mr. Randolph was a native of Virginia, and descended from one of the oldest aristocratic families of that colony. Like other young men of his class, at that time, he was educated in England, chose the profession of law, and at the age of twenty seven years, he was attorney general of the province. That was in the year 1756. He was, for some years, a member of the Virginia assembly, and speaker of that body. He resumed his seat in Congress, on his return from Virginia, and died of apoplexy, at the country-house of Richard Hills, near Philadelphia, after dinner, on Sunday, the twenty-second of October, 1775, at the age of fifty-two years. His funeral sermon was preached in Christ church, by Mr. Duché, on the twenty-fourth.





John Hancock



Mortification and resentment were expressed as forcibly as his face could exhibit them.

“Mr. Samuel Adams seconded the motion, and that did not soften the president’s physiognomy at all. The subject came under debate, and several gentlemen declared themselves against the appointment of Mr. Washington, not on account of any personal objection against him, but because the army were all from New England, had a general of their own, appeared to be satisfied with him, and had proved themselves able to imprison the British army in Boston, which was all they expected or desired at that time. Mr. Pendleton, of Virginia, and Mr. Sherman, of Connecticut, were very explicit in declaring this opinion. Mr. Cushing and several others more faintly expressed their opposition, and their fears of discontent in the army and in New England.... The subject was postponed to a future day. In the meantime pains were taken, out of doors, to obtain a unanimity, and the voices were generally so clearly in favor of Washington, that the dissentient members were persuaded to withdraw their opposition, and Mr. Washington was nominated, I believe, by Mr. Thomas Johnson, of Maryland, unanimously elected, and the army adopted.”*

The vote was taken by ballots, and each bore the name of GEORGE WASHINGTON. It was a happy choice. Looking back from the stand point of to-day, uninfluenced by the personal and partisan considerations which then prevailed, we distinctly see the hand of God in history, in viewing this remarkable event. New England was then in a blaze of excitement, and every voice was for war. Reason had lost its conservative power, and passion, blind and headstrong, led all men there triumphantly in its thrall. In that leadership there was imminent danger, for an injudicious act, having a national bearing, might extinguish every hope of future advantage. Those more remote from the theatre of the excitement reflected coolly, saw the peril, and trembled; and on this account, the delegates from New York and the colonies southward, were unwilling to intrust the command of the continental army to a New England

* Works of John Adams (Diary), ii., 415.

officer, whose conduct would receive its key-note from the tone of thoughts and events around him.* The idea of political independence for the colonies, did not then prevail out of New England. The war was for right and justice, not for independence. Reconciliation upon honorable terms was still the great desire of the nation, and it was vitally important that the man who should be the chief leader of the physical strength of the country should be deeply impressed with this thought.

Of the officers who had been proposed during the discussion, some were distinguished for their great zeal for blind resistance and independence; and others, unpledged and uncommitted, though inhabitants, were not natives of America. None of them possessed the ample fortune and social position of Washington, who, in addition to these advantages, so important at that time, had strong claims because of past military services, and was a native American. He, alone, could command unwavering national confidence, and he, alone, appears to have fully deserved it. In all the preliminary strifes in which he had been called to engage, he had been firm, steady, and conservative. Naturally impulsive and irritable, he had become, by severe discipline, and resolute self-control, the complete master of all his passions, and in achieving this victory, he had given greater energy and authority to every better quality of his mind. "The language and deportment of this truly great man," says an eminent British writer,† "were, in general, remarkably exempt from every strain of irregular vehemence, and every symptom of indeliberate thought; disclosing an even tenor of steadfast propriety, an austere but graceful simplicity, sound, considerate sense and prudence, the gravity of a profound understanding and habitual reflection, and the tranquil grandeur of an elevated soul."

"Nature and fortune," continues Doctor Grahame, "had singularly combined to adapt and to designate this individual for the

* "When we first came together," John Adams wrote to his wife, on the seventeenth of June, "I found a strong jealousy of us from New England, and the Massachusetts in particular. Suspicions entertained of designs of independency; an American republic, presbyterian principles, and twenty other things."

† James Grahame, LL. D., author of a Colonial History of the United States.

distinguished situations which he now and afterward attained, and the arduous duties they involved. Calm, modest, and reserved, yet dignified, intrepid, inflexibly firm and persevering; indefatigably industrious and methodical; just, yet merciful and humane; frugal and calculating, yet disinterested; circumspect yet enterprising; serious, virtuous, consistent, temperate, and sincere—his moral portraiture displays a blended variety of excellence, in which it is difficult to assign a predominant lustre to any particular grace, except, perhaps, a grave, majestic composure. Ever superior to Fortune, he enjoyed her smiles with moderation, endured her frowns with serenity, and showed himself alike in victory forbearing, and in defeat undaunted. No danger or difficulty could disturb his equanimity, and no disaster paralyze his energy or dishearten his confidence. The same adverse vicissitude that would have drained an ordinary breast of all its spirit, served but to call forth new streams of vigor from Washington's generous soul. His countenance and general aspect corresponded with the impression produced by his character. Fixed, firm, collected, and resolved, yet considerately kind, it seemed composed for dignity and high exploit. A sound belief in the divine doctrines of Christianity, he was punctual and devout in discharging every public and private office of Christian piety. Perhaps there never was another man who trod with more unsullied honor the highest ways of glory, or whose personal character and conduct exercised an influence so powerful and so beneficial on the destiny of a great nation."

Such was the man into whose hands the supreme legislature of THE UNITED COLONIES placed the commission and sword of commander-in-chief of their armies. When this solemn act was consummated, the house adjourned. When it was convened the next morning, President Hancock communicated to Washington, officially, the notice of his appointment. He immediately rose in his place, and said, with a somewhat faltering voice:—

"MR. PRESIDENT: Though I am truly sensible of the high honor done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress, from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be

equal to the extensive and important trust. However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation. But, lest some unlucky event should happen unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered, by every gentleman in this room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with. As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept the arduous employment at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness; I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire.”*

This brief speech is a model of taste, discretion, directness, and condensation. It was delivered on an occasion when the souls of most men would have found expression in many and burning words. But Washington, always calm, dignified, and modest, expressed in fewest words, the feelings, desires, and determinations, that possessed him at that moment; and every man in his presence felt that the speaker was acting under the conscious influence of divine inspiration. Great and to be coveted as was the *honor* of his position, to Washington it was a great *sacrifice*; and in the act and terms of acceptance he gave himself as a noble victim upon the altar of freedom. “There is something charming to me in the conduct of Washington,” John Adams wrote to a friend; “a gentleman of one of the first fortunes upon the continent, leaving his delicious retirement, his family and friends, sacrificing his ease, and hazarding all in the cause of his country. His views are noble and disinterested.” And to his wife, Adams wrote: “I hope the people of our province will

* Alluding to this generous proposition, Lord Byron wrote —

“Great men have always scorned great recompenses;
Epaminondas saved his Thebes, and died,
Not leaving even his funeral expenses:
George Washington had thanks, and naught beside,
Except the all-cloudless glory (which few men’s is)
To free his country.”

treat the general with all that confidence and affection, that politeness and respect, which is due to one of the most important characters in the world. The liberties of America depend upon him, in a great degree."

Ardently attached to his wife, his friends, his home, and the pleasures of social enjoyment and domestic repose, it was hard for Washington to leave all these, at the call of his country, without even returning to bid them farewell. He made the sacrifice cheerfully, however, having no other concern than distrust in his ability to satisfy the expectations of the nation, and the pain his absence and danger would give his wife and friends. To his wife he wrote an affectionate letter, on the eighteenth. After speaking of his appointment, and the necessity for his proceeding immediately to Boston, he said: "You may believe me, my dear Patsy, when I assure you, in the most solemn manner, that, so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavor in my power to avoid it, not only from my unwillingness to part with you and the family, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity, and that I should enjoy more real happiness in one month with you, at home, than I have the most distant prospect of finding abroad, if my stay were to be seven times seven years. But as it has been a kind of destiny that has thrown me upon this service, I shall hope that my undertaking is designed to answer some good purpose.... It was utterly out of my power to refuse this appointment, without exposing my character to such censures as would have reflected dishonor upon myself, and given pain to my friends. This, I am sure, could not, and ought not, to be pleasing to you, and must have lessened me considerably in my own esteem. I shall rely, therefore, confidently on that Providence, which has heretofore preserved and been bountiful to me, not doubting but I shall return safe to you in the fall."*

On the twentieth Washington received his commission from the

* Sparks's Life and Writings of Washington, iii., 2. "This is the only letter from Washington to his wife," says Doctor Sparks, "which has come into my hands. It is understood, that Mrs. Washington destroyed all of his other letters to her, a short time before her death."

president of Congress,* and on that day he wrote to the captains of the independent companies of Virginia, and to his brother, John

* The following is the form of that commission :—

"The delegates of the United Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on the Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina :—

"TO GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQUIRE.

"We, reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, conduct, and fidelity, do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you to be general and commander-in-chief of the army of the United Colonies, and of all the forces raised, or to be raised by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their service, and join the said army for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof; and you are hereby vested with full power and authority to act as you shall think for the good and welfare of the service.

"And we do hereby strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command to be obedient to your orders, and diligent in the exercise of their several duties.

"And we do also enjoin and require you to be careful in executing the great trust reposed in you, by causing strict discipline and order to be observed in the army, and that the soldiers are duly exercised, and provided with all convenient necessaries.

"And you are to regulate your conduct, in every respect, by the rules and discipline of war (as here given you), and punctually to observe and follow such directions, from time to time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of these United Colonies, or committee of Congress.

"This commission is to continue in force until revoked by this or a future Congress.

"By order of Congress.

"JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

"Philadelphia, June 19th, 1775.

"Attest, CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary.*"

This commission, and the instructions for the commander-in-chief, were prepared by a committee, consisting of Richard Henry Lee, Edward Rutledge, and John Adams. The original commission is carefully preserved in a glass case, with other mementoes of Washington, in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington city. The following is a copy of the instructions :—

"This Congress having appointed you to be general and commander-in-chief of the army of the United Colonies, of all the forces raised or to be raised by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their service, and join the said army for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof, you are to repair with all expedition to the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and take charge of the army of the United Colonies. For your better direction :—

"1. You are to make a return to us as soon as possible of all forces, which you shall have under your command, together with their military stores and provisions; and also as exact an account as you can obtain of the forces which compose the British army in America.

"2. You are not to disband any of the men you find raised until further direction from this Congress; and if you shall think their numbers not adequate to the purpose of security, you may recruit them to a number you shall think sufficient, not exceeding double that of the enemy.

"3. In all cases of vacancy occasioned by the death or removal of a colonel, or other inferior officer, you are by brevet, or warrant under your seal, to appoint another person to fill up such vacancy, until it shall otherwise be ordered by the provincial convention, or the assembly of the colony from whence are the troops in which such vacancy happens, shall direct otherwise.

"4. You are to victual, at the continental expense, all such volunteers as have joined or shall join the united army.

"5. You shall take every method in your power, consistent with prudence, to destroy or make prisoners of all persons who now are, or who hereafter shall appear, in arms against the good people of the United Colonies.

"6. And whereas, all particulars can not be foreseen, nor positive instructions for such emergencies so beforehand given, but that many things must be left to your prudent and discreet management, as occurrences may arise upon the place, or from time to time fall out, you are, therefore, upon all such accidents, or any occasions that may happen, to use your best circumspection; and, advising with your council of war, to order and dispose of the said army under your command, as may

Augustine Washington. To the former he communicated the intelligence of his appointment, and conjured them, by no means, to relax in the discipline of their respective companies. To the latter he also communicated the fact of his position, assured his brother that it was not sought by himself, and declared his conviction that it required greater abilities and much more experience than he possessed, "to conduct a business so extensive in its nature, and arduous in the execution." Then, his thoughts recurring to his beloved wife, he tenderly said, "I shall hope that my friends will visit and endeavor to keep up the spirits of my wife, as much as they can, for my departure will, I know, be a cutting stroke upon her; and on this account alone, I have many disagreeable sensations. I hope that you and my sister, though the distance is great, will find so much time this summer as to spend a little at Mount Vernon."

Washington left Philadelphia on the morning of the twenty-first of June, for Cambridge, to take command of the army there. He was escorted out of the city by several companies of infantry, rangers, riflemen, artillery, and a troop of light-horse, in all about two thousand men, whom he had already reviewed, at the request of their officers. The troop of light-horse accompanied him to New York, and shared in the reception honors which awaited the commander-in-chief at every step.

be most advantageous for the obtaining of the end for which these forces have been raised, making it your especial care, in discharge of the great trust committed unto you, that the liberties of America receive no detriment."

CHAPTER XLVIII.

APPOINTMENT OF ARMY OFFICERS—LEE AND GATES—WARD, LEE, SCHUYLER, AND PUTNAM, CHOSEN MAJOR-GENERALS—GATES APPOINTED ADJUTANT-GENERAL—CHARACTERISTIC SKETCHES—EIGHT BRIGADIERS CHOSEN—THEIR NAMES AND CHARACTERS—CONTINENTAL CURRENCY—RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR THE ARMY—EVENTS IN MASSACHUSETTS—TREASURY-NOTES—ARRIVAL OF BRITISH GENERALS—GAGE'S PROCLAMATION—THE AMERICAN ARMY—ITS CHARACTER AND APPOINTMENTS.

WHEN Congress had finished the important business of appointing a commander-in-chief for the continental army, and had resolved to maintain and assist him, and adhere to him with their lives and fortunes, they proceeded to choose other general officers, by ballot. This, too, was a delicate business, for military men are exceedingly sensitive concerning rank, precedence, and other punctilios.

At that time there were two military officers residing in Virginia, who had been educated in the British army, made pretensions to much military knowledge, and were ambitious of distinction. These were Charles Lee and Horatio Gates; the former already holding the commission of a major-general, obtained in the Polish service, and the latter bearing the honor of a majority in the British army. They were both Englishmen by birth. Lee was by far the ablest man, in genius, talent, and acquirements, but he lacked many of the high moral qualities for which Gates was distinguished. These men had both espoused the American cause, and were looked upon by the patriots as important acquisitions. They had been frequent guests at Mount Vernon; and both, doubtless, aspired to be second in command, when they saw the supreme honor conferred upon the noble Virginian.

Lee was some months older than Washington, and had been in

military life since his eleventh year, when he received a commission. He had acquired a good education by the irregular efforts of a quick, apt, and energetic mind. At his majority he was a good Greek and Latin scholar, and was acquainted with several of the modern languages of Europe, acquired by personal experience among the people. At the age of twenty-four years he was in America, in command of a company of grenadiers, engaged in the conflicts of the French and Indian war, which terminated in the conquest of Canada. He became acquainted with the warriors of the Six Nations, especially with those of the Mohawk valley, whose manly beauty, stately carriage, free dress, and romantic character, charmed him exceedingly. He revelled in the exuberance of young manhood among those children of the forest; and his brave, impetuous, and restless spirit, always surging with aspirations for new action, so captivated the Mohawks in turn, that they adopted him into the Bear tribe, as a chief, and gave him the appropriate and significant name of *Boiling-Water*.

At Ticonderoga with Abercrombie, at Niagara with Prideaux and Johnson, on the Ohio with a few companions, and on the St. Lawrence with Amherst, Lee was always distinguished for his courage, impetuosity and skill, in conflict and in strategy. After that old war was over he went to England, was promoted to lieutenant-colonel, joined Burgoyne on the river Tagus, in Spain, and at the head of a corps of grenadiers, distinguished himself by a bold and successful night attack upon an old Moorish castle, occupied by the enemy.

On his return to England, Lee found his country greatly excited by political questions. Into these he plunged with all the fiery strength of his nature; and he wielded his pen against the ministry as gallantly as he had wielded his sword against the foes of England. Court favor was thus lost, and his eagle eye and impulsive nature turned toward Poland, then on the verge of civil war, as a theatre for glorious action. Thitherward he made his way. He tarried briefly in the capital of the great Frederick of Prussia, and was cordially entertained by that monarch; and at Warsaw he

became a welcome guest at the table and in the household of Poniatowsky, the newly-elected king of that country. But active service was denied him by the peaceful current of events, and for two years he indulged in the inglorious ease of a royal court. Then, out of his love of action and adventure, he accompanied the Polish ambassador toward Constantinople. Tired of that functionary's tardiness, he pushed forward, joined some Turks on their way from Moldavia, and, after suffering terrible hardships and almost death among the Bulgarian mountains, he reached Constantinople. He soon afterward returned to England, made his pen felt in political strife there for a brief season, and then went to Poland.

Erratic as a meteor, we see Lee, in the lapse of a few years, flashing here and there in the lurid sky of military movements on the eastern borders of the continent; and in 1769, as major-general in the Polish army, he fought gallantly in a severe battle between the Russians and Turks, in Moldavia. Then, for awhile, he disappeared from public view, while roving over Italy, Sicily, Malta, and southern Spain, half-sick, irascible, and quarrelsome, and engaging in severe contentions and occasional duellos. Again in England, his pen became active against the ministry; and so well was its keenness and his habitual boldness known, that the letters of Junius were attributed to him. Finally, in 1773, he came to America, travelled in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and in 1774, appeared in Boston. His presence there, at that time, when the colonial rebellion was rapidly rising, made the British officers very uneasy, and they reported him to the imperial cabinet, as a dangerous character, and doubtless bent on exciting a general revolt, in order to become a leader of the discontented Americans. That idea stirred the fears of the ministry, and Dartmouth wrote to Gage these cautious words: "Have an attention to his conduct, and take every legal method to prevent his effecting any of those dangerous purposes he is said to have in view."

For almost a year Lee had travelled, written, and talked in America, and had become an itinerant preacher of revolution, when he appeared in Philadelphia, in May, 1775, a close observer of the

doings of Congress. Too restless to become a local politician, he was now in New England, and now in New York and Pennsylvania; and, finally, on visiting Major Gates, at Berkeley, in Virginia, he was persuaded by that gentleman to invest what little he possessed in the purchase of an adjoining estate. He had but recently performed this act of citizenship, when called upon by Congress to take a conspicuous part in the war for independence, he having been chosen one of the four major-generals of the continental army. on Saturday, the seventeenth of June, 1775.

Lee was nominated for the next in command to General Washington, and his election was strongly urged by Mifflin and others, not only on account of his superior military skill, but because it was thought that he would not consent to be third on the list; and he was a character of too much importance not to be secured at that crisis. Adams, and the New England delegations in general, as strongly urged the appointment of General Ward, chiefly because his position, as commander-in-chief of the army at Cambridge, fairly entitled him to that honor. General Ward was a Massachusetts man, almost fifty years of age, and had seen some service in the French and Indian war. He had been a member of the legislature of his native province, and, at that time, held a responsible judicial office. As a personal compliment, rather than because of his military merits, General Ward was elected the first major-general; and Lee was elected the second. A committee immediately waited upon Lee, at his lodgings, to inform him of his appointment. He accepted it without hesitation, much to the relief of those who had fears that his pride would stand in the way. But his own words, previously expressed, in relation to the suspicion that he was aspiring to be the leader of the revolution, were sufficient to allay such fears. "To think myself qualified for the most important charge that ever was committed to mortal man," he wrote, "is the last stage of presumption; nor do I think the Americans would or ought to confide in a man, let his qualifications be ever so great, who has no property among them."

Lee's appointment gave great satisfaction, for the American peo-

ple had conceived extravagant ideas concerning his great military powers. Some went so far as to call him "the Palladium of American liberty!" There were some, however, who foresaw difficulty, because of the fiery spirit, love of adventure, and inordinate ambition of Lee. Subsequent events proved the justice of this distrust.

On the same day when Ward and Lee were chosen major-generals, Congress elected Horatio Gates to be adjutant-general. This was a judicious appointment, and was made on the urgent recommendation of Washington. Major Gates was a gentleman in manners, and was an excellent tactician and disciplinarian. The services of such an officer were much needed in the organization of the army, at Cambridge, about to be made. Gates was then in the prime of life; thoroughly acquainted with the arts and blandishments of good society; social, pliant, obsequious, and vain. His complexion was florid; his person commanding, and a little inclined to corpulency, and his deportment extremely winning. He was an Englishman by birth, and common rumor assigned his paternity to Horace Walpole, his god-father, whose Christian name he bore.

Gates was well educated, and at an early age entered the army, and served as a volunteer under Sir Edward Cornwallis, governor of Halifax. In the expedition under Braddock he commanded a New York independent company, and was severely wounded by the passage of a musket-ball through his body, on the field of Monongahela. He was afterward appointed brigade-major; and, in 1762, he accompanied General Monckton, as aid-de-camp, to the West Indies, where he distinguished himself in the capture of Martinico. Gates carried the news of that event to England, and was rewarded by the appointment of major to a regiment of foot. This office was much below his expectations, and he retired on half-pay. For some time afterward he lingered in London, a courtier at the feet of the rich and powerful, petitioning for some lucrative office, for he had a dependent family. Disappointed and chagrined at what he deemed neglect, he sold his commission, came to America in 1772, and purchased an estate in Berkeley county, Virginia, in the valley beyond the Blue Ridge, north of Winchester. He

then renewed his acquaintance with Washington, and became a warm partisan of the American cause. Gates had aspired to the place now occupied by Lee, but he cheerfully accepted the lower station of a brigadier in rank, because it promised preferment.

On Monday, the nineteenth of June, Philip Schuyler, of New York, a man of whom it might be as truly said, as of the Chevalier Bayard, "he was without fear and without reproach," was chosen the third major-general, and the veteran Putnam, of Connecticut, the fourth. Schuyler belonged, by birth and marriage, to some of the oldest, wealthiest, most popular, and most influential of the Dutch families in New York, and his appointment gave great satisfaction in his native province. He had entered the army against the French and Indians, in 1755, and commanded a company under Sir William Johnson. Always on the alert, eminently judicious, and scrupulously faithful in every trust, he attracted the attention of young Lord Howe, in 1758, who placed him in the commissariat department. He accompanied that young nobleman, under Abercrombie, in the expedition against Ticonderoga; and when Howe fell, Schuyler, then bearing the commission of colonel, was intrusted with the sad duty of conveying the mortal remains to Albany for interment. After the war he was active in the colonial assembly; and, in that body, he was always the determined opponent of the British government, in its oppressive measures toward the colonists. In 1775, he was chosen a member of the continental Congress, and was in attendance at Philadelphia when that body honored him with the appointment of major-general.

During the French and Indian war, Schuyler had seen much of the daring and bravery of Putnam, who was now almost sixty years of age, and he was pleased with the appointment of that officer as his associate major-general. He knew his worth, and his great influence among the New England people; and for these adventitious qualities, as well as because of his ability as a soldier, Putnam's appointment was very satisfactory to the commander-in-chief. Putnam had seen much, and hard, and varied service, having been appointed to the command of the first troops raised in Connecticut

for the French and Indian war, in 1755. At the head of rangers and in other service, his performances through the whole of that war were very important. He, too, went to the West Indies in 1762, in command of a Connecticut regiment, under General Lyman; and after great hardships and frightful experiences, he returned, and was soon in command of troops sent against the Indians on the great lakes of the northwest. From that time he had been a quiet farmer, until aroused by the cry of blood from Lexington, when all the fire of his military spirit blazed intensely, and he hastened toward Boston, as we have seen, eager to strike for his country.

The eight brigadier-generals appointed by Congress, on the twenty-second of June, were named in the following order, and took rank accordingly: Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathanael Greene. Pomeroy was from Northampton, Massachusetts. He had been active in the French and Indian war; and it is supposed that his bullet wounded the Baron Dieskau, in the battle at the head of Lake George, in 1755. He was already, in the camp at Boston, commissioned a brigadier by the provincial Congress of Massachusetts; and while the continental legislators were considering these appointments, he was fighting on Bunker's hill, as a volunteer. But Pomeroy declined the proffered commission. Spencer then took rank next to Putnam in the army at Cambridge, and Thomas, who was Ward's lieutenant, was made first brigadier.

Montgomery was a young Irish officer, who had served gallantly under Wolfe, and also in the West Indies in 1762. He had married a sister of Robert R. Livingston, of New York, and was residing upon a beautiful estate on the Hudson, when called to accept the honor of a brigadier's commission from Congress. Wooster was an old man of sixty-five, and a veteran soldier. He was a native of Connecticut, and had held the commission of captain in the expedition against Louisburg, thirty years before. He had served first as a colonel and then as a brigadier in the French and Indian war, and was one of the principal conspirators against Ticonderoga, in

1775. Notwithstanding his age and rank, he cheerfully accepted the office of third brigadier, for he was an ardent patriot, and was ready to serve his country in any capacity.

Heath, who lived to become the last survivor of the major-generals of the Revolution, was a native of Roxbury, and, like Montgomery, was quite a young man, being then thirty-eight years of age. As early as 1770, he had employed his pen in urging upon his countrymen the necessity of military discipline. He was active in organizing and drilling the militia and minute-men; and he was in the camp at Boston when appointed a brigadier. Spencer was a native of East Haddam, Connecticut, and was past sixty years of age. He had served in the campaigns of the French and Indian war, as a major and colonel. Thomas was a Plymouth man, and had also been a soldier in the French and Indian war. He, too, was in the camp at Boston, whither he had come at the head of a regiment raised by himself in Kingston, Massachusetts.

Sullivan was a fiery young soldier, of Irish blood, and a lawyer in New Hampshire. He espoused the patriot cause at an early hour, and was a member of the first continental Congress. After the adjournment of that body he was very active in promoting the revolution in New Hampshire. His zeal and military taste and skill, commended him to the continental Congress as worthy of a brigadier's commission; and a perception of the same qualities in Greene, the Rhode Island quaker, caused Congress to confer the same honor upon him. Greene and Sullivan were of the same age, both having been born in the year 1740.

Such were the chief officers chosen by Congress to assist Washington in the command of the continental army. All of them, except Lee, Gates, Schuyler, and Montgomery, were natives and inhabitants of New England; and the impromptu army assembled at Boston, received the intelligence of their appointment with great satisfaction.

Having made provisions for an army, the next care of Congress was to provide the "sinews of war." The requisite amount of money could not be obtained in specie. Having been deprived, in

a great measure, of commercial intercourse with the rest of the world, by the unwise, restrictive policy of Great Britain, for more than a hundred years, and by the recent acts of Parliament and their own non-intercourse policy, the colonies saw no other resource than that of a paper currency. The New York convention, foreseeing the necessity of such a measure, had already considered the subject, and a few weeks previously, a committee of that body had reported suggestions. They proposed three distinct modes of issuing paper-money. First, that each colony should issue, for itself, the sum which might be appropriated to it by Congress. Second, that the United Colonies should issue the whole sum necessary, and each colony become bound to sink its proportionate part; and, third, that Congress should issue the whole sum, every colony be bound to discharge its proportion, and the United Colonies be obliged to pay that part which any colony should fail to discharge. The convention preferred the last mode, as affording higher security to the bill-holders, and, of consequence, as likely to obtain more ready, general, and confidential circulation.* It was also believed, that this mutual responsibility would be an additional bond of union to the associated colonies.

The third proposition was substantially adopted by the Congress, and on the twenty-second of June, they "*Resolved*, That a sum, not exceeding two millions of Spanish milled dollars, be emitted by the Congress, in bills of credit, for the defence of America." Four weeks afterward, the issuing of another million was authorized by Congress; and twenty-eight gentlemen were appointed to sign these bills, it being necessary for each note to have the signature of two persons.† The faith of the confederated colonies was pledged for

* Pitkin's Political and Civil History of the United States, i., 347. Also, Records of the New York Convention.

† Congress, by resolution, specified the form of these bills as follows:—

"CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.

"No. ———.

——— dollars.

"This bill entitles the bearer to receive ——— Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in gold and silver, according to the resolutions of the Congress, held at Philadelphia, on the tenth day of May, A. D. 1775."

The paper on which these bills were printed was quite thick, and the British called it "the paste-board money of the rebels." They were engraved on copper, by Paul Revere, of Boston, who was

their redemption. This continental currency, to which we shall have other occasions to allude, was of incalculable benefit to the struggling colonists, during the first years of the war, for it was received in payment without hesitation. But at the end it became a source of great annoyance to the federal government, and of immense loss to the soldiers of the army, and the people at large.

On the thirtieth of June, Congress agreed upon a series of rules and regulations for the army, sixty-nine in number.* They were drawn up with great care, and contained minute specifications concerning the powers and duties of officers and the conduct of the soldiers. The first article required each officer and soldier to subscribe the rules and regulations at the time of receiving his commission or enlistment. Those already in the field might subscribe them, or continue to be governed by rules already in force, it being left optional, however, with the commander-in-chief to retain or dismiss those who might refuse to subscribe.

While the continental Congress was thus making arrangements to engage in the coming struggle, the representatives of the people of Massachusetts, where war actually existed, were equally vigilant and active in preparations. Early in May the provincial Congress of Massachusetts, after authorizing the emission of paper-money, to the amount of three hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, in sums suitable for a circulating medium, and directing the receiver-general to borrow that amount upon those notes (which bore an interest of six per cent.), formally repudiated royal power, by declaring that no obedience was due to General Gage as governor, or in any other capacity, and denouncing him as "an unnatural and inveterate enemy of the country."

a very active patriot. He was an ingenious mechanic, and made the press on which the faces of the bills were printed. The backs were printed with type, and bore an ornamental border, within which was printed the denomination of the bill, the place and year of its issue, and the names of the printers, with a central figure of a leaf and flower, or leaves and stems. The type printers, were Hall & Sellers, Philadelphia. The vignettes and mottoes were always significant. For example: on a bill before me is a candlestick, with thirteen branches and burners, denoting the number of the United Colonies, and the motto, "ONE FIRE AND TO THE SAME PURPOSE." On another, a thorn-bush with a hand grasping it; motto, "SUSTAIN OR ABSTAIN." One issued eighteen days after the declaration of independence, bears the figure of a majestic oak-tree; motto, "I SHALL FLOURISH THROUGH AGES OF AGES."

* These were materially modified a few months afterward.

On the twenty-fifth of May, the *Cerberus*, man-of-war, arrived at Boston with several transports, bearing three distinguished British generals—Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne. They came with false notions of the strength, temper, and resources of the Americans, and were disposed to look upon the revolution now begun, as a rebellion that might be crushed in a few weeks. They had been positively assured, before leaving England, that submission would be tendered to them so immediately on their arrival, that they would have no occasion to unsheath their swords. Thus deluded, they had actually prepared themselves for the enjoyment of hunting, fishing, and other amusements, instead of engaging in military service; and it is said that when the *Cerberus* entered Boston harbor, and the “rebel camp” was pointed out, that boasting coxcomb, Burgoyne, exclaimed, “What! ten thousand peasants keep five thousand king’s troops shut up! Well, let us get in, and we will soon find elbow-room.”* This haughty contempt for the Americans was the fatal error of the British officers during the earlier years of the war.

Feeling strengthened by these arrivals, Gage prepared to act vigorously against his jailers, resolved no longer to submit to such inglorious restraint. He issued a proclamation on the twelfth of June, insulting in words and menacing in tone. It declared martial law; pronounced those in arms and their abettors, to be “rebels, parricides of the constitution,” and offered a free pardon to all who should forthwith return to their allegiance, except those arch-offenders, John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who were outlawed, and for whose apprehension as traitors, a reward was offered. This arrogant and offensive proclamation exasperated the people, and not one felt a desire to return to an allegiance so degrading. In the meantime, the American army had gradually increased in numbers, and fortifications had been commenced at Cambridge

* “The elbow-room general” was an epithet often applied to Burgoyne, in the satires of the day. “He used to relate,” says Frothingham, “that after his reverses, while a prisoner-of-war, he was received with great courtesy by the Boston people, as he stepped from the Charlestown ferry-boat; but he was really annoyed when an old lady, perched on a shed above the crowd, cried out at the top of a shrill voice: “Make way, make way—the general is coming! Give him elbow-room!”

and Roxbury. Early in June the whole force amounted, as we have observed, to about sixteen thousand men.

To the eye of military experience, and to that of the faith of patriots relying upon such an instrumentality to defend the hearths and homes of the land from a powerful invader, this army, though considerable in numbers, seemed utterly inadequate in its moral strength and its material panoply. Neighbors had flocked together, impelled by a sense of common danger; and officers and privates of the hastily-formed companies frequently stood on the same social level. To them the idea of military discipline was only a vague glimmer of the reality. They had come from different provinces, led by independent commanders. All were volunteers. The relations between them and the continental Congress had not yet been established; and as each man was (theoretically at least) master of his own desires and actions, insubordination in the army was a necessary condition. The only semblance to uniformity and discipline existed in the corps of artillery, partly organized under Colonel Gridley.* These were similarly attired, were furnished with good field-pieces, and were obedient to their commissioned head; but a great portion of their sidearms were returned as unfit for service. The greater portion of the remainder of the troops were without military dress or accoutrements, and presented a really ludicrous appearance.†

* We have an imperfect view of the actual strength of the battalion, in the return made on the sixteenth of June, which exhibited ten captains, with an aggregate of four hundred and seventeen men.

† An eye-witness gave a late writer a graphic description of the appearance of a single company of the army, just before the battle of Bunker's hill. It is a fair picture of the whole. "To a man," he said, "they wore small-clothes, coming down and fastening just below the knee, and long stockings, with cowhide-shoes ornamented by large buckles, while not a pair of boots graced the company. The coats and waistcoats were loose and of huge dimensions, with colors as various as the barks of oak, sumach, and other trees and shrubs of our hills and swamps could make them. Their shirts were all made of flax, and like every other part of the dress, were home-made. On their heads were worn large, round-top, and broad-brimmed hats. Their arms were as various as their costume; here an old soldier carried a heavy Queen Anne's musket, with which he had done service in the conquest of Canada, many years before; while by his side walked a stripling with a Spanish fusée, not half its weight or calibre, which his grandfather may have taken at the Havana; while not a few had old French pieces, which dated back to the siege of Louisburg. Instead of a cartridge-box, a large powder-horn was slung under the arm, and occasionally a bayonet might be seen bristling in the ranks. Some of the swords of the officers had been made by our province blacksmiths, perhaps from some farming utensil, and appeared serviceable, but heavy and uncouth."

—Kidder's History of New Ipswich.

The position of the American army was, on the whole, quite a strong one, notwithstanding the line was extended and comparatively weak in many places. The right wing, under General Thomas, was at Roxbury, and consisted of four thousand Massachusetts troops, including four artillery companies, with their field-pieces, and some heavier cannon. The Rhode Island "army of observation," under Greene, were at Jamaica Plains; and near them were Spencer's Connecticut troops. General Ward commanded the left wing, at Cambridge, which consisted of fifteen Massachusetts regiments, a battalion of artillery under Gridley, and Putnam's regiment and other Connecticut troops. Paterson's regiment was stationed at a redoubt cast up at the foot of Prospect hill, and a large guard was at Lechmere's point. The great body of the Connecticut troops were at Inman's farm. There was part of a regiment, under Colonel Gerrish, at Chelsea; Stark's regiment was at Medford, and Reid's was at Charlestown Neck, with sentinels reaching to Penny ferry (now Malden bridge) and Bunker's hill.*

Such were the numbers, position, character, and condition of the forces around Boston, when they were adopted by Congress as the AMERICAN CONTINENTAL ARMY.

* See Frothingham's "History of the Siege of Boston." This work contains a very minute account of every transaction in that siege, from the skirmishes at Lexington, to the evacuation of Boston by the British.

CHAPTER XLIX.

IMPATIENCE OF THE BELLIGERENTS TROOPS—INTENDED MOVEMENTS—BUNKER'S HILL TO BE FORTIFIED BY THE AMERICANS—A PARTY SENT FOR THE PURPOSE—THE NIGHT LABOR—ASTONISHMENT OF THE BRITISH IN THE MORNING—A CANNONADE—COMMOTION IN BOSTON—FORTIFICATIONS ON BREED'S HILL FINISHED—LANDING OF THE BRITISH—THE PATRIOTS IN THE REDOUBT—PREPARATIONS FOR CONFLICT—A NOVEL BREASTWORK—BATTLE OF "BUNKER'S HILL"—DEATH OF GENERAL WARREN—HIS CHARACTER.

THE second act in the sanguinary drama of the Revolution was now about to open. Strengthened by the arrival of fresh troops, and encouraged by the presence of Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, General Gage resolved to extend his rule beyond the narrow limits of the peninsula of Boston. Already both parties had endeavored to seize the hogs, sheep, and cattle upon the islands in Boston harbor, and in these efforts collisions had frequently occurred, on land and water, in which the Americans were generally triumphant. These little victories inspired them with such confidence, that they were anxious to attack the British troops, and burn the ships in the harbor. But prudence forbade the rash attempt. The British soldiers were likewise impatient; and the pride of the officers, joined to their habitual contempt for the Americans, counselled immediate action against the patriots. These counsels prevailed; and it was resolved to take possession of and fortify Dorchester heights (now in South Boston) on the night of the eighteenth of June.

Information of this resolution was communicated to the committee of safety and the commanding general, on the thirteenth, and this brought matters to a crisis. After mature deliberations in the committee, and in a council of war, it was resolved to employ

countervailing measures. For some time the propriety of fortifying Bunker's hill, an eminence on the Charlestown peninsula which overlooked the northern part of Boston, had been a subject for serious consideration. Now that measure was resolved upon, and the enterprise was intrusted to Colonel William Prescott, of Pepperell, who, in the council of war, had strongly advocated the necessity of such a measure. His words were weighty, for his judgment was highly respected. He was a veteran of other wars, a man of large property, a patriot of undoubted integrity, a soldier of skill and courage, and a citizen distinguished for his prudence, caution, and firmness.

A portion of three regiments, and a fatigue party of two hundred Connecticut troops, with intrenching tools, were detached for the labor on Bunker's hill; and at six o'clock in the evening of the sixteenth of June, these were paraded at Cambridge, and listened to an impressive prayer from the lips of President Langdon, of Harvard college. Provided with packs and blankets, and provisions for twenty-four hours, the party left Cambridge at nine in the evening, and proceeded silently and cautiously toward Charlestown Neck, led by Colonel Prescott and Chief-Engineer Gridley. They had been joined by a company of artillery, and at the Neck they were reinforced by more troops under Major Brooks, who was accompanied by General Putnam. The whole force now numbered about twelve hundred men. Prescott was tall and commanding in figure, wore a three-cornered hat and a top-wig, a blue coat, faced and lapped up at the skirts, and was altogether the most military-looking man at Cambridge. His bearing had a great effect upon the militia, and they cheerfully followed wherever he led, because they had confidence in his experience, judgment, and bravery.

The stars beamed brightly from a cloudless sky, and the night air was almost sultry when the expedition moved along Charlestown Neck, and marched over Bunker's hill. Nearer Boston, and far more eligible as commanding the city, was another eminence called Breed's hill. The written order to fortify Bunker's hill was explicit, but Prescott, after consultation, assumed the responsibility

of fortifying the latter instead, and to its summit the whole party marched. There, by the pale light of the stars, Colonel Gridley marked out the lines of a redoubt and intrenchments; and at almost midnight, the fatigue party exchanged their muskets for picks and spades, and commenced vigorously the labor of casting up breastworks. Everything was done as silently as the nature of the business would allow, for the British shipping lay very near.

“No shout disturbed the night,
Before that fearful fight!
There was no boasting high—
No marshalling of men,
Who ne'er might meet again—
No cup was filled and quaffed to victory!
No plumes were there,
No banners fair,
No trumpets breathed around;
Nor the drum's startling sound
Broke on the midnight air.”—JOHN NEAL.

The hourly cry of “All's well!” came up from the British sentinels on the waters, and from the more distant city, and gave evidence to the workers that they were undiscovered. So they labored on with almost superhuman energy, until the gray dawn of the morning of the seventeenth, when a strong redoubt loomed up on that green hill, before the wondering eyes of the bewildered Britons. The great object of Prescott's solicitude was accomplished. A safe screen for his workers had been cast up, and at the hour of dawn, when he expected cannon-balls from his enemy, his intrenchments were sufficiently high and strong to defy them.

The works on Breed's hill were first discovered by the sentinels on the sloop of war *Lively*, which lay between Charlestown and the shores of Boston. Without waiting for orders, the commander of that vessel opened a heavy fire upon the earthworks on the hill. This lead was followed by the *Somerset* and the *Falcon*, and also by one or two gun-boats, but all without effect. Unmindful of these missiles, and of others thrown at them later from Copp's hill in Boston, the Americans worked on within the intrenchments, until

far toward meridian, when they were called to lay aside the implements of labor for the weapons of war.

This cannonade awakened the sleepers in Boston, and at sunrise every roof and eminence in the city was swarming with people gazing upon the strange apparition on Breed's hill, with feelings of mingled wonder and intense anxiety. Among the most interested of these spectators was General Gage, who, at the first alarm had hastened to his battery on Copp's hill, to view the works across the stream, that seemed so like the creation of the magician's wand. While surveying it with his glass, with a brother-in-law of Prescott at his side, a tall figure, in military costume, was seen leisurely walking around the parapet of the redoubt.* "Who is he?" eagerly inquired Gage. Willard recognised his kinsman, and said, "That is Colonel Prescott."—"Will he fight?" was Gage's quick demand. "Yes, sir," replied the counsellor; "he is an old soldier, and will fight as long as a drop of blood remains in his veins."—"Then," said Gage, as he turned upon his heel to give orders, "the works must be carried immediately."† The fatal consequences of his tardiness were now keenly felt by the governor. He had been advised, a month before, to take possession of and fortify these Charlestown eminences; now the advantages of such a measure were in the hands of the Americans.

Boston was now the scene of great excitement. Imminent danger was impending, and immediate preparations were made to meet or avert it. Gage called a council of war, and an immediate attack upon the American works was determined upon. Soon, drums were beating, the church bells were ringing, and the streets were tumultuous with the clatter of troops, the rumbling of artillery carriages, and the bustle of soldiers and citizens, the former hastening to appointed rendezvous, and the latter to places of safety. Terror and alarm everywhere prevailed, especially among

* A soldier having gone outside of the intrenchments, on Breed's hill, was killed by a cannon-ball. This so alarmed those within that several left the hill. To inspire confidence, Prescott mounted the parapet, and in full view of the British officers, he walked around it, and gave orders to the men. This act had the desired effect. It was during this exposure that Gage saw him.

† Frothingham's Siege of Boston.

the tories; and a great change was wrought in the avowed principles of men. Many a man who was a stanch loyalist when the deep voice of the cannon awakened him that morning, hastened, with blanched lips, to confess his more stanch republicanism to the selectmen of Boston.

As the sun ascended in his course the heat became intense and oppressive. Fatigue, hunger, and thirst assailed the Americans with fearful energy, and murmurs of discontent were heard. They asked to be relieved; but Prescott, feeling confident that the enemy would not attack his works, refused acquiescence. Putnam, on the contrary, who was continually communicating between Charlestown Neck and headquarters, was as confident that the British would attack Prescott's redoubt, and early in the morning he had urged General Ward to send reinforcements to Breed's hill. That officer believed that Cambridge, where the stores were deposited, would be the first point of attack, and was unwilling to weaken his force there; so he sent only a part of Stark's regiment. At about nine o'clock, Prescott became convinced of his error, by seeing the movements of the enemy on the Boston shore; and by the advice of a council of war, he sent Major Brooks (afterward governor of Massachusetts) to Cambridge for reinforcements. General Ward consulted the committee of safety, and acting under their advice, he ordered forward the remainder of Stark's regiment at Medford, the whole of Reid's corps stationed at the Neck, and called in Gerrish's companies at Chelsea.

At noon the men in the redoubt ceased work, piled their intrenching tools, took some refreshments, hoisted the New England flag,* and prepared to fight. Pursuant to the urgent request of Putnam, the tools were sent to Bunker's hill, where intrenchments

* "The question has been unsettled respecting the flag used on that occasion, as contemporary writers are silent on the subject. An intelligent old lady (Mrs. Manning), whom I saw between the Brandywine and Kennet square, in Pennsylvania, informed me that her father, who was in the battle, assisted in hoisting the standard, and she had heard him speak of it as "a noble flag." The ground was blue, and one corner was quartered by the red cross of St. George, in one section of which was the figure of a pine-tree. This was the New England flag, as given in the sketch. Doubtless there were many other flags belonging to the several regiments."—*Lossing's Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, i., 541.

were immediately commenced, under the direction of that officer · but most of the men employed in removing the tools, took counsel of their fears, and, as Prescott had predicted, never returned to the redoubt.

The British had made ample preparations for battle, and between twelve and one o'clock, four battalions of infantry, two companies of grenadiers, and two of light infantry, with several field-pieces, were embarked in twenty-eight barges. They crossed the channel where the waters of the Charles and Mystic rivers mingle, and landed at Moulton's Point, under cover of a brisk cannonade from the British ships and gunboats. That movement presented a brilliant scene. The scarlet uniforms of the British, their burnished arms, their perfect discipline, their automatic motions, and their full band of music, would have excited the greatest enthusiasm and joyousness on any less painful occasion. Now the pageantry was a dreadful mockery—a glorious mask over the horrid visage of the demon of war, as it went forth upon its bloody and unnatural errand.

These troops, many of them veterans in continental wars, were under the command of General William Howe, assisted by Brigadier-General Pigot and other accomplished officers, who were instructed to "drive the rebel's from the hill." They were formed into three lines on landing, when Howe, perceiving the real strength of the American works, thought it prudent to send to General Gage for reinforcements. While waiting for them the British troops stacked their arms and dined without molestation.

Cambridge had now become a scene of great confusion, and Charlestown, at the foot of Breed's hill, was almost deserted. When intelligence of the landing of the British reached Cambridge, the drums beat to arms, and the church bells rang out an alarum. Soldiers and citizens were immediately in motion, and military officers hurried to and fro with marching orders for the troops. General Ward retained his own regiment and others, for the defence of the stores at Cambridge, and the remainder of the Massachusetts and Connecticut regiments were ordered to Charles-

town. The latter were led by General Putnam, in person, and took post on the summit and slopes of Bunker's hill.

At two o'clock reinforcements for Howe landed upon the site of the Charlestown navy-yard, and the whole invading force then amounted to about four thousand men. The hour just ended had been one of great anxiety to the jaded and half-famished soldiers within the redoubt. They had observed the whole martial display of the enemy, from the time of the first embarkation until the forming of the veterans for battle. They knew their own weakness in numbers, arms, ammunition, and discipline, and fully perceived the superior strength of the foe, with his overwhelming numbers, complete equipments, and heavy artillery. The contrast was necessarily appalling to undisciplined yeomanry, who, as "rebels," were virtually resisting with the halter of treason-punishment about their necks. They were physically weakened by long fasting and severe labor; parched by fever engendered by fatigue without adequate means for allaying thirst; and, as yet, encouraged by very few promises of succor from without, for reinforcements came in tardy dribbles. In this condition the dreadful idea that treachery had placed them there to be sacrificed, took possession of their minds with almost the power of a panic-demon; yet they could not doubt the patriotism of their chief officers. These suspicions were very soon dispelled by the arrival of Doctor Warren and General Pomeroy, from Cambridge. The enthusiasm of these men had silenced the voice of prudence, when they heard of the landing of the British. Warren was then at Watertown, seven miles distant, presiding over the provincial Congress in session there. He hastened to Cambridge on a fleet horse, resolved to earn by action a title to the commission of a major-general, which had been conferred upon him four days before, but not yet presented in form. Putnam tried to dissuade him from going into the battle, but Warren would not listen with obedience, and he pushed forward through the menacing perils of Charlestown Neck, and entered the redoubt, amid the loud huzzas of the provincials, at the moment when Howe gave orders for his troops to advance. Prescott immediately offered

the chief command to Warren as his superior in rank, when the latter quickly replied, "I have come to fight as a volunteer, and feel honored in being allowed to serve under so brave an officer." Pomeroy came on foot soon afterward, with a borrowed musket, to fight as a volunteer in another part of the field. He had ridden a horse belonging to General Ward as far as the Neck. When he perceived the danger to which the animal would be exposed from the enfilading fire of British cannon on the waters, he left him in charge of a sentinel, and walked leisurely over in the face of the peril. The presence of these men greatly inspirited the wavering soldiers, assured their confidence, and gave strength to their feebleness.

While the British were preparing for action, and it became evident that they would endeavor to gain the flank and rear of the Americans by marching along the Mystic river, the latter were vigilant and active in preparations to defeat them. The chivalric Captain Knowlton, who became one of the early martyrs of the Revolution, was detached by Prescott with Connecticut troops and Captain Gridley's* artillery company of fifty men with two field-pieces, to prepare a barrier in that direction, with orders to defend it. He took post six hundred feet in the rear of the redoubt, toward Bunker's hill, and commenced a novel breastwork, seven hundred feet in length, extending down the green slope to the Mystic river. On that line was a post-and-rail fence, set in a low foot-wall of stone. A few feet in front of this Knowlton constructed a similar rail-fence, and filled the intervening space with new-mown hay which lay upon the meadows near. This breastwork, so feeble in material, answered an excellent purpose.

While this labor was in progress Colonel Stark arrived, with his regiment, at the Neck, which was then swept by an enfilading fire from the guns of the enemy. He had marched slowly from Medford so as not to weary his men; and when a subaltern suggested the propriety of a quicker movement across the exposed Neck,

* Captain Samuel Gridley was a son of Colonel Richard Gridley, the chief-engineer. He was quite inefficient, and had received his appointment solely in compliment to his father.

the veteran coolly replied, "One fresh man in action is worth ten fatigued ones," and marched steadily on unmindful of the open danger. He took position at the rail-fence breastwork, where he was soon joined by Colonel Reid's regiment. Between that breastwork and the intrenchment on the left of the redoubt, the artillery companies of Gridley and Callender were stationed; and a company of militia took post on the right of the redoubt, nearer Charlestown.

It was now almost three o'clock in the afternoon, and both parties were prepared for action. General Howe briefly addressed his soldiers, telling them that the "enemy" must be driven from Breed's hill, or they would set Boston on fire; expressing a belief that his troops would act like true English soldiers, and adding, "I shall not desire one of you to go a step further than where I go myself at your head." He then ordered out strong flank guards as he moved slowly forward to the attack, and directed his artillery to play upon the American breastworks on the hill, and at the rail-fence. At this time he displayed a blue flag as a signal, and the heavy guns upon Copp's hill and on the ships and floating-batteries in the harbor, at once poured a terrible storm of round-shot upon the redoubt. At the same time a heavy cannonade was opened upon the right wing of the Americans, under General Thomas, at Roxbury, to prevent his sending reinforcements to Charlestown.

The British officers expected an easy victory. The plan of attack was for General Pigot to march up Breed's hill with the left wing, and force the redoubt, while General Howe, with the right wing, should press forward along the Mystic river, demolish the rail-fence intrenchments, gain the rear of the Americans, and cut off their retreat. Accordingly, under cover of a cannonade from an eminence on Moulton's Point, Pigot advanced up the hill, and his troops commenced discharging their muskets before they were within gun-shot of the redoubt. In the meantime Howe had advanced on the right, but had not proceeded far when his artillery ceased, it being discovered that the balls sent over from Boston were too large for the calibre of his cannon. He was thus com-

pelled to rely upon small arms and the bayonet. At the same time the feeble responses that were given by the artillery of Gridley and Callender, as suddenly ceased; the guns of the former having become disabled, while the latter, alleging that his cartridges were too large, withdrew to Bunker's hill, and positively refused to obey Putnam, when that officer ordered him back to the lines. Most of Callender's men, more courageous than he, deserted him and fought nobly.

The British troops, burdened with heavy knapsacks, and their way obstructed by tall grass and fences, moved slowly but steadily on, while the Americans, secure from harm behind their breastworks, coolly awaited their approach. Very few of the provincials could be seen by the advancing Britons; but within those intrenchments, and, in reserve behind the hills, there were fifteen hundred determined men, ready, at a prescribed signal, to fall upon the foe.

The Americans in the redoubt had but a scanty supply of powder, and to avoid wasting it by ineffectual shots, Prescott ordered his men not to fire until the enemy should approach within a certain distance, and then not without the word of command. As Pigot advanced it was difficult to restrain the provincials, and a few random shots were fired. At length, when the British were within a few rods of the redoubt, Prescott waved his sword over his head and shouted, "*Fire!*" A terrible volley followed the word, and the carnage in the British ranks was dreadful, for almost every American in the redoubt was a practised marksman, and had taken sure aim. Whole platoons were laid upon the earth, like grass by the mower's scythe. Many officers, at whom special aim had been taken, were slain or wounded by that first fire. Other deadly volleys succeeded, and the enemy, disconcerted, broke and fled toward the water.

Howe, meanwhile, had approached the rail-fence intrenchments. He had used grape-shot in his cannon, but was soon compelled to abandon his pieces because of marshy ground, over which they could not be wheeled; and he pressed forward to the attack with small arms. There, too, the Americans reserved their fire until the

British were near, when they opened upon them, first with Callender's field-pieces, directed by General Putnam, and then with musketry. As upon the slopes of Breed's hill toward Charlestown, the British here suffered terribly from the American marksmen, and valuable officers were slain or disabled. The troops broke and fled in confusion, and many Americans eagerly leaped the rail-fence to pursue them, but were prevented by their prudent officers.

There was great joy on the heights when the British veterans recoiled, and the inspirited Americans felt certain of final victory. Prescott praised his men for their coolness and skill, and uttered many words of encouragement, while Putnam, full of the fire of an old war-horse when inhaling the smoke of powder, rode from point to point over the peninsula, from the redoubt to the Neck, watching the course of events, urging on the scattered reinforcements, and directing the troops at the intrenchments and elsewhere. The perils of the Neck deterred many from crossing, and when the British were ready for a second attack, very few men had been added to the number in the redoubt and the defences on the Mystic slope.

General Howe soon rallied his troops, and led them to a second attack in the same order as before. They had been reinforced by four hundred marines from Boston, and those who composed the advance of the column were chiefly fresh troops. Slowly they marched over the bodies of their slain companions, under cover of a heavy cannonade, and continued to fire as they advanced, while the Americans, as before, kept silence. At this moment a new scene in the terrible drama was opened—a scene that was in the programme of General Gage. Charlestown, at the foot of Breed's hill, was suddenly enveloped in flames, fired by a carcass thrown from Copp's hill,* in Boston, and the torches of marines sent from a British ship-of-war. The houses were chiefly of wood, and in the lapse of a few minutes, full two hundred buildings were blazing,

* A carcass is a hollow case formed of ribs of iron, covered with cloth, or sometimes iron, with holes in it. Being filled with combustible materials, it is thrown from a mortar like a bombshell, into a besieged place, by which means buildings are set on fire. Gage had resolved, some time before, to burn Charlestown in the event of the Americans taking possession of the hills near it.

and sending up a cloud of dense smoke which completely shrouded the heights in the rear whereon the Americans were posted. Beneath this veil the British hoped to rush, unobserved, up to the breastworks, scale them, and drive out the provincials at the point of the bayonet. But a gentle breeze, which appeared to the Americans like the breath of a guardian angel—the first motion of air that had been felt on that sultry day—came from the west, swept the smoke away seaward, and exposed to full view the advancing columns of the enemy, almost within the prescribed distance when the Americans were to open upon them. When that was reached, a terrible storm of bullets was hailed upon the assailants from the redoubt, and whole ranks of officers and men were cut down. Howe was at the head of this division, encouraging his men; and at one time, he was entirely alone, his aids and all about him having perished. The British line wavered, then gave way in several places, and, at last, the troops recoiled, broke, and retreated in great disorder to the shore.

All this while thousands of eager eyes in Boston were watching the combatants, and thousands of anxious hearts there were beating heavily with mingled emotions of hope and fear, for almost every family had a representative in one of the two armies. Fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers, were in the affray; and deep was the mental anguish of the women of the city, who, from roofs and steeples, and every elevation, gazed with straining eyes upon the carnage, for the battle raged in full view of thousands of interested spectators in the town and upon the adjoining hills. "In other battles," said an eminent statesman, "the *recollection* of wives and children has been used as an excitement to animate the warrior's breast and to nerve his arm. Here was not a mere recollection, but an actual *presence* of them, and other dear connections, hanging on the skirts of the battle, anxious and agitated, feeling almost as if wounded themselves by every blow of the enemy, and putting forth, as it were, their own strength, and all the energy of their throbbing bosoms, into every gallant effort of their warring friends."*

* Daniel Webster, in the North American Review, October, 1818.

General Sir Henry Clinton had watched the progress of the battle, from Copp's hill, with deep anxiety; and when, with mortified pride, he saw the second repulse, and the slope of Breed's hill red with the uniforms of the slain soldiers, he crossed over in a boat, followed by a small reinforcement, and joined the shattered army as a volunteer, while Howe was endeavoring to rally his men for a third attack. Some of the British officers remonstrated against leading the men a third time to certain destruction. But the incautious loudness of speech of a provincial in the redoubt, had revealed to Howe the important information, that the ammunition of the Americans was almost exhausted, and this not only gave him the strongest encouragement, but caused him to change his mode of assault. He had perceived the weakness of the point between the breastwork on the left of the redoubt and the rail-fence, and he resolved to assail that point with his artillery, and make a furious charge upon the American works with the bayonet.

It was indeed true, that the ammunition in the redoubt was almost exhausted, and being compelled to rely chiefly upon powder and ball for defence, as comparatively few of their muskets were furnished with bayonets, the Americans began to despair when they perceived the enemy preparing for another attack. Prescott spoke words of encouragement, distributed the few remaining cartridges with discretion, and directed those soldiers who were destitute of bayonets, to club their arms and use the breeches of their guns in repelling the assailants, when their powder should be gone. The loose stones in the redoubt were also collected into heaps, to be used as defensive missiles should occasion require. All resolved to fight as long as a ray of hope should remain.

While all was firmness and order at the redoubt, confusion was prevailing elsewhere. General Ward, at Cambridge, had not a sufficiency of staff officers to convey his orders, which were issued on the reports of Captain (afterward General) Henry Knox, of the artillery, who performed reconnoitring service all that day, as a volunteer. Late in the afternoon, he despatched his own regiment and other troops to the field of action, but the perils of the Neck,

swept by the British cannon, awed the raw recruits, and they held back. Colonel Gardner succeeded in leading three hundred men over to Bunker's hill, and these were immediately ordered to the lines by Putnam. On their march Gardner was mortally wounded by a musket-ball, when his men, thrown into confusion, fell back, and very few of them engaged in the contest. Other regiments failed to reach the lines; but a corps under the gallant Febiger, a Danish officer, greatly annoyed the left wing of the British. Putnam, meanwhile, was urging on reinforcements, but with little effect. Men were continually leaving the lines with a variety of excuses, and they were scattered all over the vicinity of Bunker's hill, in utter confusion.

Howe was exasperated at the repulse of his troops. He felt that his own reputation and the honor of the British army were at stake; and he could not brook the thought that undisciplined yeomen, feeble in numbers, should raise a shout of victory over his discomfiture. Like Cortez, he voluntarily cut off his own retreat. He sent his boats to the Boston shore, and the alternative for his men was to fight, conquer, or die.

Slowly and steadily the British moved to the third attack. From the flank their cannon completely swept the interior of the breastworks, destroying many of the provincials, and driving the remainder within the redoubt. Reserving their fire until a proper moment, the Americans again poured a deadly volley upon the advancing enemy. Three valuable officers and many privates fell. General Howe was wounded in the foot, but he continued fighting gallantly at the head of his men, cheering them on by word and acts. Each moment the fire from the redoubt grew fainter, and at last it ceased, for almost every cartridge was spent.

Eagerly the British now pressed forward, reserving their fire until nothing but a thin ridge of earth separated the combatants. This was soon scaled, when the assailants, who were led by a brave subaltern shouting, "Come on, boys! the day is ours!" were repulsed by a shower of stones hurled by stalwart hands, and by a few musket-shots which had been held in reserve for the occasion.

The enemy instantly recovered and rushed upon the parapet on all sides. The ammunition of the Americans was entirely exhausted, and a close and fearful fight with clubbed muskets, stones, and bayonets ensued, when Prescott, perceiving that the British were gaining his rear, ordered a retreat. This was now difficult. The enemy were thickening in the pathway of escape, and the provincials were compelled to fight their way through, many of them walking backward, and shivering their gun-stocks by heavy blows upon the heads and weapons of the enemy. Colonel Gridley was wounded and carried safely off. Prescott's clothing was pierced by bayonets and rapiers, but his body was unhurt. Warren, armed only with a musket, fought gallantly, and was the last to leave the redoubt. He had retreated but a short distance toward Bunker's hill, when a bullet from the British line formed on the parapet of the redoubt, passed through his brain and he fell dead.

While the conflict at the redoubt was in progress, the Americans at the rail-fence maintained their ground nobly, and resisted every attempt of the enemy to turn their flank. This service was very important, for it saved a greater portion of the Americans, who fled from the redoubt, being cut off. But when these troops perceived Prescott and his men retreating, they, too, fled over Bunker's hill, where there was great slaughter. There General Putnam attempted to arrest the flight. He dashed from point to point, brandishing his sword, unmindful of the whistling bullets, and with threats and entreaties, and loud imprecations as cowardice showed its heels, he sought to turn the faces of the Americans toward the foe. "For God's sake," he exclaimed, "stop and give them one shot more! Make a stand here; we can stop them yet!" Pomeroy, too, with shattered musket, attempted by word and deed to check the fugitives. But these efforts were futile. Down the slope of Bunker's hill and across the Neck they fled, like frightened deer to cover, and halted not until they were beyond the reach of danger, near Cambridge. Many were slain by the enfilading fire of the British while crossing the Neck; and, completely exhausted, they lay upon the ground, in a place of safety, like dead men.

The Americans had left their cannon and entrenching tools behind them on Bunker's hill, and these fell into the hands of the enemy. The British did not pursue, but contented themselves with the conquest of the Charlestown peninsula. General Clinton advised an immediate attack upon Cambridge; but Howe, more cautious or more timid, was unwilling to risk another battle. Indeed, so wearied and exhausted were both parties, that neither desired more fighting, if we except Colonel Prescott, who earnestly petitioned to be allowed to lead a fresh corps that evening and retake Breed's hill, which had been lost, he contended, only through the failure of efforts to send a sufficient supply of ammunition and bayonets for his little garrison.

The victory and the defeat, in this case, were only apparent. The field was won by the British, but with the fearful loss, in killed and wounded, of almost a hundred officers, and more than a thousand common soldiers.* They had also lost the moral strength of the army, which lay in the confidence of the soldiers inspired by the contempt for the Americans which characterized these British officers, and the over-estimate of their own puissance. The Americans had lost the field, and with it, in killed and wounded, missing and prisoners, four hundred and fifty men. But they had gained experience in warfare and confidence in their own strength. The invincibility of British soldiers was now a vanished bugbear, and they had thus gained immensely by the battle. Their courage stood nobly vindicated before the world.†

* The exact loss of the British is not known. General Gage reported two hundred and twenty-six killed, and eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded; in all ten hundred and fifty-four. In this number he included eighty-nine officers. The provincial Congress of Massachusetts, from the best information they could obtain, reported the British loss at about fifteen hundred. Among the British officers who were mortally wounded, was Major Pitcairn, who led the troops to Lexington.

† Governor Johnstone, who had been in America and admired the people, said, in a speech in the house of commons at the close of the following October: "To a mind who loves to contemplate the glorious spirit of freedom, no spectacle can be more affecting than the action at Bunker's hill. To see an irregular peasantry, commanded by a physician [erroneously supposing Doctor Warren had the command], inferior in numbers, opposed by every circumstance of cannon and bombs that could terrify timid minds, calmly await the attack of the gallant Howe, leading on the best troops in the world, with an excellent train of artillery, and twice repulsing those very troops, who had often chased the chosen battalions of France, and at last retiring for want of ammunition, but in so respectable a manner that they were not even pursued — who can reflect on such scenes and not adore the constitution of government which could breed such men!"

The Americans sustained a loss in the death of Warren for which no advantage gained could compensate. Many gallant, many noble men perished on that day; but no one was so widely and deeply lamented, because no one was so widely and truly loved as that self-sacrificing man. He was the impersonation of the spirit of generous and disinterested patriotism that inspired the colonies. In every relation in life he was a model of excellence. "Not all the havoc and devastation they have made has wounded me like the death of Warren," wrote the wife of John Adams, three weeks afterward. "We want him in the senate; we want him in his profession; we want him in the field. We mourn for the citizen, the senator, the physician, and the warrior."—"He fell," as Everett has beautifully expressed it, "with a numerous band of kindred spirits—the gray-haired veteran, the stripling in the flower of youth—who had stood side by side on that dreadful day, and fell together, like the beauty of Israel in their high places."

Warren was distinguished, from his youth, for intense love of country and boldness of character. He was one of the earliest members of the association in Boston known as the Sons of Liberty; and from 1768 he was extremely efficient in fostering the spirit of rational freedom and independence in the wide circle of acquaintances in which he moved. His mind, suggestive and daring, planned many measures in secret caucus with Samuel Adams and others, for resisting the encroachments of British power. In 1771 he delivered the usual oration in Boston, on the anniversary of the "Massacre;" and, in consequence of threats made by some British officers, that they would take the life of any man who should dare to speak on such an occasion, he solicited the honor of performing a like duty on the fifth of March, 1775. On the appointed day the old South meetinghouse was crowded, and the aisles, stairs, and pulpit, were filled with armed British soldiers. The undaunted young orator entered the building through a window back of the pulpit, which he reached by a ladder, and in the midst of profound silence, he commenced his exordium with a firm voice. He dwelt eloquently upon the early struggles and later endurances of the

New England people. Gradually he approached the theme of the fifth of March, and then he portrayed the scene in such language and pathos of expression, that even the stern soldiers who came to awe his spirit wept like children at his words. He stood there, in the midst of that multitude, a striking symbol of the revolt which he was leading, firm in the faith of the sentiment—"RESISTANCE TO TYRANTS IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD!"

Warren was an early and glorious martyr; and his grave, dug upon the spot where he fell, was an appropriate resting-place for the body of such a man. There, on the morning after the battle, it was recognised by Jonathan Farnum, his hairdresser, and was buried by the foe with proper honors. Later, when that foe was driven away, his remains were carried into Boston, by affectionate hands, and deposited beneath King's chapel; and now they rest under the chancel of St. Paul's church. Nineteen years afterward, the freemasons, among whom he was a beloved leader, as grand-master for North America, erected a neat monument upon that spot; and just fifty years to a day, from the time of his death, Lafayette, then our nation's guest, laid there the corner-stone of that noble granite obelisk—the Bunker-Hill monument—which commemorates the death of the hero, and the patriotism of his countrymen. The continental Congress, in 1777, ordered "a monument to be erected to the memory of General Warren, in the town of Boston," and also resolved, "that his eldest son be educated at the expense of the United States." That monument was never erected, but the son of the hero received the fostering care of the country for whose independence the blood of his father was shed.

The memory of Warren grows dearer to his countrymen with the lapse of years, and the reverence for his deeds has assumed a form akin to that of worship. That reverence was nobly expressed on the seventeenth of June, 1857 (the eighty-second anniversary of the battle of Bunker's hill), when, in the city of Boston, a statue of the martyr was inaugurated with appropriate ceremonies, in the presence of many thousands of people.

CHAPTER L.

CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON'S MISSION—HIS JOURNEY FROM PHILADELPHIA—HIS COMPANIONS, LEE AND SCHUYLER—NEWS OF THE BUNKER'S HILL BATTLE—WASHINGTON'S SATISFACTION WITH THE MILITIA—MET BY A LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE FROM NEW YORK—PERPLEXITY OF THE CIVIL AUTHORITIES THERE—RECEPTION OF WASHINGTON AND TRYON—INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL SCHUYLER—TRYON AND THE JOHNSON FAMILY—DEPARTURE FOR THE CAMP—EVENTS OF THE JOURNEY—WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION AT CAMBRIDGE.

It was at the summer solstice when Washington set out from Philadelphia upon the high and holy mission for which he had been prepared by the wise Ruler of the universe. History affords no parallel to the scene; and romance and poetry have never invented a spectacle more sublime, viewed in its relations to the best earthly interests of mankind. He went forth at the command of a nation's will, expressed by the nation's voice, to model an army out of the crudest materials, and to form battalions thereof to confront the disciplined warriors of one of the most powerful empires on the face of the round world. He went forth to the command of that army, not to strike for power, for territory, for treasure, or even for personal freedom, but for the disenthralment of his country, and the vindication of the Divine principles of human liberty. He went forth, not as an instrument formed by the force of immediate circumstances, to be laid aside and forgotten when its special functions had been performed, but as another Moses, born, nurtured, developed, disciplined, and inspired, to lead a great people out of bondage, to prepare them for the enjoyments of the land of promise which they now inhabit, and to be for ever a sublime model of a PATRIOT for the contemplation of oncoming generations.

No wonder that Washington's great soul was bowed in deep

humility when the responsibility was laid upon him by his senatorial compeers; and that the warning admonitions of a sensitive spirit should have made him at first recoil from the proffered honor, as too great for his human capacity. But how soon did these timid forebodings give way before the counsels of a noble courage, born of faith in God and the sceptre of his righteousness, which enabled him to say to them, without hesitation, yet not without emotion, "As the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause!" and tenderly to his dear wife, "I shall rely, therefore, confidently on that Providence which has heretofore preserved and been bountiful to me, not doubting that I shall return safe to you in the fall!" It was this consciousness of dutiful obedience to the will of his countrymen, the integrity of his motives, the justice of the cause, and reliance upon Jehovah, which constituted his moral strength, that sustained him in all the trying scenes of an eight years' leadership. To regard Washington as going forth, on that occasion, as only a captain-general appointed by erring expediency to lead a revolutionary army, is the exercise of that practical atheism which denies the existence of God in history.

Washington left Philadelphia on horseback, and travelled in that manner all the way to Cambridge.* He was accompanied by Generals Lee and Schuyler; and also by Major Thomas Mifflin, as his aid-de-camp, and Joseph Reed, who became a member of his military family a few days afterward, as his secretary.† They were escorted out of the city, as we have observed, by a brilliant civic and military cavalcade of two thousand men; and a corps of light-horse, commanded by Captain Markoe, accompanied them all the way to New York.

* The first item in the account current that Washington rendered at the conclusion of the war, was as follows: "To the purchase of five horses (two of which were had on credit from Mr. James Mease), to equip me for my journey to the army at Cambridge—and for the service I was then going upon—having sent my chariot and horses back to Virginia."

† Mr. Reed had no military appointment when he left Philadelphia, nor did he receive one on the way. His biographer says (*Life and Correspondence of President Reed*, i., 105); "What Mr. Reed's views were when he left home, and whether he contemplated joining the service at that time, I have no means of ascertaining, though it is manifest, from the unfeigned surprise of his most intimate friends and relations, that such an intention was confined to his own breast."

The three principal men in the cavalcade—Washington, Lee, and Schuyler—had campaigning reminiscences of the French war to talk over, and as they rode through the pleasant country by way of Frankford to the passage of the Delaware at Trenton, no doubt many scenes of the past were brought vividly to the recollections of each as memory found utterance in some narrative of personal experience. Lee and Schuyler had been companions-in-arms on the northern frontier; and now, after the lapse of almost a score of years, during which many changes in the life of each had been wrought, they were again soldiers together, but in hostility to the government for whose honor they had once fought and suffered. Although they were companions-in-arms, they were by no means companions in motives and aspirations. Lee was a soldier of Fortune, and a cosmopolite. He possessed small inhabitiveness, and sought only the gratification of his ambitious desires for personal honor, and of spite against a government that he regarded as an ingrate because of its neglect of his merits. Pride and resentment were his chief impulses. Schuyler, like Washington, had much at stake. He was a man of large fortune and extensive relationship. He was an ardent friend of the country that gave him birth, and had no lower aspirations than the welfare of his people and of mankind. Patriotism and humanity were his chief impulses. Yet the three journeyed on fraternally together, engaged heartily, for the time, in the same noble cause; and, by their respective merits, were ready and able to justify the hopes of the Americans, who regarded them as the most reliable champions of liberty, in the field.

It would be gratifying to know the thoughts and words of these remarkable men while on this journey. No doubt the great theme was the cause in which they were engaged, and the best means for carrying forward and sustaining aloft the banner of revolt. Their sagacious minds perceived the strong mountains of difficulties to be overcome, even in the preliminary operations of the kindling war. Loyalty, born often of sheer timidity, and as often of pure selfishness, was rife in every neighborhood; and the just suspicions that

secret opposers of the revolt were in the very households of patriots, brought frequent shadows over the countenances of the most hopeful men. And yet, on their journey, this triad saw nothing but the sunshine of friendly feeling, for the faces and the voices of the people everywhere expressed delight. As the sounds of martial music heralded the cavalcade, men, women, and children, came from houses, fields, and workshops, and in groups, by the waysides, and gazed in wonder and pleasure upon the martial display; and citizens of every degree vied with each other in manifestations of the most profound respect for the commander-in-chief and his companions.

Before reaching Trenton the travellers were met by a courier, riding in hot haste for Philadelphia, to lay before Congress despatches concerning the battle of Bunker's hill. This was the first intimation of that occurrence which had reached Pennsylvania, and by a few eager questions, Washington learned some gratifying particulars. His most anxious inquiry was, "How did the militia behave?" When informed, by few words, of the noble fortitude, willing obedience, and unwavering courage of most of the men in the redoubt and intrenchments, gladness lightened his countenance, and he dismissed the courier with the exclamation, "Then the liberties of the country are safe!" His mind was relieved of a great burden, for the militia of New England were to be his chief reliance for awhile.

On their arrival at New Brunswick, on the twenty-fourth, General Schuyler despatched a messenger to the New York provincial Congress, with information that the commander-in-chief and his retinue would be at Newark the following morning, and a request that they should send a delegation to meet him there, and advise the most proper place to cross the Hudson river. A committee, consisting of four members of the Congress (one of whom was General Richard Montgomery), accordingly met Washington and his party at the appointed place. They all crossed the Hudson from Paulus's Hook (now Jersey City), and arrived in New York on the afternoon of Sunday, the twenty-fifth. Much excitement

then prevailed in the city. The provincial Congress and the municipal authorities had been placed in a very perplexing situation, by intelligence that Governor Tryon, just arrived from England, was in the harbor, and would land on the same day. The Congress had already, under the pressure of external influences, cast off allegiance to the royal government, but they still professed loyalty to the person of the governor; and the mayor and several other city officials were the personal and political friends of Tryon.

Here was a dilemma. A royal governor and republican generals were candidates for the public courtesy. Circumstances were hourly developing popular strength, while the royal representative and a British ship-of-war were in port. Only two days before, a small party of the Sons of Liberty, led by Marinus Willet, had confronted an Irish battalion, under Major Moncrief, as it evacuated Fort George, and was marching, with some boxes of arms in wagons, to embark for Boston. The patriots seized the arms, conveyed them back to Fort George, and took possession of that deserted post. On the same day intelligence had come from Bunker's hill; and now the commander-in-chief of the American armies approached, with a retinue of civilians and soldiers. These events pressed heavily upon the spirits of the loyalists and timid republicans; and all in authority were at their wits' end. The cord of difficulty was finally cut in a simple way. A militia colonel was ordered to parade his regiment, and be prepared to receive "either the generals or Governor Tryon, whichever should arrive first, and wait on both as well as circumstances would allow."

Happily for all parties, the advent of these public characters was not simultaneous. Washington arrived several hours before the landing of Tryon, and the civic and military honors of the city were earliest bestowed upon him, first by the military, and then by a congratulatory address from the lips of Peter Van Brugh Livingston, the president of the provincial Congress. That address was cautious and conservative, especially when the speaker left the pleasant bounds of congratulatory sentiment, and dwelt upon the theme of passing events. "Confiding in you, sir," he said, "and in

the worthy generals immediately under your command, we have the most flattering hopes of success in the glorious struggle for American liberty, and the fullest assurances that whenever this important contest shall be decided by that fondest wish of each American soul—an accommodation with our mother-country—you will cheerfully resign the important deposite committed into your hands, and reassume the character of our worthiest citizen."

Washington made a brief reply in behalf of himself and associate generals, in which he said: "As to the fatal, but necessary operations of war, when we assumed the soldier, we did not lay aside the citizen; and we shall most sincerely rejoice with you in that happy hour, when the establishment of American liberty on the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our private stations, in the bosom of a free, peaceful, and happy country."

Four hours after these reception ceremonies were ended, Governor Tryon landed, and the military and civic honors of the afternoon were partly repeated. The loyalists gave him very hearty demonstrations of their joy in his presence at this critical juncture, and the mayor and common council expressed toward him their highest regard. Thus ended the excitement in New York on Sunday, the twenty-fifth of June, 1775.

When the public ceremonies were over, Washington's thoughts turned to the important duties of his station, and before five o'clock, he had despatched a courier with his first letters to the continental Congress, and the president of that body. He informed them of his arrival, the presence of Tryon, his intended orders to General Schuyler, his intention to leave for the camp the following morning, and the scarcity of powder, as he had learned, in the magazine at Cambridge. He urged the immediate adoption of measures to supply the deficiency, and said, "One thousand pounds in weight were sent to the camp at Cambridge three days ago, from this city, which has left the place almost destitute of that necessary article; there being at this time, from the best information, not more than four barrels of powder in the city of New York."

Washington and Schuyler spent the entire evening previous to

the departure of the commander-in-chief for the east, in earnest consultation concerning the present and prospective affairs of the northern department. The charge of these Washington was about to leave in the hands of Schuyler. The position of the province of New York was peculiar, both geographically and politically. It lay between New England and the middle and southern provinces, and formed a link in the chain of the confederacy, upon which depended the integrity of the union in the struggle now at hand. Its northern frontier, bordering upon a province practically neutral if not actually hostile in sentiment, where, already, British power and influence were strongly predominant, was peculiarly exposed to speedy and effective invasions; while its central and western regions were filled with the powerful tribes of the Six Nations of Indians, whose almost universal loyalty had been secured through the influence of the Johnson family, the really feudal lords of the Mohawk valley. Nearer the seaboard, and in the metropolis, commercial interests and strong family attachments to the crown held potent sway, and neutralized, to a great extent, the influence of sturdy patriots, who, in the face of all the frowns of authority and fears of the timid, kept the car of revolution in continued onward motion. Thus, it will be seen, New York presented to the keen perception of Washington, three dangerous elements of weakness as a member of the confederacy, namely: an exposed frontier, a wily and powerful internal foe, and a subtle and corroding loyalty. This visible weakness gave him much uneasiness, because the breaking of that link would sever New England from the rest of the confederation, when the warm life-blood of communication and co-operation would cease to flow between the head and heart of the union, and speedy death must ensue. With the preservation of the strength and vitality of this link Schuyler was charged by Washington; and never was an important duty left in more efficient and trustworthy hands.

The conference of the two generals on that memorable sabbath evening, ended by the preparation of instructions for Schuyler, by the commander-in-chief. He was commissioned to "take command

of all the troops destined for the New York department," and to see that the orders of the continental Congress were obeyed; to occupy, as speedily as possible, "the several posts recommended by the provincial Congress" of New York, and to secure the stores which were, or should have been, removed from the city, pursuant to orders from the continental Congress; to keep a watchful eye on Governor Tryon, and to use every means in his power to frustrate any measures which he might attempt, inimical to the common cause. "It is not in my power," he said, "at this time, to point out the mode by which this end is to be accomplished; but if forcible measures are judged necessary respecting the person of the governor, I should have no difficulty in ordering them, if the continental Congress were not sitting; but as this is the case, and the seizing of a governor quite a new thing, and of great importance, I must refer you to that body for direction, should his excellency make any motion toward increasing the strength of the tory party, or arming them against the cause in which we are embarked." He likewise directed General Schuyler to watch the movements of Colonel Guy Johnson, the British Indian agent in the Mohawk valley, and prevent, as far as possible, his mischievous influence. He was also instructed to ascertain the temper and dispositions of the Indians and Canadians, and adopt a conciliatory policy toward both.

The unscrupulous characters of Tryon and the Johnsons presented sufficient reasons for exercising the most sleepless vigilance concerning their movements. Tryon was a mercenary Irishman, educated for the profession of a soldier, and was innately ostentatious, avaricious, cowardly, and cruel. Connected by marriage with the earl of Hillsborough, he had been appointed governor of North Carolina while that nobleman filled the office of colonial secretary. In that new and undeserved position, he became exceedingly odious to the people; and, in 1771, he was transferred to the chair of chief-magistrate of the province of New York, where he became very officious in strengthening the power of the crown. Covetous of place and emolument, it was well known that he would

resort to any measure, however wicked or dishonorable, that was calculated to secure these advantages; and it became apparent to the mind of Washington, after his conference with leading patriots in New York, that a seizure of the governor might become an act of prudence. For this reason, his instructions to General Schuyler were made sufficiently broad to cover such a contingency.

The Johnsons (Sir John and Guy), who were brothers-in-law, maintained the sway of Sir William, the father of Sir John, over the Six Nations. That sway had become almost imperial in the hands of Sir William, who, for forty years, had lived among them, most of the time as Indian agent for the British government. By presents, conformity in dress, and other appliances, and by marriage with the sister of Brant, the great Mohawk chief, he had become identified with the Iroquois, and at his beck a thousand warriors might, at any time, be called to the war-path. When the storm of the Revolution was gathering, Sir William's heart was troubled; and when orders came from England, that in the event of hostilities he must enlist the Six Nations in the cause of the crown, his generous nature revolted; and, it is believed, that the agitations of his feelings, caused thereby, produced the stroke of apoplexy which terminated his life in the summer of 1774.

Sir William's son and heir, Sir John, and his sons-in-law, Colonel Guy Johnson and Colonel Daniel Claus, felt no compunctions of conscience in making use of harsh measures toward those engaged in the revolt. Rudely trained in the forest, with many loyal Scotch Highlanders tenantry the broad acres of their clearings in the Mohawk country, their proclivities were anti-republican, and they readily coalesced with such bold, bad men as the Butlers of Tryon county, and with the less savage Brant and his fellow-chieftains. Therefore, as soon as Sir William was buried, these men exhibited open hostility to the patriots. The Johnsons had recently fortified their strong mansions, had held a grand council of the Six Nations, had armed a large body of Roman catholic Highlanders, and had tampered with the militia of that region. With these men holding the falchion of such power in the interior, and Tryon, clothed

with vice-regal potency, having at his command ships-of-war and expected troops,* in the harbor of the seaport, and lording over the lower waters of the Hudson, there appeared imminent danger of a total geographical separation of New England from the other colonies. Washington and the people had faith in Schuyler as a champion to stand in the breach, and events justified that confidence.

On Monday afternoon, the twenty-sixth of June, Washington left New York for the camp, accompanied by Generals Lee and Schuyler, and escorted by Markoe's "First Troop,"† of Philadelphia light-horse, and several New York militia companies. This escort left him at Kingsbridge, at the northern end of York island, about fourteen miles from the city, and there Washington and his companions remained until the following morning. General Schuyler accompanied him as far as New Rochelle, in Westchester county, where they met and conferred with General Wooster; and at ten o'clock, Schuyler mounted his horse, bade Washington adieu, and returned to New York, to enter upon the important duties of his command.‡

The commander-in-chief was escorted from place to place, on his journey eastward, by militia companies and citizens on horseback; and at Springfield, a hundred miles from Boston, near the borderline between Connecticut and Massachusetts, he was met by a deputation from the provincial Congress of the latter colony, then in session at Watertown. This committee (consisting of Doctor Benjamin Church and Mr. Moses Gill) had provided escorts for the remainder of the journey, and they attended Washington, in person, all the way. Everywhere the most enthusiastic demonstrations of respect and affection for the commander-in-chief were mani-

* A rumor prevailed, that a regiment of troops from Ireland would soon land in New York, whereupon the provincial Congress, in session in that city, resolved, on the fifteenth of June, to invite General Wooster, then in command of the Connecticut forces on the shores of Long Island sound, to take post within a few miles of New York. This invitation was readily accepted, and approved by Governor Trumbull, the chief-magistrate of that colony; and on the twenty-eighth of June, two days after Washington departed for Cambridge, Wooster marched to Harlem with eighteen hundred men, where he lay encamped for several weeks.

† This corps, like that of the "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company" of Boston, yet retains its organization.

‡ Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

fested by the people; and the progress of the cavalcade was a continuous ovation.

On the morning of the second of July, Washington and his attendants reached Watertown, where a large concourse of people were assembled, to greet and welcome the eminent Virginian. James Warren, of Plymouth, to whom his Excellency had been referred by the Massachusetts delegation in the continental Congress, as "a judicious, confidential friend, who would never deceive him,"* was president of the provincial Congress in session there, and in the name of that body, he presented to Washington a congratulatory address, expressive of their esteem, and strong assurances of their "aid and support to enable him to discharge the duties of his arduous and exalted station."† To this Washington replied:—

"Gentlemen, your kind congratulations on my appointment and arrival, demand my warmest acknowledgments, and will ever be retained in grateful remembrance. In exchanging the enjoyments of domestic life for the duties of my present honorable but arduous station, I only emulate the virtue and public spirit of the whole province of Massachusetts Bay, which, with a firmness and patriotism without example in modern history, has sacrificed all the comforts of social and political life in support of the rights of mankind and the welfare of our common country. My highest ambition is to be the happy instrument of vindicating those rights, and to see this devoted province again restored to peace, liberty, and safety." He then referred to the weak state of the army, alluded to in the address of the president, and added, "Whatever deficiencies there may be, will, I doubt not, soon be made up by the activity and zeal of the officers, and the docility and obedience of the men. These qualities, united with their native bravery and spirit, will afford a happy presage of success, and put a final period to those distresses which now overwhelm this once happy country."

When these ceremonies were ended, Washington resumed his journey, escorted by a troop of light-horse, and a large company

* Mercy Warren's "History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination, of the American Revolution."

† General Lee was also honored with an address of welcome.

of mounted citizens, and at two o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, he arrived at the headquarters of the army at Cambridge, amid the shouts of a great multitude of citizens and soldiers, the clangor of bells, the strains of martial music, and the waving of banners. The musket and the cannon were silent on that occasion, because the provincial Congress had prudently given such orders for "their honorable reception as might accord with the rules and circumstances of the army, and the respect due to their rank, *without, however, any expense of powder*, and without taking the troops from the necessary attention to their duty at this crisis of our affairs." Washington was then escorted to the house which had been lately occupied partly by President Warren, and partly by a regiment from Marblehead, and had been fitted up by order of the provincial Congress, as permanent headquarters for the commander-in-chief, and the temporary residence of General Lee.*

* This dwelling, known as the "Cragie House," is yet perfectly preserved, and is the residence of Professor Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, the eminent American poet. It stands a little back from the street, which was once the highway from Harvard university to Waltham. At this mansion, and at Winter Hill, Washington passed most of his time, after taking command of the Continental army, until the evacuation of Boston by the British the following spring.



WASHINGTON TAKING POSSESSION OF THE ARMY AT DANBURG, N.Y.

Agnew, 1863

CHAPTER LI.

WASHINGTON'S IMPRESSION UPON THE PEOPLE AT CAMBRIDGE—HIS APPEARANCE DESCRIBED BY CONTEMPORARIES—WASHINGTON TAKES FORMAL COMMAND OF THE ARMY—HE ENTERS UPON HIS DUTIES—ARRIVAL OF GATES AND SULLIVAN—WASHINGTON'S DESPATCH TO CONGRESS—ACCOUNT OF THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN WORKS—DESCRIPTION AND POSITION OF THE AMERICAN ARMY—COUNCIL OF WAR—DESTITUTE CONDITION OF THE ARMY—ADDITIONAL OFFICERS—COMMISSARY-GENERAL APPOINTED—DIFFICULTIES CONCERNING COMMISSIONS—A CHAPLAIN'S PICTURE OF THE ARMY—DEFICIENCY OF POWDER—WASHINGTON HOPEFUL—ENCOURAGING LETTERS—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND TRUMBULL.

WASHINGTON'S arrival at Cambridge had been looked for with great interest and pleasure by the friends of the cause. There were some who remembered his visit to Boston twenty years before, as a young Virginia colonel, to confer with Governor Shirley respecting military rank; and the fame of his subsequent career in the field and in the senate, was familiar to every intelligent mind. A desire to see him took possession of the hearts of the people, and they came from the surrounding country in crowds to get a glimpse of the eminent commander. As he rode through the camp, on his large white horse of Arabian blood, his presence fulfilled all expectations that had been excited by the enthusiasm with which his person and bearing had been spoken of by those who knew him. Doctor Thacher, who was a surgeon in the army during a greater portion of the war, wrote in his journal: * "I have been much gratified this day with a view of General Washington. His Excellency was on horseback, in company with several military gentlemen. It was not difficult to distinguish him from all others; his personal appearance is truly noble and majestic, being tall and well proportioned.

* Military Journal, page 32.

His dress is a blue coat with buff-colored facings, a rich epaulette on each shoulder, buff under-dress, and an elegant small-sword; a black cockade in his hat."—"I was struck with General Washington," wrote Mrs. John Adams to her husband. "You had prepared me to entertain a favorable opinion of him, but I thought the half was not told me. Dignity, with ease and complacency, the gentleman and soldier, look agreeably blended in him. Modesty marks every line and feature of his face. Those lines of Dryden instantly occurred to me:—

"Mark his majestic fabric! he's a temple
Sacred by birth, and built by hands divine;
His soul's the deity that lodges there;
Nor is the pile unworthy of the god."

And Mercy Warren, the accomplished sister of James Otis, and wife of the president of the provincial Congress, writing of Washington, Lee, and Gates, said: "The first of them I think one of the most amiable and accomplished gentlemen, both in person, mind, and manners, that I have met with."* To the officers and soldiers he was equally agreeable. They each felt an attraction toward him as a personal friend, and yet he possessed an incomprehensible dignity unknown to most men, which inspired a feeling of respect and reverence in his presence, akin to awe.

Washington first assumed the duties of his office on the third of July. At about nine o'clock in the morning—a clear, sultry morning—the troops in Cambridge were drawn up in order upon the common near Harvard university, to receive the commander-in-chief. Accompanied by the general officers of the army who were present, he walked from his quarters to a venerable elm-tree, which yet flourishes in the pride of vigorous age, and under its shadow, standing between his staff and the battalions, he drew his sword, made a few appropriate remarks, and formally took command of

* Mrs. Ellet's "Women of the Revolution," i., 82. In the same letter Mrs. Warren thus writes of Lee: "The second, whom I never saw before, I think plain in his person to a degree of ugliness; careless, even to impoliteness: his garb ordinary, his voice rough, his manners rather morose; yet sensible, learned, judicious and penetrating: a considerable traveller, agreeable in his narrations, and a zealous, indefatigable friend to the American cause."

the continental army. That was an auspicious act for America; and the love and reverence then felt for Washington never waned during the eight long years of the conflict. Upon his bright weapon might have been worthily inscribed the lofty words which the old Spaniards used to engrave on their Toledo blades: "*Never draw me without reason: Never sheath me without honor!*"

Washington's first care after assuming the command of the army, was to ascertain its condition, and the character and position of the enemy's works. During that day he visited the several American posts. A heavy thunder-shower that fell upon the camp in the afternoon was the precursor of a storm that continued about thirty-six hours, and prevented his Excellency leaving headquarters until the morning of the fifth, when he set out with General Lee and other officers, to reconnoitre the seacoast eastward of Boston harbor. On his return, toward evening, he was gratified by the presence of Generals Gates and Sullivan, who had arrived during the day;* and on the following morning, accompanied by these officers, also, he visited all of the Americans posts, and further reconnoitred the works of the British. When these labors were accomplished, and he had procured such information from the American officers, as enabled him to give a pretty accurate account of the number and condition of the army, he wrote a long statement thereof to the president of the continental Congress. This letter, dated "Camp, at Cambridge, 10th July, 1775," presents such a graphic picture of affairs that it is deemed proper to insert it here, in full, as follows:—

"SIR: I arrived safe at this place on the third instant, after a journey attended with a good deal of fatigue, and retarded by necessary attention to the successive civilities which accompanied me in my whole route.

* Immediately after Gates's appointment, Washington wrote to him, apprizing him of the honor, and expressing his gratification. To this letter Gates immediately replied, in the most cordial manner, and concluded by saying: "I will not intrude more upon your time, only to assure you, that I shall not lose a moment in paying you my personal attendance, with the greatest respect for your character, and the sincerest attachment to your person."—Sparks's "Life and Writings of Washington," iii. (note), 7. The reader will learn, in future pages, how ungenerously Gates requited the kindness of Washington.

"Upon my arrival I immediately visited the several posts occupied by our troops;* and, as soon as the weather permitted, reconnoitred those of the enemy. I found the latter strongly intrenched on Bunker's hill, about a mile from Charlestown, and advanced about half a mile from the place of the late action, with their centres extended about one hundred and fifty yards on this side of the narrowest part of the neck leading from this place to Charlestown. Three floating batteries lie in Mystic river near the camp, and one twenty-gun ship below the ferry-place, between Boston and Charlestown. They have also a battery on Copse [Copp's] hill, on the Boston side, which much annoyed our troops in the late attack. Upon the neck [Roxbury], they have also deeply intrenched and fortified. Their advanced guards, till last Saturday morning, occupied Brown's houses, about a mile from Roxbury meetinghouse, and twenty roods from their lines; but, at that time, a party from General Thomas's camp surprised the guard, drove them in and burned the houses.† The bulk of their army, commanded by General Howe, lies on Bunker's hill, and the re-

* The following general order was issued on the fourth of July, the day after Washington took command of the army :—

"The continental Congress having now taken all the troops of the several colonies, which have been raised, or which may be hereafter raised for the support and defence of the liberties of America, into their pay and service, they are now the troops of the UNITED PROVINCES OF NORTH AMERICA; and it is hoped that all distinction of colonies will be laid aside, so that one and the same spirit may animate the whole, and the only contest be, who shall render, on this great and trying occasion, the most essential service to the great and common cause in which we are all engaged. It is required and expected that exact discipline be observed, and due subordination prevail through the whole army, as a failure in these most essential points must necessarily produce extreme hazard, disorder, and confusion, and end in shameful disappointment and disgrace. The general most earnestly requires and expects a due observance of those articles of war, established for the government of the army, which forbid profane cursing, swearing, and drunkenness; and in like manner, he requires and expects of all officers and soldiers, not engaged on actual duty, a punctual attendance on divine service, to implore the blessings of Heaven upon the means used for our safety and defence."

This brief order may be regarded as a model. In a few words, it evokes harmony, order, the exercise of patriotism, morality, sobriety, and an humble reverence for, and reliance upon, Divine Providence. It includes all the essential elements of good government. These principles were the moral bonds of union that kept the little continental army together during the dreary years of its struggle for the mastery.

† "June 26.—This morning, very early, our men went to set Brown's house on fire, but did not effect it."

"July 7.—Early in the morning we were alarmed, and all of us repaired to our alarm posts. We had not been there long before we saw Brown's house and barn on fire. They were both consumed. These were set on fire by some of our brave Americans; and they took one gun, two bayonets, and one halbert."—*MS. Journal of a private soldier from Wrentham.*

mainder on Roxbury Neck, except the light-horse, and a few men in the town of Boston.

"On one side we have thrown up intrenchments on Winter and Prospect hills—the enemy's camp in full view, at a distance of little more than a mile. Such intermediate points as would admit a landing, I have, since my arrival, taken care to strengthen, down to Sewall's farm, where a strong intrenchment has been thrown up. At Roxbury, General Thomas has thrown up a strong work on the hill, about two hundred yards above the meetinghouse; which, with the brokenness of the ground, and a great number of rocks, has made that pass very secure.* The troops raised in New Hampshire, with a regiment from Rhode Island, occupy Winter hill: a part of those from Connecticut, under General Putnam, are on Prospect hill. The troops in this town [Cambridge] are entirely of the Massachusetts; the remainder of the Rhode Island men are at Sewall's farm. Two regiments of Connecticut, and nine of the Massachusetts, are at Roxbury. The residue of the army, to the number of about seven hundred, are posted in several small towns along the coast to prevent depredations of the enemy.

"Upon the whole, I think myself authorized to say, that considering the great extent of line, and the nature of the ground, we are as well secured as could be expected in so short a time, and under the disadvantages we labor. These consist in a want of engineers to construct proper works and direct the men, a want of tools, and a sufficient number of men to man the works in case of an attack. You will observe, by the proceedings of the council of war which I have the honor to inclose, that it is our unanimous opinion to hold and defend these works as long as possible.†

* This was the strongest and the only regular work cast up by the Americans near Boston, of which any traces at present remain. This was called *Roxbury fort*, and appears to have been constructed chiefly by the Rhode Island troops. It was a strong quadrangular work of earth, built upon rocks of "pudding-stone," with bastions at each angle. The magazine appears to have been on the southwest side, near which was a covered-way and sally-port. A plan of this work, and a small view of its appearance in 1850, may be found in Lossing's "Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution," ii., 592, second edition.

† Washington called a council of war on the ninth of July. It consisted of the major-generals and the brigadiers. The object was to take into consideration the present state of the army, and to consult upon future operations. It was estimated by that council that, from the best information

The discouragement it would give the men, and its contrary effects on the ministerial troops, thus to abandon our encampment in their face, formed with so much labor, added to the certain destruction of a considerable and valuable extent of country, and our uncertainty of finding a place in all respects so capable of making a stand, are leading reasons for this determination. At the same time we are very sensible of the difficulties which attend the defence of lines of so great extent, and the dangers which may ensue from such a division of the army.

“My earnest wish to comply with the instructions of the Congress, in making an early and complete return of the state of the army, has led into an involuntary delay of addressing you; which has given me much concern. Having given orders for this purpose immediately on my arrival; and unapprized of the imperfect obedience which had been paid to those of the like nature from General Ward, I was led from day to day, to expect they would come in, and therefore detained the messenger. They are not now so complete as I could wish; but much allowance is to be made for inexperience in forms, and a liberty which had been taken (not given) on this subject. These reasons, I flatter myself, will no longer exist; and, of consequence, more regularity and exactness will in future prevail. This, with a necessary attention to the lines, the movements of the ministerial troops, and our immediate security, must be my apology, which I beg you to lay before Congress with the utmost duty and respect.

“We labor under great disadvantages for want of tents; for, though they have been helped out by a collection of now useless sails from the seaport towns, the number is far short of our necessities. The colleges and houses of this town are necessarily occupied by the troops; which affords another reason for keeping our

which could be obtained, the forces of the enemy consisted of eleven thousand five hundred effective men, while the Americans had only about fourteen thousand fit for duty. Taking this view of the comparative strength of the two armies, the council unanimously resolved to maintain the siege, by strengthening the posts then held by the Americans, by fortifications and recruits. It was agreed that, if the troops should be attacked and routed by the enemy the place of rendezvous should be Wales's hill, in the rear of the Roxbury lines. It was also agreed, that a force of twenty-two thousand men, at least, was necessary to act against the enemy.

present situation. But I most sincerely wish the whole army was properly provided to take the field, as I am well assured, that (besides greater expedition and activity in case of alarm), it would highly conduce to health and discipline. As materials are not to be had here, I would beg leave to recommend the procuring a further supply from Philadelphia, as soon as possible.

"I should be extremely deficient in gratitude as well as justice, if I did not take the first opportunity to acknowledge the readiness and attention which the provincial Congress and different committees have shown, to make everything as convenient and agreeable as possible.* But there is a vital and inherent principle of delay, incompatible with military service, in transacting business through such numerous and different channels. I esteem it, therefore, my duty to represent the inconvenience which must unavoidably ensue from a dependence on a number of persons for supplies; and submit it for the consideration of Congress, whether the public service will not be best promoted by appointing a commissary-general for these purposes. We have a striking instance of the preference of such a mode, in the establishment of Connecticut, as their troops are extremely well provided, under the direction of Mr. Trumbull, and he has, at different times, assisted others with various articles. Should my sentiments happily coincide with those of your honors on this subject, I beg leave to recommend Mr. Trumbull as a very proper person for this department.† In the arrangement of troops collected under such circumstances, and upon the spur of immediate necessity, several appointments are omitted, which appear to be indispensably necessary for the good government of the army, particularly a quartermaster-general, a commissary of musters, and

* The committee on the state of the province, the committee of safety, and the committee of supplies, are here referred to. The Massachusetts delegation in Congress had, at the request of Washington, given him a list of distinguished New England men, on whom he might rely for council and efficient aid.

† This was Joseph Trumbull, the eldest son of Jonathan Trumbull, the republican governor of Connecticut. He had been one of the active Sons of Liberty, at Norwich, in that province, and held a captain's commission in the Connecticut line, having, as an officer of the militia, acted efficiently as a commissary. On the nineteenth of July, the continental Congress, on this recommendation, appointed him commissary-general of the army.

a commissary of artillery. These I must earnestly recommend to the notice and provision of the Congress.*

"I find myself already much embarrassed for want of a military-chest. These embarrassments will increase every day: I must, therefore, request that money be forwarded as soon as possible. The want of this most necessary article will (I fear), produce great inconveniences, if not prevented by an early attention. I find the army in general, and the troops raised in Massachusetts in particular, very deficient in necessary clothing. Upon inquiry, there appears no probability of obtaining any supplies in this quarter: and on the best consideration of this matter I am able to form, I am of opinion that a number of hunting-shirts (not less than ten thousand) would, in a great degree, remove this difficulty, in the cheapest and quickest manner. I know nothing, in a speculative view, more trivial, yet, if put in practice, would have a happier tendency to unite the men, and abolish those provincial distinctions which lead to jealousy and dissatisfaction.†

"In a former part of this letter, I mentioned the want of engineers. I can hardly express the disappointment I have experienced on this subject—the skill of those we have being very imperfect, and confined to the mere manual exercise of cannon; whereas the war in which we are engaged requires a knowledge comprehending the duties of the field and fortification. If any persons thus qualified are to be found in the southern colonies, it would be of great public service to forward them with all expedition.

"Upon the article of ammunition, I must re-echo the former complaints on this subject. We are so exceedingly destitute, that our artillery will be of little use without a supply both large and seasonable. What we have must be reserved for the small arms, and that managed with the utmost frugality."

Washington then referred to the injudicious appointment of general officers in the provinces of Massachusetts and Connecticut,

* Congress considered this application, and left the appointment of these officers to the commander-in-chief.

† The reader will remember how well a recommendation of a similar costume, made by Washington on the expedition to Fort Duquesne, in 1758, was received by officers and men.

which had produced great dissatisfaction in the army. Owing to the generally expressed discontent, and the apparent danger of disordering the whole army, together with strong representations made by the provincial Congress of Massachusetts, Washington determined to retain the commission in his hands, except that of Putnam, until the further pleasure of the continental Congress should be known. He had given Putnam his commission on the day of his arrival at Cambridge, before he had heard of these dissatisfactions. He disclaimed any private attachments, as every officer appointed was a stranger to him, personally; and the only consideration by which he was influenced was the public good.

General Spencer was so offended because of General Putnam's promotion, that he left the army without communicating his intentions to the commander-in-chief, or even visiting him after his arrival. Pomeroy had already retired, because of some disappointment in the action of the Massachusetts provincial Congress. Spencer was subsequently induced to take rank after Putnam; and Pomeroy, at a later period, led the militia of his neighborhood to the Hudson river, when the Jerseys were overrun by the enemy. He was not permitted to cross that stream, however, for he died at Peekskill, on its eastern bank, late in December, 1776. As we have already observed, these changes caused Thomas to be made the first brigadier-general, to the great satisfaction of all, for he was an excellent officer, and was popular with the troops. After a brief statement of these difficulties (which show Washington's innate love of justice), his excellency continued:—

“The state of the army you will find ascertained with tolerable precision in the returns which accompany this letter.* Upon

* Those returns were quite imperfect. On the nineteenth, Adjutant-General Gates presented the following more reliable returns:—

Colonies.	No of regiments.	Commissioned officers and staff.	Non-commissioned officers.	Ita k and file					Total.
				Present fit for duty.	Sick present.	Sick absent.	On furlough.	On command.	
Massachusetts...	26	789	1,326	9,396	757	450	311	774	11,688
Connecticut...	3	125	174	2,105	212	2	14		2,333
New Hampshire	3	98	160	1,201	115	20	49	279	1,664
Rhode Island...	3	107	108	1,041	24	18	2		1,085
Total.....	35	1,119	1,768	13,743	1,108	490	376	1,053	16,770

finding the number of men to fall so far short of the establishment, and below all expectation, I immediately called a council of the general officers, whose opinion (as to the mode of filling up the regiments, and providing for the present exigency), I have the honor of inclosing, together with the best judgment we are able to form of the ministerial troops. From the number of boys, deserters, and negroes, that have been enlisted in the troops of this province, I entertain some doubts whether the number required can be raised here: and all the general officers agree, that no dependence can be put on the militia, for a continuance in camp, or regularity and discipline during the short time they may stay. This unhappy and devoted province has been so long in a state of anarchy, and the yoke of oppression has been laid so heavily upon it, that great allowances are to be made for troops raised under such circumstances. The deficiency of numbers, discipline, and stores, can only lead to this conclusion—that their spirit had exceeded their strength. But, at the same time, I would humbly submit to the consideration of Congress, the propriety of making some further provision of men from the other colonies. If these regiments should be completed to their establishment, the dismissal of those unfit for duty on account of their age and character, would occasion a considerable reduction; and, at all events, they have been enlisted upon such terms, that they may be disbanded when other troops arrive. But should my apprehensions be realized, and the regiments here not filled up, the public cause would suffer by an absolute dependence upon so doubtful an event, unless some provision is made against such a disappointment.

“It requires no military skill to judge of the difficulty of introducing proper discipline and subordination into an army while we have the enemy in view, and are in daily expectation of an attack; but it is of so much importance, that every effort will be made, which time and circumstances will admit. In the meantime, I have a sincere pleasure in observing, that there are materials for a good army—a great number of able-bodied men, active, zealous in the cause, and of unquestionable courage.” After alluding to a com-

munication which he had received from Congress, and the arrival of Gates and Sullivan, Washington continued:—

“My best abilities are at all times devoted to the service of my country; but I feel the weight, importance, and variety, of my present duties too sensibly not to wish a more immediate and frequent communication with the Congress. I fear it may often happen, in the course of our present operations, that I shall need that assistance and direction from them which time and distance will not allow me receive.”*

This outline of the army at Boston, sketched by the pen of Washington, is made more complete and effective by the following details wrought by the hand of a chaplain of one of the regiments.† It gives a richness of light and shade to the picture. “New lords, new laws,” wrote the chaplain. “The generals, Washington and Lee, are upon the lines every day. New orders from his Excellency are read to the respective regiments every morning after prayers. The strictest government is taking place, and great distinction is made between officers and soldiers. Every one is made to know his place, and keep in it, or to be tied up and receive thirty or forty lashes, according to his crime. Thousands are at work every day, from four till eleven o’clock in the morning. It is surprising how much work has been done. The lines are extended almost from Cambridge to the Mystic river; so that very soon it will be morally impossible for the enemy to get between the works, except in one place, which is supposed to be left purposely unfortified, to entice the enemy out of their fortresses. Who would have thought, twelve months past, that all Cambridge and Charlestown would be covered over with American camps, and cut up into forts and intrenchments, and all the lands, fields, and orchards laid common—horses and cattle feeding in the choicest mowing land, whole fields of corn eaten down to the ground, and large parks of well-regulated locusts cut down for firewood and other public uses. This, I must say, looks a little melancholy. My quarters are at the foot of the

* Washington’s “Official Letters,” copied “by special permission from the original papers preserved in the office of the secretary of state, Philadelphia.” London; 1795.

† Reverend William Emerson, of Concord, Massachusetts.

famous Prospect hill, where such preparations are made for the reception of the enemy. It is very diverting to walk among the camps. They are as different in their form as the owners are in their dress, and every tent is a portraiture of the temper and taste of the persons who encamp in it. Some are made of boards, and some of sail-cloth; some partly of one and partly of the other. Again, others are made of stone or turf, brick or brush. Some are thrown up in a hurry; others are curiously wrought with doors and windows, done with wreaths and withes, in the manner of a basket. Some are your proper tents and marquees, looking like the regular camp of the enemy. In these are the Rhode-Islanders, who are furnished with tent-equipage and everything in the most exact English style. However, I think this great variety rather a beauty than a blemish in the army."

Notwithstanding the general hopefulness of the tone of Washington's letters to the president of Congress, he perceived many things that would have dismayed a less courageous and self-reliant spirit. Every day some new difficulty—some weakness unobserved before—presented itself, but the resolution and indomitable perseverance of the commander-in-chief, seemed to be heightened by the appearance of every new obstacle. For example: on his arrival in camp, he ordered a return of the powder to be made to him. Three hundred and three barrels were reported as in store. A few days afterward the alarming discovery was made, that the committee of supplies had, by mistake, returned the amount which had been originally furnished by the province, when, in fact, the actual quantity on hand was not more than sufficient to furnish each man with nine cartridges! For a fortnight after this discovery not a grain of powder was added to his store, yet Washington worked on hopefully. And then the small supply that he received was furnished under disheartening circumstances. It was sent by stealth, by the committee of safety at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, for they feared the people would seize it, and retain it for their own use. Easy would have been Howe's conquest had he left Boston with his army, at that time, and attacked the Americans.

But in the midst of all of his discouragements at the beginning, Washington had the confidence and the prayers of the wise and good to cheer him in the great work upon which he had entered. General Schuyler wrote to him from New York, on the first of July, and concluded his letter with the affectionate words: "That success and happiness equal to the merit and virtue of my general, may crown all his operations is the wish of every honest American, and of none more sincerely than me."*

Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, writing at Philadelphia, on the first of July, said: "Every man in this assembly [the continental Congress] feels the delicacy as well as the importance of your position. You have the entire confidence of all; and the Congress will sustain you to the utmost of their ability. In the present critical state of affairs we all regard your appointment as providential; for your military experience, sound judgment, and caution, are guaranties of success, if it can be accomplished by the exercise of these qualities." Washington replied to Mr. Lee on the tenth; and to this intimate friend of his childhood, he expressed some of the apprehensions which at times possessed his mind. "Between you and me," he wrote, "I think we are in an exceedingly dangerous situation, as our numbers are not much larger than we suppose those of the enemy to be, from the best accounts we are able to get.... The abuses in the army, I fear, are considerable, and the new modelling of it, in the face of an enemy, from whom we every hour expect an attack, is exceedingly difficult and dangerous. If things, therefore, should not turn out as the Congress would wish, I hope they will make proper allowances. I can only promise and assure them, that my whole time is devoted to their service, and that as far as my judgment goes, they shall have no cause to complain."

From that excellent patriot, Governor Nicholas Cooke, of Rhode Island, Washington received a cheering and congratulatory letter during those days of suspense, assuring him that he might depend upon the cordial co-operation of himself and his colony; and from

* Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

that noble soul, Governor Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, there came such words of faith and hope, that Washington's full heart could not withhold the warmest expression of thanks, in return.

Of all the venerated patriots who upheld the hands of the commander-in-chief, during the war, no one was more truly loved by him, than Jonathan Trumbull. Serious from childhood, he was, from choice, educated for the ministry, but was drawn into mercantile life with his father, at Lebanon, Connecticut, by the death of an elder brother. Active and judicious, he was elected to a seat in the general assembly of his native province at an early age; and in 1766, he was chosen lieutenant-governor of Connecticut. Three years afterward he was chosen governor, as a patriot of firmest mould in those exciting times; and he bore the proud distinction of being the only colonial chief-magistrate, at the commencement of the Revolution, who espoused the cause of the colonists, and retained his office. When the Adams's and Hancock were in Congress, Trumbull was the acknowledged whig leader in New England; and during the whole contest, Washington relied on him as one of the main pillars of support.

Governor Trumbull was now sixty-five years of age, and full of the pious and patriotic zeal of the stanch Scotch covenanters. His mind was moulded in the quaint form of the old Puritans, and its expressions bore that aspect; and over his every-day life, a deep religious spirit cast its beautiful light.* With that spirit, mingled with patriotic feeling, his letter to Washington, written at Lebanon on the thirteenth of July, was filled. "Suffer me," he said, "to join in congratulating you, on your appointment to be general and commander-in-chief of the troops raised, or to be raised, for the

* The Marquis de Chastellux, who came to America with Rochambeau, in 1780, has left on record a pleasant allusion to the religious habits of Governor Trumbull. "I have already painted Governor Trumbull," he says (*Travels*, vol. i., p. 458). "At present you have only to represent to yourself this little old man, in the antique dress of the first settlers in this colony, approaching a table surrounded by twenty huzzar officers, and, without either disconcerting himself or losing anything of his formal stiffness, pronouncing, in a loud voice, a long prayer in the form of a *benedicite*. Let it not be imagined that he excites the laughter of his auditors; they are too well trained. You must, on the contrary, figure to yourself twenty *Amens*, issuing at once from the midst of forty mustaches, and you will have some idea of the little scene." The "twenty huzzar officers" alluded to, were of the Duc de Lauzun's corps of cavalry, who were cantoned at Lebanon in the winter of '780-'81. These officers were frequent guests at the table of Governor Trumbull.

defence of American liberty. Men who have tasted freedom, and who have felt their personal rights, are not easy taught to bear with encroachments on either, or brought to submit to oppression. Virtue ought always to be made the object of government. Justice is firm and permanent." Then referring to the causes of difficulty, he continued:—

"The honorable Congress have proclaimed a fast to be observed by the inhabitants of all the English colonies on this continent, to stand before the Lord in one day, with public humiliation, fasting, and prayer, to deplore our many sins, to offer up our joint supplications to God for forgiveness, and for his merciful interposition for us in this day of unnatural darkness and distress. They have, with one united voice, appointed you to the high station you possess. The Supreme Director of all events hath caused a wonderful union of hearts and counsels to subsist among us.

"Now, therefore, be strong and very courageous. May the armies of the God of Israel shower down the blessings of his Divine Providence on you, give you wisdom and fortitude, cover your head in the day of battle and danger, add success, convince our enemies of their mistaken measures, and that all their attempts to deprive these colonies of their inestimable constitutional rights and liberties are injurious and vain."

To this feeling letter Washington replied, on the eighteenth, expressing his sincere thanks, and adding: "As the cause of our common country calls us both to an active and dangerous duty, I trust that Divine Providence which wisely orders the affairs of men, will enable us to discharge it with fidelity and success."

Let us now turn for a moment from the camp, and observe what was doing in the supreme council of the nation.

CHAPTER LII.

CAUTION OF CONGRESS—DECLARATION OF THE CAUSES AND NECESSITY OF WAR—LETTER TO THE MAYOR AND LIVERY OF LONDON—PROCEEDINGS IN THAT CITY—PETITION TO THE KING—OPPOSITION TO THAT MEASURE—ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF GREAT BRITAIN—MEASURES CONCERNING THE INDIANS—FAST DAY PROCEEDINGS—DILIGENCE OF CONGRESS—ADDRESS TO THE ASSEMBLY OF JAMAICA, AND TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND—THE LAST APPEALS—EXCITEMENT IN ENGLAND—POSTOFFICE SYSTEM AND GENERAL HOSPITAL ESTABLISHED—TREASON OF DOCTOR CHURCH—FINANCIAL PROVISIONS—ADJOURNMENT OF CONGRESS.

WHILE Washington was anxiously preparing men and means to carry on the siege of Boston, the continental Congress were working nobly in the general cause, and in the adoption of measures to strengthen his hands. At the same time they proceeded with caution in the pathway of rebellion, and while they firmly declared their rights and intentions, they warmly expressed their loyalty to their sovereign. The Congress and the commander-in-chief scrupulously avoided calling the British army in Boston the "*royal* troops," but denominated them "*ministerial* troops;" and in every declaration and act, they held the ministry and Parliament alone responsible for the measures which had driven the Americans into rebellion.

On the sixth of July, Congress adopted a declaration, which set forth the causes and the necessity of the armed resistance of the colonies. A declaration of this kind, drawn by John Rutledge, had been reported by a committee on the twenty-fourth of June. It was not approved, and on the twenty-sixth it was recommitted, and Thomas Jefferson (who had taken his seat in Congress five days previously) and John Dickinson were added to the committee. Mr. Jefferson prepared a draught of a declaration which "was too

strong for Mr. Dickinson." That gentleman still retained a hope of, and desire for, a reconciliation with the mother-country, and he wished to lessen the offensiveness of some of its statements. "He was so honest a man, and so able a one," says Mr. Jefferson,* "that he was greatly indulged even by those who could not feel his scruples." He was, therefore, requested to take the paper and put it into a form he could approve. He prepared a new one, preserving of the former only a few of the last paragraphs. This draft by Mr. Dickinson was the one substantially adopted by the Congress, and is clear and explicit in the expression of the sentiments of the representatives of the American people.

"A reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense," they said, "must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end."—"The legislature of Britain, however," they continued, "stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited dominion, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause."

The declaration then recited some of the prominent events in the earlier history of the colonies, and the most notable of the injuries which they had recently sustained at the hands of the parent government. Then briefly alluding to the movements of the people, and the assembling of a Congress in the autumn of 1774, they said: "We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful

* *Memoirs*, i., 10. London edition.

petition to the king, and also addressed our fellow-subjects of Great Britain. We have preserved every temperate, every respectful measure;... but subsequent events have shown how vain was the hope of finding moderation in our enemies."

The declaration then commented upon the speech of the king and the proceedings of Parliament, after receiving the state-papers put forth by the first continental Congress; alluded to the fruitless attempts of members of Parliament and municipal bodies in Great Britain to stay the hand of ministerial oppression then laid upon the colonies; recited the sad story of Lexington and Concord; quoted the insulting proclamation of Gage on the twelfth of June; referred to the battle of Bunker's hill and the burning of Charlestown, and the efforts in progress to incite the Canadians and the Indians to warfare against the colonists; and then concluded with the following strong and unequivocal language:—

"We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honor, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We can not endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

"Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the Divine favor toward us, that his providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, *declare*, that exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciously be-

stowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves.

“Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation or even suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

“In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before. With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the Universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.”*

When this declaration was adopted, Congress resolved that a letter should be prepared to the lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, expressive of the thanks of Congress for

* Journals of Congress, i., 134, Folwell's edition, 1800. These concluding paragraphs of the declaration were written by Mr. Jefferson. See his “Memoirs,” i., 10.

their opposition to the colonial policy of the government. The celebrated John Wilkes,* who, a few years before, had given the government much trouble, was then lord-mayor, and had presented a bold and even violent address and remonstrance of the livery of London to the king, in which they complained, that they "plainly perceived a real design to establish arbitrary power over all America, and to uproot the constitution at home." It was written by Arthur Lee, of Virginia, who who was then a distinguished advocate in the British metropolis, and attracted a great deal of admiration for the elegance and vigor of its style. The king was offended; and in his reply, he expressed his astonishment that any of his subjects should encourage the Americans in rebellion, and his firm determination to rely on the wisdom of Parliament, and steadily pursue such measures as they recommended.

A few days after this, Wilkes was informed that the king would not receive, *on the throne*, any address of the lord-mayor and aldermen, but in their corporate capacity. This was construed into a fresh wrong, and Wilkes raised a violent storm by writing and publishing a severe letter in vindication of the right of the city to petition the throne in their own way; a right, he said, which had been respected, "even by the accursed race of Stuarts." The king steadily refused compliance, but agreed to receive an address at a *levée*. The authorities of London demanded that he should receive it, sitting on the throne, and when he refused to do so, a remonstrance was printed in the newspapers, and a call was loudly made for "the impeachment of the evil counsellors who had planted popery and arbitrary power in America, and were the advisers of a measure so dangerous to his majesty and his people as that of refusing to hear petitions." These proceedings had a great effect,

* John Wilkes was a fearless political writer. He was born in 1727, and became a member of Parliament at the age of thirty years. He edited a paper called "The North Briton;" and because of an article in it which reflected upon the government, he was sent to the Tower in 1763. On account of a licentious "Essay on Woman," he was afterward expelled from the house of commons. After giving the ministers much trouble, he was elected sheriff of London in 1771. In 1774 he was elected lord-mayor, and took his seat in Parliament as a representative of the metropolitan county of Middlesex. He was appointed chamberlain of London in 1779, and died at his seat in the Isle of Wight in 1797, at the age of seventy years. He was licentious in private life, but his talents and republican proclivities made him the idol of the people.

and sympathy for the struggling Americans was prevalent throughout England. It is a singular fact that the letter of thanks to the lord-mayor and livery of London, ordered by Congress because of their proceedings, was written by Richard Henry Lee, brother of Arthur Lee.

On the eighth of July, a petition to the king, proposed and written by John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, was adopted by Congress. It had been debated for some time, and quite a large majority of the members of that body were opposed to the measure, as useless and injurious. The New England members, led by John Adams, were specially vehement in their opposition; and the debate thereon was the beginning of a long-continued coldness between Mr. Adams and Mr. Dickinson. Mr. Jefferson, in speaking of the matter said: "Congress gave a signal proof of their indulgence of Mr. Dickinson, and of their great desire not to go too fast for any respectable part of our body, in permitting him to draw their second petition to the king according to his own ideas, and passing it with scarcely any amendment."* The document was ably drawn; but the disgust against its humility was general, and some of the members signed it with great reluctance.† It declared themselves dutiful subjects, and prayed that his royal magnanimity and benevolence might be interposed to direct some mode by which the united applications of his faithful colonists might be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation. "Notwithstanding our sufferings," they said, "our breasts retain too tender a regard for

* *Memoirs*, i., 10.

† Although Doctor Franklin was convinced that reconciliation with Great Britain, on any terms except those of entire submission, was out of the question, he signed the petition, considering it a harmless thing. His letters at that time show how surely he expected war, and that the breach between Great Britain and her colonists would remain unclosed. Three days before the adoption of the petition, he wrote the following remarkable letter to Mr. Strahan, an eminent printer in London: "You are a member of Parliament, and one of that majority which has doomed my country to destruction. You have begun to burn our towns, and murder our people. Look upon your hands, they are stained with the blood of your relations! You and I were long friends; you are now my enemy, and I am yours, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN." To Doctor Priestley, Franklin wrote, on the seventh, after referring to the bloody events in the vicinity of Boston: "Great frugality and industry are now become fashionable here. Gentlemen who used to entertain with two or three courses, pride themselves now in treating with simple beef and pudding. By these means, and the stoppage of our consumptive trade with Great Britain, we shall be better able to pay our voluntary taxes for the support of our troops. Our savings in the article of trade amount to near five millions sterling, per annum."—*Sparks's Life and Writings of Franklin*, viii., 155.

the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to request such a reconciliation as might, in any manner, be inconsistent with her dignity or her welfare."

Mr. Dickinson was so pleased with the adoption of the petition, that, after the vote had been taken, and further observation upon it was out of order, he could not refrain from rising and expressing his satisfaction. He concluded by saying: "there's but one word, Mr. President, in the paper which I disapprove, and that is the word *Congress*." Benjamin Harrison immediately arose and said: "There is but one word in the paper, Mr. President, of which I approve, and that is the word *Congress*."

It was resolved that this petition, if unsuccessful, should be the last; and to give solemnity and force to its presentation, the performance of that act was intrusted to the hand of Richard Penn, one of the proprietaries of the province of Pennsylvania in which the Congress were assembled, in conjunction with the colonial agents in England. On the same day when this matter was disposed of (the eighth of July), Congress adopted an address of the delegates to the inhabitants of Great Britain, which had been prepared by Richard Henry Lee. It was debated by paragraphs, and adopted substantially as it was reported. It was one of the ablest documents that had been sent forth by the continental Congress, full of eloquent expostulations, significant warnings, and dignified reproaches. They addressed them as "FRIENDS, COUNTRYMEN, AND BRETHREN," and said—"By these, and every other appellation that may designate the ties which bind *us* to each other, we entreat your serious attention to this our second attempt to prevent their dissolution." They then referred to former friendships, to mutual action in the field, and the ties that had been broken. They recited past grievances, and the supineness of the people of Great Britain in relation to the wrongs inflicted upon America—wronges that essentially wounded them also. After this recitation they asked:—

"To what are we to attribute this treatment? If to any secret principle of the constitution," they said, "let it be mentioned; let

us learn that the government we have long revered is not without its defects, and that while it gives freedom to a part, it necessarily enslaves the remainder of the empire. If such a principle exists, why, for ages, has it ceased to operate? Why, at this time, is it called into action? Can no reason be assigned for this conduct? Or must it be resolved into the wanton exercise of arbitrary power? And shall the descendants of Britons tamely submit to this? No, sirs! we never will, while we revere the memory of our gallant and virtuous ancestors, we never can surrender those glorious privileges for which they fought, bled, and conquered. Admit that your fleets could destroy our towns, and ravage our seacoasts; these are inconsiderable objects, things of no moment to men whose bosoms glow with the ardor of liberty. We can retire beyond the reach of your navy, and, without any sensible diminution of the necessities of life, enjoy a luxury, which from that period you will want—the luxury of being free.”

“We are accused of aiming at independence,” they continued; “but how is this accusation supported? By the allegations of your ministers, not by our actions. Abused, insulted, and contemned, what steps have we pursued to obtain redress? We have carried our dutiful petitions to the throne. We have applied to your justice for relief. We have retrenched our luxury, and withheld our trade.... What has been the success of our endeavors? The clemency of our sovereign is unhappily diverted; our petitions are treated with indignity; our prayers answered by insults. Our application to you remains unnoticed, and leaves us the melancholy apprehension of your wanting either the will, or the power, to assist us.”

After speaking of the ungracious manner in which their last petition to the king had been received, they said: “We have, nevertheless, again presented an humble and dutiful petition to our sovereign; and to remove every imputation of obstinacy, have requested his majesty to direct some mode by which the united applications of his faithful colonists may be improved into happy and permanent reconciliation. We are willing to treat on such

terms as can alone render our accommodation lasting, and we flatter ourselves that our pacific endeavors will be attended with a removal of ministerial troops, and a repeal of those laws, of the operation of which we complain, on the one part, and a disbanding of our army, and a dissolution of our commercial associations on the other.

“Yet conclude not from this that we propose to surrender our property into the hands of your ministry, or vest your Parliament with a power which may terminate in our destruction. The great bulwarks of our constitution we have desired to maintain by every temperate, by every peaceable means; but your ministers (equal foes to British and American freedom), have added to their former oppressions an attempt to reduce us, by the sword, to a base and abject submission. On the sword, therefore, we are compelled to rely for protection. Should victory declare in your favor, yet men trained to arms from their infancy, and animated by the love of liberty, will afford neither a cheap nor easy conquest. Of this, at least, we are assured, that our struggle will be glorious, our success certain; since even in death we shall find that freedom which in life you forbid us to enjoy.”

Anxious to preserve the friendship of the Indians, Congress had taken measures early to gain that desirable end. A committee on Indian affairs was appointed, and on the twelfth of July it reported, that as the British government was undoubtedly exciting the savages to take up arms against the Americans, it was very important for the Congress to make every possible effort to strengthen and confirm the friendship of the Indians for the colonists. It proposed the establishment of a board of commissioners for the superintendence of Indians affairs, their jurisdiction to be divided into Northern, Southern, and Middle departments; the first for the Six Nations and other northern tribes, the second for the Cherokees, and the third for the intervening nations on the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Already some Stockbridge Indians, from western Massachusetts, were in the camp at Boston; and Samuel Kirtland, the zealous missionary among the Six Nations,

of New York, was making friendly overtures to the Oneidas and Mohawks. Accordingly, on the twenty-sixth, a committee appointed to "prepare proper talks to the Indians," reported a speech to the Six Nations, in which, with simple language, the nature of the pending quarrel was set forth, and their friendship was affectionately invoked. Similar "talks" were prepared for other tribes; and in accordance with the recommendations of the first-named report, commissioners for the several Indian departments were appointed. The duties of these commissioners were very delicate and important, as our subsequent record will show.

The twentieth of July being the day appointed by Congress for a national fast, and acts of religious worship, that body adjourned immediately after assembling in the morning of that day, and attended divine service at Christ church. The Reverend Jacob Duché, who, on the seventh of the month, had preached from the same pulpit a powerful sermon before the "First Battalion of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia," on the "Duty of standing fast in our Spiritual and Temporal Liberties," now delivered a most impressive discourse.* It was a clear, cool morning for the season, and most of the churches and meetinghouses in the city were filled with worshippers. "All the houses and shops in our neighborhood were shut," wrote a contemporary patriot; "and to appearance more still than a First-Day produced, as there was no riding abroad visiting, as is generally on First-Day."† But the members of Congress did not make the occasion an excuse for neglect of legislative duties. They reassembled at one o'clock in the afternoon, when

* This discourse was founded upon the fourteenth verse of the eightieth Psalm, and when published afterward, it was entitled "The American Vine." It was printed the same year. A copy of it is in the Loganian library, Philadelphia.—See Dorr's "History of Christ Church," page 176. Marshall, in his diary, alluding to this discourse, says: "It was an excellent sermon," and adds, "it was an awful meeting, as numbers of wet eyes demonstrated their attention." A copy of the earlier sermon, above alluded to, is in my possession. Next to the concluding paragraph, the preacher said: "In a word, my brethren, though the worst should come—though we should be deprived of all the conveniences and elegances of life, though we should be cut off from all our usual sources of commerce, and constrained, as many of our poor brethren have already been, to abandon our present comfortable habitations, let us, nevertheless, 'STAND FAST,' as the guardians of LIBERTY." These noble words are in strange contrast with the acts of the preacher the following year, when he timidly cowered before the frowns of the bishop of London, joined the tory party and fled to England.

† Marshall's Diary.

an important despatch from General Schuyler, in relation to affairs in the Northern department,* which had been received in the morning, was read and acted upon, the result of which, was a resolution empowering that officer to "dispose of and employ all the troops in the New York department," as he might think best for the general good.

On the twenty-fifth, an address to the assembly of Jamaica, whence the colonies had received sympathizing words, was adopted; and three days afterward, another to the people of Ireland, was agreed to. These were the last addresses to the inhabitants of any portion of the British realm, put forth by the Congress; and the petition to the king was their final appeal to the justice, humanity, and magnanimity of his majesty. Thenceforth they employed vigorous actions instead of friendly words; and by their own wisdom and strength, given them by the Great Disposer, they wrought out for themselves a government founded upon truth and justice, deeply laid in the hearts of a free people.

On the thirty-first, the Congress took into consideration the following conciliatory resolution of the house of commons, which had been adopted in February:—

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that when the general council and assembly, or general court of any his majesty's provinces, or colonies in America, shall propose to make provision, according to the condition, circumstance, or situation of such province or colony, for contributing their proportion to the common defence (such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general court, or general assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by Parliament), and shall engage to make provision, also, for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony, it will be proper if such proposal shall be approved by his majesty and the two houses of Parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear in respect of such province or colony to lay any duty, tax,

* This letter was dated "Saratoga, July 15," and gave alarming intelligence from Tryon county, where the Johnsons were inciting the tories and Indians against the whig inhabitants.

or assessment, or to impose any further duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to continue to levy or impose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce, or the duties last mentioned, to be carried to the account of such province or colony respectively."

Lord North had sent this resolve to the several colonies. Some of them promptly condemned it, and others referred it to the continental Congress. That body, after due consideration, declared: "We are of opinion that the proposition is unreasonable and insidious: unreasonable, because, if we declare we accede to it, we declare, without reservation, we will purchase the favor of Parliament, not knowing, at the same time, at what price they will please to estimate their favor; it is insidious, because individual colonies, having bid and bidden again, till they find the avidity of the seller too great for all their powers to satisfy, are then to return into opposition, divided from their sister-colonies whom the minister will have previously detached by a grant of easier terms, or by an artful procrastination of a definitive answer." The proposition was then unanimously rejected.

The people were again taught the lesson which they had already too often received, that their petitions and remonstrances were vain. The king was persuaded that the petition of the colonists was insincere, and intended as an insulting mockery; and Governor Penn was informed by Lord Dartmouth, that no answer to it would be given. This decision raised a loud cry against the government in the city of London and elsewhere. Already a proclamation of the king for suppressing rebellion and preventing seditious correspondences, had been treated with contempt. Mayor Wilkes had refused to have it read, pursuant to orders, in the usual dignified way; and when, in an obscure place, the reading of it was concluded by an inferior civil officer, the populace expressed their indignation by "a terrible hiss."* Now, perceiving the contempt with which the humble appeal of the Americans was received by his majesty, another address, petition, and memorial, signed by

* Annual Register.

more than eleven hundred "gentlemen-merchants and traders of London," was presented to King George. That paper contained some bold expressions, startling truths, and alarming suggestions. It spoke in unequivocal terms of the wickedness of the ministry; revealed the fact that they had advised the king to hire German soldiers to go over and butcher his subjects in America; and charged them with the intention of raising and disciplining papists in Ireland and Canada, to wage a war, on religious grounds, against the best subjects of the crown beyond the Atlantic. It suggested the fearful blow which such measures would inflict upon the liberties of England, and warned the king of the danger that threatened his crown. These warnings were vain. Counter-addresses, numerous signed, were procured; and while one party denounced the government as tyrannous and cruel, the other party denounced the Americans as rebellious and turbulent. The wildest excitement in the metropolis ensued; and during the summer and autumn of 1775, the public mind brooding over the chances and consequences of civil war in the parent-land, was as much agitated as it was in the colonies where war actually existed. This agitation alarmed the king and disturbed the ministry, for it was at their very doors; and the Parliament was assembled on the twenty-sixth of October, about a month earlier than usual. Of the proceedings of that session in relation to American affairs, we shall make note hereafter.

The Congress, meanwhile, were assiduous in their efforts to establish a symmetrical civil government and to make provision for the army. A postal system was agreed to, which should extend from "Falmouth, in New England, to Savannah, in Georgia," with as many cross-posts as the postmaster-general might think necessary. Doctor Franklin was placed at the head of this important department.* An army hospital, for the accommodation of twenty thousand men, was established, and Doctor Benjamin Church, of Boston,

* The book in which Doctor Franklin kept his postoffice accounts is preserved in the department at Washington city. It is a common, half-bound folio, of three quires of coarse paper, and contains all the entries for more than twenty months.

who became the first traitor to the American cause,* was placed at its head.

Finally, after appointing a committee to "make inquiry in all the colonies" during the recess of Congress, "after virgin lead and leaden ore, and the best methods of collecting, smelting, and refining it;" and making provisions for a military-chest, ordering five hundred thousand dollars to be sent to Washington for the use of the army at Boston, and other sums to other colonies for the public service, the Congress adjourned to Tuesday, the fifth of September following.

* Doctor Church had been a brave and zealous co-worker with Warren and others, but soon after his appointment as surgeon general, he was detected in carrying on a secret correspondence with General Gage. He was tried by a court-martial, and found guilty of correspondence with the enemy. The principal proof was a letter written by him, in cipher, to the British commander, which he had intrusted to the hands of his mistress. She had been arrested as a suspicious character and the letter was found upon her. She was taken to headquarters, the letter was deciphered, and the guilt of Doctor Church was made manifest by her confession that he was the writer. He was expelled from the general assembly of Massachusetts, and confined in the jail at Norwich, Connecticut, by the general Congress. On account of his failing health, he was released and allowed to leave the country. He sailed to the British West Indies, but the vessel that bore him was never heard of afterward. His place at the head of the hospital was filled by Doctor John Morgan, one of the founders of the medical school in Philadelphia.

CHAPTER LIII.

THE WISDOM OF CAUTION IN CONGRESS—WASHINGTON'S CONSERVATIVE ACTION IN THE CAMP—ITS GOOD EFFECTS—THE UNIVERSAL CONFIDENCE IN WASHINGTON—GREENE'S ADDRESS—WASHINGTON'S SOCIAL QUALITIES AND TEMPERANCE—HIS GUESTS—THE DECLARATION OF CONGRESS READ TO THE ARMY—FAST DAY OBSERVED IN THE ARMY—SKIRMISHES WITH THE ENEMY—ARRIVAL OF RIFLEMEN—DANIEL MORGAN—ARRANGEMENTS OF THE ARMY—DISPOSITION OF THE BRITISH FORCES—THE BRITISH GENERALS—DUTIES LAID UPON WASHINGTON—PATRIOTIC DISTRUST—WASHINGTON'S LABORS—APPEAL TO WASHINGTON FROM THE SEABOARD FOR PROTECTION—JUDICIOUS REFUSAL.

Looking back from our stand-point of to-day, the cautious proceedings of Congress in again suing for justice at the foot of the throne, appears like an inexcusably temporizing policy at a time when war actually existed, and the parent-government was putting forth unremitting efforts to crush the rebellion and enslave the colonists. No doubt that policy worked present mischief. No doubt its delays were fatally effective in causing the loss of Canada, a province that might have been easily won by friendship or conquest, in the summer of 1775, and in retarding the preparation of the crude army at Cambridge immediately after the affair at Lexington and Concord, for efficient and speedy action against the menacing enemy, then daily watching for a safe opportunity to strike an effectual blow. Yet it was doubtless a wise caution in the face of current events and circumstances. Rashness would have been far more destructive of the hopes of the colonists; and while we may lament the advantages lost by the hesitancy of the second continental Congress during the earlier weeks of its first session, in casting at the feet of Britain the gauntlet of unreserved defiance, we must admire the wisdom and prudence of that body. They were the representatives of a people anxious to avoid hos-

tilities, and longing for honorable reconciliation; and out of the consciousness of these known desires of their constituents, was born that conservative caution which the pen of history is too prone to condemn.

Turning to the headquarters of the army at Cambridge, we there perceive the same caution prevailing against the fiery impulses of Lee, the restiff ambition of Gates, the impatient ardor of the troops, and the expostulations of members of Congress. Washington had been taught its salutary lessons by experience and observation; and during the entire war he exercised this conservative care so continually, that he was frequently censured for his "Fabian slowness." But in every instance the result fully vindicated the wisdom of his course. In the camp before Boston, ambitious subordinates frequently importuned him for leave to go out upon military enterprises where little else than personal renown could be won, but these applications were uniformly met with a negative. Washington was unwilling to have the strength of the army wasted thus in detail, without a chance for adequate compensation. He knew its inherent weakness on account of its lack of ammunition and discipline; and during the remainder of the summer, and far into the autumn of 1775, his chief care was to husband his slender resources, strengthen his own position, confine the enemy close to their quarters, and to cut off their supplies of provisions. In these efforts frequent skirmishes occurred. They were wholesome lessons for the Americans. As the patriots were generally successful, these gave them confidence, the twin-brother of courage; and they learned skill in the art of war.

One prime element of strength possessed by the army at Cambridge, was the unbounded confidence that all felt in the commander-in-chief. No weakening doubt oppressed their minds, and his words were laws that found responsive obedience in every heart, from the highest officer to the private soldier. This confidence was early felt and as early expressed. General Greene, who commanded the army of observation sent by Rhode Island—a corps that had been drilled by himself, and because of its order and

perfect military bearing, formed the *élite* of the army—made a noble address in behalf of himself and his brother officers, to the commander-in-chief, welcoming him to the camp. The sentiments which he expressed were responded to by every heart and mind in the army. Every person felt an incomprehensible awe in the presence of Washington, yet all were drawn toward him by the influence of involuntary affection. Every day officers of the army dined at his table, and these were frequently joined by members of the provincial Congress of Massachusetts.

On these occasions Washington was always social but never convivial. He was a stranger to excess in eating or drinking. His diet, at that time, was simple, frequently consisting of only baked apples, or berries with cream, and milk. He seldom took more than one glass of wine at table; and he generally retired before any of his guests, leaving Mifflin or Reed to represent him.* While he could not be approached with undue familiarity, no other restraint was felt in his presence than that inspired by the overpowering influence of united dignity and virtue. In fact, Washington stood among his compatriots at Cambridge like a giant oak of the forest, marvellous and unequalled for its strength and colossal grandeur, yet sympathizing with all of the surrounding trees as a recipient of the blessings of light, and air, and moisture, from the hand of a common Father, and linked to them by a common destiny. All bowed to Washington with reverence, even at the outset of his leadership, yet they felt no separating repulsion because of the loftiness of his spirit. They involuntarily recognised his superiority while they loved him as an elder brother.

By the middle of July the siege, or rather the blockade, of Bos-

* The late Colonel John Trumbull, the eminent painter (son of Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut), became a member of Washington's military family soon after the arrival of the general at Cambridge. He had accompanied General Spencer to camp, and had attracted the favorable notice of Washington by some drawings that he had made of the enemy's works. "I now found myself," Trumbull wrote, "in the family of one of the most distinguished and dignified men of the age; surrounded at his table by the principal officers of the army, and in constant intercourse with them—it was further my duty to receive company, and do the honors of the house to many of the first people of the country, of both sexes." At that time Trumbull was only nineteen years of age, quite unaccustomed to society, and finding himself unequal to the duties of that station, he gladly accepted the office of major of brigade.

ton was fairly commenced. The declaration of Congress, setting forth the causes and the necessity for taking up arms, was read by President Langdon, of Harvard college, before the army at Cambridge on the fifteenth. On the eighteenth it was read to the division of the troops under General Thomas, at Roxbury, and also to the soldiers under Putnam, upon Prospect Hill. On that occasion that veteran displayed, for the first time, the flag which had been sent to him from Connecticut a few days before, on one side of which were the words, "An appeal to Heaven," and on the other the motto in the seal of Connecticut—"Qui transtulit, sustinet"—meaning that the same Providence that brought their ancestors through so many perils to a place of refuge, would also deign to support their descendants. At the close of the reading a cannon was fired, and three hearty cheers were given. These alarmed the British on Bunker's hill, and, as on several other occasions, they immediately formed for battle, supposing the Americans to be rushing upon them.

The twentieth being the day appointed by Congress for a continental fast, it was strictly observed in the camp. Lee had scoffed at the resolution of Congress on the subject, saying: "Heaven is ever found on the side of strong battalions;" but the impious sneer had no effect but that of disgust upon the mind of Washington. More humble and spiritual than the loose soldier of fortune, he issued an order that morning, requiring all but absolutely essential labor to be suspended during the day, and the attendance of officers and soldiers upon divine service, fully armed and equipped for action, however: a necessary precaution, for the belligerents were under continual apprehension of an attack from each other, since the burning of Brown's houses, on Roxbury Neck, mentioned in Washington's letter to the president of Congress, already quoted.

Several enterprises, small in themselves, but important in their relations to the future, had been achieved. On the twelfth, one hundred and fifty-six men, under Captain Groaton, went, in whale-boats that had lately been brought over from Cape Cod, to Long Island, in the harbor, and there destroyed a quantity of British

forage. On the following day the British opened a cannonade from Boston upon a party of Americans at work on the strong fort at Roxbury, but without effect; and on the eighteenth there was much commotion among the Americans, for everything indicated a sally from the city, by the enemy. But it was not attempted. Before daylight of the twentieth, a party under Major Vose, of Heath's regiment, went in whaleboats to Nantasket point, burned the lighthouse there, and brought back with them a thousand bushels of barley, and a quantity of hay, in defiance of an attack made by a British armed schooner and several barges.

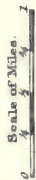
From that time until the twenty-ninth, when the British planted a bomb-battery on Bunker's hill, advanced the guard on Charles town Neck further into the country, and began to form a strong abattis with the fine old trees there, very little of importance occurred, except the arrival of fourteen hundred riflemen, raised by authority of Congress, in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. These attracted great attention. They were generally powerful men. All were expert marksmen,* and many of them had been campaigning companions of Washington in the French war. They were dressed in white frocks, or rifle-shirts, and round hats. Among the leaders was Daniel Morgan, who, the reader will remember, had been an humble wagoner in Braddock's army twenty years before, but destined to become, in the struggle now commenced, a general of high repute. He bore upon his back the marks of a British officer's cruelty; and with the words LIBERTY OR DEATH upon his breast, he had marched his men on foot, six hundred miles in three weeks, to face the foe that he had been taught to hate.† With

* "These men," says Thatcher (*Military Journal*, page 33), "are remarkable for the accuracy of their aim, striking a mark with great certainty, at two hundred yards distant. At a review, a company of them, while on a quick advance, fired their balls into objects of seven inches in diameter, at the distance of two hundred and fifty yards.

† Morgan owned a team, in western Pennsylvania, at the time of Braddock's expedition, and he accompanied it as a bearer of provision, as already stated on page 152. For an alleged insult to a British officer, he received five hundred lashes on his bare back. He scarcely flinched at the blows, but the indignity pierced his heart. A few days afterward the officer became convinced of the injustice of the charge, and apologized to young Morgan in the presence of the whole regiment. But that did not pluck the hatred from his breast, which the punishment had engendered, and when the British became his foes in the field, the remembrance of this cruel act gave strength to his arm and keenness to his blade

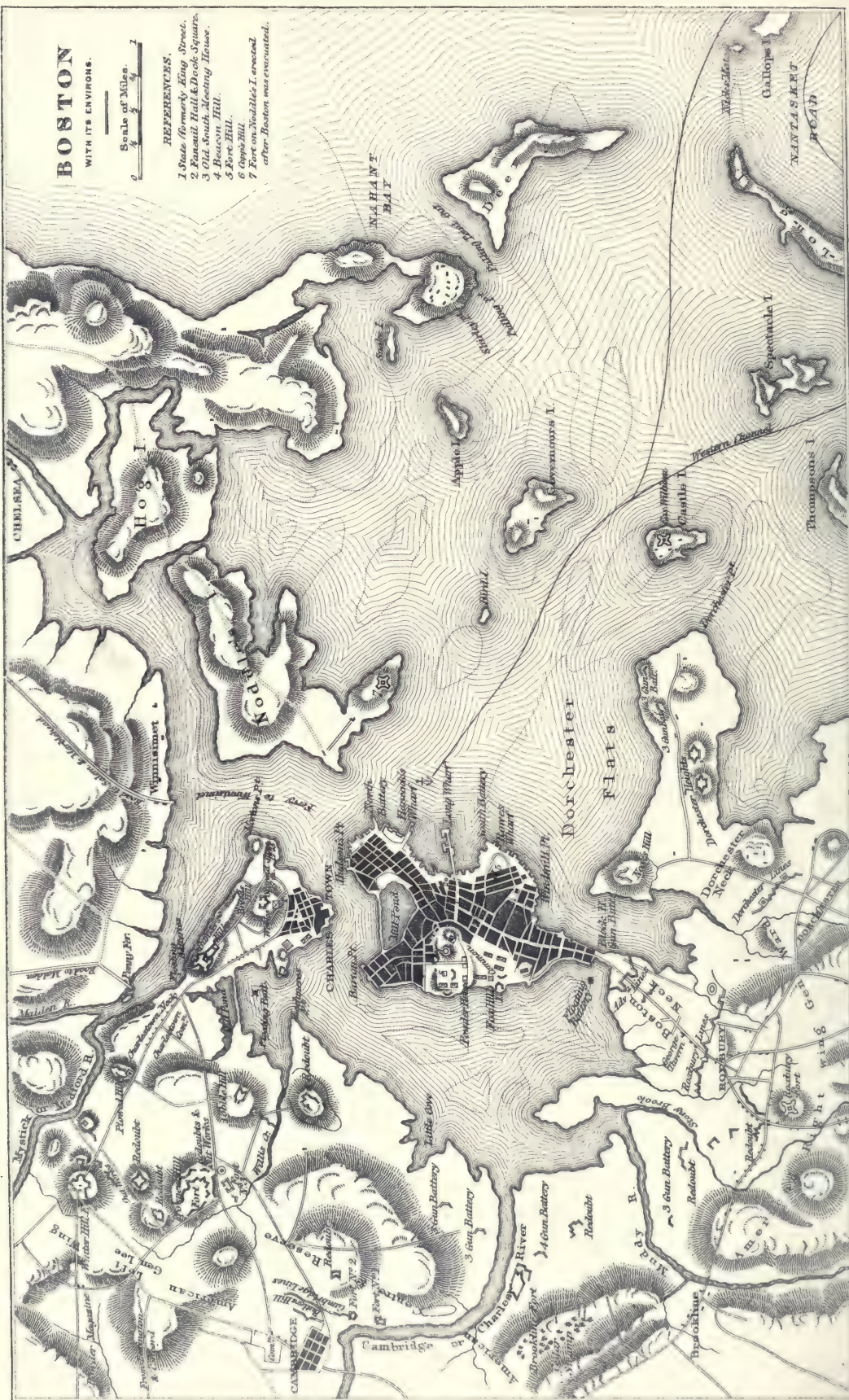
BOSTON

WITH ITS ENVIRONS.



REFERENCES.

- 1 State formerly King Street.
- 2 Fenwick Hall & Dock Square.
- 3 Old South Meeting House.
- 4 Beacon Hill.
- 5 Fort Hill.
- 6 Castle Hill.
- 7 Fort on Noddies I. erected after Boston was evacuated.



him came the brave Otho Holland Williams, of Maryland, afterward the distinguished commander of light-troops at the South. We shall meet them again upon other fields where their valor won for them the undying garlands of fame, as true patriots and soldiers.

At the close of July Washington began to perceive some fruits of his arduous and incessant labors, in the development of system and discipline in the army. He had allayed many jealousies, growing out of pretensions to rank, and his prudence and judgment had kept a mutinous spirit in abeyance. He had arranged the army into three grand divisions, consisting of six brigades of six regiments each. These were so formed that the troops from the same colony should be brought together, as far as practicable, and act under a commander from that colony.

The division forming the left wing was stationed at Winter hill, under Major-General Lee. There, in the course of the season, the most extensive fortifications constructed by the Americans at Boston, were cast up. They commanded the Mystic river and the country northward from Charlestown. The centre division was at Cambridge, under Major-General Putnam. Here, also, fortifications were constructed, known as the Cambridge lines. These consisted of six regular forts on Butler's hill, connected by a strong intrenchment. The right wing at Roxbury was placed under Major-General Ward. Strong fortifications were erected upon eminences which commanded Boston Neck; and about three fourths of a mile in advance of them, were the Roxbury lines, composed of two intrenchments which extended across the isthmus, and a parallel ditch, filled with water at high tide, making Boston an island. On a rocky hill overlooking Roxbury and the Neck, was the strong, regular, bastioned fort already mentioned. The headquarters of the commander-in-chief were with the centre division at Cambridge.

The bulk of the British army, under General Howe, lay upon Bunker's hill, where, in the course of the season, a strong fortification was constructed. His sentries extended one hundred and fifty yards beyond Charlestown Neck, which was commanded by three

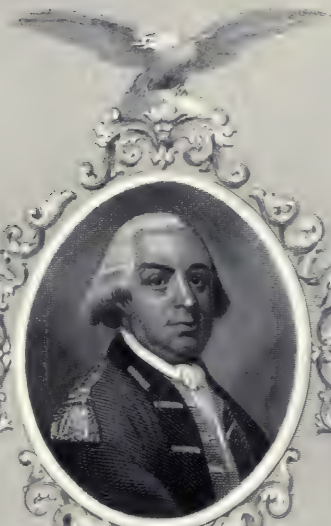
floating batteries and a twenty-gun ship. Gage had his headquarters in Boston, where few troops remained except the light-horse under Burgoyne; while a large force, commanded by Sir Henry Clinton, were within intrenchments upon the neck leading to Roxbury.

The ministry placed great reliance upon the three experienced generals which they had sent over to assist Gage. Howe was a brother of the young nobleman who was slain near Ticonderoga, in 1758. He had been passively opposed to the government measures which had caused the war. He was really a friend of the Americans, and accepted command in the army destined for their enslavement, with great reluctance. As a soldier, however, he felt compelled to go wherever his country commanded him. He and Franklin had been personal friends; and that statesman and his countrymen were slow to believe the report that Howe was coming. "America is amazed," the Congress said, in their address to the people of Ireland,* "to find the name of Howe in the catalogue of her enemies: she loved his brother!"

Sir Henry Clinton had no such scruples. He was a son of a former governor of the province of New York, and grandson of the earl of Lincoln. He was naturally aristocratic, and was ambitious of military renown. Having seen considerable service on the continent, and being highly approved by his superiors, he was considered a fit officer to stand next to Howe in the campaign against the American "rebels." He had more ability than Howe, but was less popular. Burgoyne, the last of the trio, was a natural son of Lord Bingley, and son-in-law of the earl of Derby, whose daughter had eloped with him, and became his wife while he was yet subaltern in the army. He had been a soldier from early youth, had won laurels in Spain and Portugal, and had been promoted to major-general in 1772. He was possessed of much taste, wit, and literary ability; was proud, boastful, and vain, and came to America with the pleasant expectation that he should—

"By songs and balls secure allegiance,
And dance the ladies to obedience!"

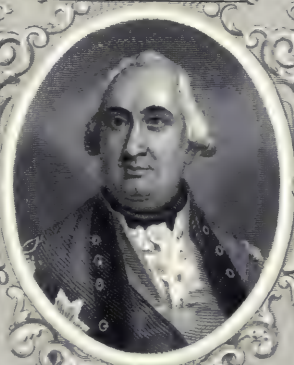
* Journals of Congress, i., 171



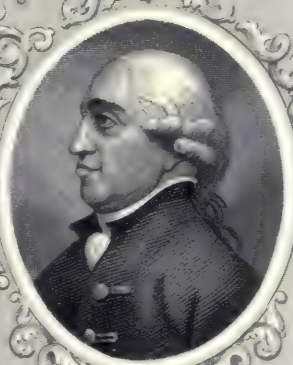
GENERAL GAGE



SIR HENRY CLINTON



CHAS MARQUIS CORNWALLIS



GENERAL BURGOWNE



LORD HOWE

Such were the general officers with Gage in Boston, during its long siege by the Americans.

The organization and direction of an army is all that can be reasonably expected of a commander-in-chief. These, in the case of Washington, were very onerous duties; yet others equally delicate and wearisome were laid upon him. The Congress, young in days and experience, had not yet been fully enthroned as permanent representative sovereign and ruler of the budding nation. They were, as yet, but a temporary national committee, feeble in powers as the civil head of the confederacy, imperfectly organized as a supreme legislature, and divided in opinion on important questions of policy. All were agreed on maintaining resistance until the grievances complained of should be redressed, but they differed widely in opinion as to the best means to be employed. And there were many timid ones in that body, composed of those who anxiously hoped for a reconciliation, or doubted the ability of the colonists to sustain their hostile position. Happily, a majority were more courageous, and were willing to risk every personal consideration in the cause; yet these, instructed by the teachings of history, were jealous of concentrated military power, and the despotic tendency of standing armies. This made them distrustful, and caused them to withhold from Washington that broad and unsuspecting confidence which is compatible with enlarged and generous views, and efficient action. That distrust was the legitimate offspring of true patriotism. They did not "love Cæsar less, but Rome more;" and this thought soothed the feelings of the commander-in-chief, when he discovered these natural misgivings of Congress. And yet the opinions of Washington, when expressed, became the opinions of Congress. He was in constant communication with that body. His letters were read in open session and immediately acted upon; and almost every recommendation from him concerning the army was converted, by the alchemy of legislative action, into resolutions that went forth with the power and dignity of absolute laws.

Washington's mind was the central force that kept the compli-

cated machine of military affairs in harmonious motion, and his suggestions often reached so far into the future, that the inconveniences arising from the tardy action of Congress operating at a great distance, were obviated. Nor was this all. He was in continual communication with the heads of provincial governments, committees of safety, or other depositories of power, because, over these local executors of the people's will, the Congress had only advisory control. Ignorant of the wants of the army, and sometimes made selfish by fear, these local bodies needed continual promptings from the commander-in-chief; and many suggestions which should have originated with the civil power in its multifarious forms, emanated from his brain. These duties were very arduous and perplexing, and imposed upon Washington an extraordinary weight of care and responsibility, well calculated to depress the spirits of the most hopeful man in the critical situation in which he was then placed. But he never faltered in duty, and seldom complained; and the necessity of unceasing intercourse with such a variety of minds, even gave him a compensating advantage, because it brought him into more immediate contact with the sources of the power that must sustain him. This contact widened his influence, and enabled him to cast the light of his lamp of experience and wisdom upon many dark places where it was greatly needed. Few men, however, could have borne the weight of such cares, and, at the same time, continued to perform every duty with scrupulous exactness, punctuality, and conscientious fidelity to the great trust reposed in him by the nation.

At this time Washington's firmness, wisdom, and self-reliance, experienced a severe trial. British armed vessels were hovering upon the New England coast, seizing small craft, and menacing the villages and hamlets within their reach, with plunder and devastation. Alarm was wide-spread from Long Island sound almost to the St. Croix, and the people appealed to the authorities of Massachusetts and Connecticut for protection. The general assembly of Massachusetts, a new and stronger organization of the civil power which had succeeded that of the provincial Congress on the nine-

teenth of the month, took the matter into consideration.* That assembly and the governor of Connecticut made a formal request of Washington, that he would detach troops from the army for the purpose of protecting important points. Washington perceived that compliance with the request would be extremely dangerous, while a refusal might be offensive and increase the jealousy of military power to which the people were so prone. He was placed in a position of great delicacy, yet he did not hesitate for a moment in his obedience to the dictates of his own judgment, fortified by the counsels of other discreet men. In a letter to the general assembly of Massachusetts, he refused compliance with their request in such a judicious way, that he was commended by considerate men, rather than blamed. After referring to the settled policy of the continental Congress, that local militia should be a defence against marauders, he said:—

“It is the misfortune of our situation which exposes us to these ravages, and against which, in my judgment, no such temporary relief could possibly secure us. The great advantage the enemy have of transporting troops, by being masters of the sea, will enable them to harass us by diversions of this kind; and should we be tempted to pursue them upon every alarm, the army must either be so weakened as to expose it to destruction, or a great part of the coast be still left unprotected. Nor, indeed, does it appear to me, that such a pursuit would be attended with the least effect. The first notice of such an excursion would be its actual execution; and long before any troops could reach the scene of action, the enemy would have an opportunity to accomplish their purpose and

* On the sixteenth of May, the provincial Congress of Massachusetts, feeling the necessity of a stronger civil government for that province, wrote to the continental Congress, requesting their advice on the subject. “As the sword should,” they said, “in all free states, be subservient to the civil powers, and as it is the duty of the magistrate to support it for the people’s necessary defence, we tremble at having an army, although consisting of our own countrymen, established here, without a civil power to provide for and control them.” On the ninth of June, the continental Congress resolved, that no obedience was due to the existing royal governor of Massachusetts, and recommended the provincial Congress to issue a circular to the inhabitants, requesting them to choose representatives to meet in general assembly, such assembly to choose councillors. This was the old form of government without a chief-magistrate. Such election was held, and more than two hundred representatives met in general assembly, at Watertown, on the nineteenth of July. The councillors were chosen on the twenty-first.

retire. It would give me great pleasure to have it in my power to extend protection and safety to every individual; but the wisdom of the general court will anticipate me in the necessity of conducting our operations on a general and impartial scale, so as to exclude any just cause of complaint and jealousy."

Washington wrote in a similar manner to Governor Trumbull, who acquiesced in his views; but in some quarters much dissatisfaction was felt because of his course. More sagacious and far-seeing than those whose timidity or interest made them clamorous against the commander-in-chief, he saw that the question he so promptly met, involved the whole fortunes of the war. He was firm, and his course was afterward sanctioned by the continental Congress. That precedent was followed throughout the war, and was always salutary in its effects. The army was, at all times, too feeble in numbers, to engage in any side issue that might require a considerable force; and all the efforts of the enemy, in the form of marauding expeditions to divide and distract the continental army under Washington's immediate command, were vain.

CHAPTER LIV.

ALARMING DEFICIENCY IN POWDER—WASHINGTON'S URGENT APPEALS—EFFORTS OF GOVERNOR COOKE—ECONOMY OBSERVED—THIS WANT KNOWN TO THE ENEMY—HIS INACTIVITY—THE CAUSE—SUPPLIES OF POWDER ARRIVE—EXPEDITION AGAINST NOVA SCOTIA PROPOSED—DISCOURAGED BY WASHINGTON, AND ABANDONED—LEE AND BURGOYNE—TREATMENT OF PRISONERS—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND GATES—WASHINGTON'S CLEMENCY—PUBLICATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE—DISTRESS IN BOSTON—INCENDIARY HANDBILLS—"THE CRISIS"—RELEASE OF THE CITIZENS—THE AMERICANS ON PLOUGHED HILL—BATTLE THREATENED—CANNONADING—FRANKLIN'S MATHEMATICAL PROBLEM.

THE darkest cloud that overshadowed the hopeful mind of Washington since his arrival in camp, appeared on the third of August, when the alarming fact of the great scarcity of powder, to which we have already alluded, became known. The committee of supplies had been tardy in making their returns. Their report of the amount was rather satisfactory; but now, on ordering a new supply of cartridges, a great error was found in their return. Instead of three hundred barrels of powder in store there were only *thirty barrels*, with no sure prospect of an early receipt of more.

This was a most astounding discovery, at a moment when the enemy seemed to be preparing for an immediate attack, and the continental artillery must necessarily become useless. A council of war was immediately held, and expresses were despatched, early on the following morning, to Rhode Island, New Jersey, Ticonderoga, and other points, where powder and lead might be procured. The commander-in-chief wrote an urgent letter to Governor Cooke, of Rhode Island, on the subject—"It is not within the propriety or safety of such a correspondence, to say what I might on this subject," he remarked. "It is sufficient that the case calls loudly for

the most strenuous exertions of every friend of his country, and does not admit of the least delay. No quantity, however small, is beneath notice, and, should any arrive, I beg it may be forwarded as soon as possible." Washington then informed the governor, that he had been told that on a remote part of the British island of Bermuda, there was a considerable magazine of powder; and he suggested the propriety of despatching an armed vessel, then in Narraganset bay, for the purpose of seizing it. "I am very sensible," he said, "that at first view the project may appear hazardous; and its success must depend on the concurrence of many circumstances; but we are in a situation which requires us to run all risks. No danger is to be considered, when put in competition with the magnitude of the cause, and the absolute necessity we are under of increasing our stock."

To this letter Governor Cooke made a cheering reply on the eighth, informing Washington that his colony had already despatched a vessel to purchase fifteen tons of powder, and that he was advised of another vessel sent from Providence, having sailed from Cape François, laden with warlike stores, and was hourly expected. But mornings and evenings came and went, and no supplies arrived from any quarter. Those who were made acquainted with the scarcity waited with anxiety. The utmost economy was observed in the use of ammunition; and, on the twelfth of August, the Massachusetts assembly "*Resolved*, That it be, and it hereby is recommended to the inhabitants of this colony, not to fire a gun at beast, bird, or mark, without real necessity therefor." Even the occasional shots from the enemy remained unanswered—"We are obliged to bear with the rascals on Bunker's hill," wrote Washington's secretary,* "when a few shots, now and then, in return, would keep our men attentive to their business, and give the enemy alarms."

The fear that this poverty might become known to the enemy was very harassing. It was carefully concealed from the continental troops, for fear of creating fatal alarm, and every precaution

* Colonel Joseph Reed, to Mr. Bradford.—*Life and Correspondence of President Reed*, i., 119.

was used to prevent the fact becoming known to the British. To do so was difficult. The camps on Prospect and Winter hills were in full view of that of the enemy on Bunker's hill. Almost every movement in the respective camps might be seen by the troops in each, and the sentries of the belligerents near Charlestown Neck, actually conversed together when secret opportunities occurred. But so boldly did the Americans deport themselves in the face of the enemy, that the story of this poverty, whether communicated by unfaithful sentries to the willing ears of their opponents, or, as is alleged, by a deserter,* seems to have been discredited by the British commander, for he remained inactive at a time when he might have struck a conquering blow. This, however, was not the whole cause of his inaction. Gage was well assured that his first blow had been dealt at the wrong time, in the wrong place, and in the wrong way. He had recently learned that his conduct in the affairs at Lexington and Concord were disapproved by the ministry, and he felt quite sure, that the result of the battle of Bunker's hill would not conciliate their favor. Fortunately for the Americans at this alarming crisis, these reflections made Gage exceedingly timid and cautious; and instead of meditating new enterprises on the soil of Massachusetts, he was really anxious to escape to New York, where, as he alleged in a letter to Dartmouth, toward the close of July (in which he suggested the propriety of such steps), "the friends of government are more numerous."

Rumors of such an intention had reached the ears of Washington, and he was inclined to credit them. "I have been endeavoring," he said in a letter to the provincial Congress of New York, on the eighth of August, "by every means in my power, to discover the future intentions of our enemy here. I find a general idea prevailing, throughout the army and in the town of Boston, that the troops are soon to leave the town and go to some other part of the continent. New York is generally mentioned as the place of

* Lord Mahon, in his "History of England" (vi., 100), says, "This deficiency of powder, in some degree at least, though not to its full extent, was known to the British general. It had been disclosed by a deserter."

their destination. I should think a rumor or suggestion of this kind worthy of very little notice, if it were not confirmed by some corresponding circumstances. But four weeks of total inactivity, with all their reinforcements arrived and recruited, the daily diminution by desertion and sickness, and small skirmishes, induce an opinion, that any effort they propose to make will be directed elsewhere." Gage had learned, by sad experience, the temper of the New England people, and especially of those of Massachusetts, and in his letter to Dartmouth, after averring, in despairing language, that the rebellion was general, he said: "This province began it—I might say this town; for here the arch-rebels formed their scheme long ago. This circumstance brought the troops first here, which is the most disadvantageous place for all operations."

At about the middle of August, a small supply of powder was received from New Jersey. Meanwhile Governor Cooke had forwarded thirteen hundred pounds of lead; and from that time, small quantities of ammunition were received almost daily. That from New Jersey was a seasonable supply. "I can hardly look back without shuddering," Colonel Reed wrote on the twenty-first, "at our situation before this increase of our stock. *Stock*, did I say? It was next to nothing. Almost the whole powder of the army was in the cartridge-boxes."

At the close of August two vessels arrived at Newport, from the coast of Africa, laden with powder. They had sailed from Rhode Island early in the year, with cargoes of New England rum, which they exchanged with the commanders of one or two British forts on the west coast of Africa, for powder. It proved a profitable speculation for the skippers, and a great blessing to the patriots, for Governor Cooke purchased the powder, and sent a larger portion of it to the camp at Cambridge. Thus supplied with ammunition, and weary of inaction, Washington now felt a desire to measure strength with the enemy in battle.

At this time a spirit for naval warfare had become developed among the seamen of New England, and armed vessels, fitted out on private account, were darting out from many a bay or river's

mouth, to seize British merchantmen and other vessels. Emboldened by some successes of this kind, the people of Machias, in Maine, who were chiefly employed in maratime pursuits, proposed an expedition against the neighboring province of Nova Scotia, the colonists there having, like those of Canada, refused to join in the revolt. A committee of the general court of Massachusetts (in which body the enterprise had some advocates) laid the matter before Washington. He at once discouraged the scheme as inexpedient if not improper. He applauded the zeal of the projectors, but added: "I apprehend such an enterprise to be inconsistent with the general principle upon which the colonies have proceeded. That province has not acceded, it is true, to the measures of Congress; and, therefore, it has been excluded from all commercial intercourse with the other colonies; but it has not commenced hostilities against them, nor are any to be apprehended. To attack it, therefore, is a measure of conquest rather than of defence, and may be attended with very dangerous consequences. It might, perhaps, be easy, with the force proposed, to make an incursion into the province and overawe the inhabitants, who are inimical to our cause, and, for a short time, prevent their supplying the enemy with provisions; but, to produce any lasting effects, the same force must continue." He then alluded to the disparity in naval strength between the British and the Americans, and the danger of the vessels of the latter falling an easy prey "either to the men-of-war on that station, or to some which would be detached from Boston." The enterprise was abandoned.

An interesting episode in the history of current events had recently occurred. It was of an epistolary character. General Lee, the reader will remember, won laurels in Spain under General Burgoyne. They had been personal friends ever since, and it was painful to both to find themselves in an attitude of deadly hostility to each other. Lee was in Philadelphia when he heard of the arrival of Burgoyne at Boston. It was before his appointment to office in the army. He felt a great desire to communicate with his old commander, and he accordingly wrote him a letter on the sub-

ject of the pending disputes, which was characterized by his usual vigor and sarcasm, respecting the court and ministry. Before sending the letter he submitted it to the New England delegates in Congress. They approved of it, and it was forwarded to Boston.

Soon after Lee's arrival in camp, he received a very courteous reply from Burgoyne, in which he proposed a personal interview, under mutual pledges of safety, at a house on Boston Neck, within the beat of the British sentries. This letter was submitted to the provincial Congress of Massachusetts, who, after expressing their confidence in the wisdom, discretion, and integrity of Lee, suggested to him the propriety of having the company of Elbridge Gerry at the interview, to prevent popular misconception; "a people contending for their liberties," they said, "being naturally disposed to jealousy." The wisdom of this caution was apparent to Lee, and unwilling to awaken any unfavorable suspicions, he declined the interview with Burgoyne.

A correspondence far more important transpired soon afterward, and forms a part of the episode to which we have alluded. For some time the known rigorous treatment of American prisoners in the hands of the British, had exercised the mind of Washington, and he resolved to have a full and clear understanding with General Gage upon the subject. These gentlemen had also long been personal friends. They had fought together on the bloody field of the Monongahela; and, until a change in their political relations occurred, they had always held a friendly correspondence. Now they stood opposed to each other, almost within bugle-call, as commanders-in-chief of hostile armies; and, in point of rank, they held an equal position, however much Gage might affect to despise Washington as the "chief of a rebel force." At length the latter was informed, that some of the officers captured on Bunker's hill were confined in the common jail, in Boston, and were suffering all the indignities and privations of malefactors. His sympathies promptly responded to the appeal which these facts made to his justice, and on the eleventh of August, he addressed the following letter to General Gage:—

"SIR: I understand that the officers engaged in the cause of liberty and their country, who, by the fortune of war have fallen into your hands, have been thrown indiscriminately into a common gaol, appropriated for felons; that no consideration has been had for those of the most respectable rank when languishing with wounds and sickness; and that some have been even amputated in this unworthy situation.

"Let your opinion, sir, of the principle which actuates them, be what it may, they suppose that they act from the noblest of all principles, a love of freedom and their country. But political principles, I conceive, are foreign to this point. The obligations arising from the rights of humanity and claims of rank, are universally binding and extensive, except in cases of retaliation. These, I should have hoped, would have dictated a more tender treatment of those individuals, whom chance or war had put in your power. Nor can I forbear suggesting its fatal tendency to widen that unhappy breach which you and those ministers under whom you act, have repeatedly declared, your wish is to see for ever closed.

"My duty now makes it necessary to apprise you, that for the future I shall regulate all my conduct toward those gentlemen who are or may be in our possession, exactly by the rule you shall observe toward those of ours now in your custody: if severity and hardship mark the line of your conduct, painful as it may be to me, your prisoners will feel its effects. But if kindness and humanity are shown to ours, I shall, with pleasure, consider those in our hands as only unfortunate, and they shall receive from me that treatment to which the unfortunate are ever entitled."

To this courteous and humane letter, Washington requested an answer as soon as possible; and, on the thirteenth, he received from Gage an insolent and unfeeling one. As that general acknowledged no rank "not derived from the king," he addressed the commander-in-chief of the continental army, as "George Washington, Esq.," and said:—

"SIR: To the glory of civilized nations, humanity and war have been compatible; and compassion to the subdued has become al-

most a general system. Britons, ever pre-eminent in mercy, have outgone common examples, and overlooked the criminal in the captive. Upon these principles, your prisoners, whose lives, by the laws of the land, are destined to the cord, have hitherto been treated with kindness and more comfortably than the king's troops in the hospitals—indiscriminately, it is true, for I acknowledge no rank that is not derived from the king.

“My intelligence from your army would justify severe recrimination. I understand there are some of the king's faithful subjects, taken some time since by the rebels, laboring like negro-slaves to gain their daily sustenance, or reduced to the wretched alternative to perish by famine, or take up arms against their king or country. Those who have made the treatment of prisoners in my hands, or of your other friends in Boston, a pretence for such measures, found barbarity upon falsehood.

“I would willingly hope, sir, that the sentiments of liberality which I have always believed you to possess, will be exerted to correct these misdoings. Be temperate in political disquisition—give free operation to truth, and punish those who deceive and misrepresent; and not only the effects, but the causes of this unhappy conflict will be removed. Should those under whose usurped authority you act, control such a disposition, and dare to call severity retaliation, to God, who knows all hearts, be the appeal for the dreadful consequences. I trust that British soldiers, asserting the rights of the state, the laws of the land, the being of the constitution, will meet all events with becoming fortitude. They will court victory with the spirit their cause inspires, and from the same motive will find the patience of martyrs under misfortune.

“Till I read your insinuations in regard to ministers, I conceived that I had acted under the king, whose wishes, it is true, as well as those of his ministers, and of every honest man, have been to see this unhappy breach for ever closed: but unfortunately for both countries, those who long since projected the present crisis, and influence the counsels of America, have views very distant from accommodation.”

No doubt this indiscreet and insulting letter kindled, for a moment, the hottest indignation in the bosom of Washington. But that rein of judgment with which he controlled his naturally strong passions was efficient on this occasion, as on all others. No doubt he felt the most bitter scorn and saddest pity for Gage, because a mere creature of royal authority, whose official existence may depend upon the breath, sometimes of a despot and sometimes of a fool, talking to the chosen representative of an intelligent people struggling for freedom and justice, as a "rebel" fit for the "cord," is, to the eye of true manhood, a despicable spectacle. In this instance it was made doubly so, by the character of the two men—one a noble and disinterested patriot, serving his country without pay, and sacrificing the dearest enjoyments of life for his country's welfare; the other a hired soldier of fortune, and inferior in military genius, as his early recall from the scene of fatal blunders soon afterward attested. But that scorn and pity were not manifested by Washington, except in giving strength to the dignified reply which he made after diligent inquiry concerning the charges of cruelty toward British prisoners, preferred by General Gage.

Pursuant to his threat, the commander-in-chief, after receiving Gage's insulting letter, ordered all of the British prisoners then on parole at Watertown and Cape Ann, to be closely confined in Northampton jail, without distinction of rank. At the same time he courteously explained to these unfortunates, that the cause of this harsh treatment lay with their own general. This accomplished, he sent the following reply to Gage, on the twentieth of August:—

"SIR: I addressed you on the eleventh instant, in terms which gave the fairest scope for that humanity and politeness which were supposed to form a part of your character. I remonstrated with you on the unworthy treatment shown to officers and citizens of America, whom the fortune of war, chance, or a mistaken confidence, had thrown into your hands. Whether British or American mercy, fortitude, and patience, are most pre-eminent; whether our virtuous citizens, whom the hand of tyranny has forced into arms,

to defend their wives, their children, and their property, or the mercenary instruments of lawless domination, avarice, and revenge, best deserve the appellation of rebels, and the punishment of that cord which your affected clemency has forborne to inflict; whether the authority under which I act is usurped, or founded on the genuine principles of liberty, were altogether foreign to the subject. I purposely avoided all political disquisition; nor will I now avail myself of those advantages which the sacred cause of my country, of liberty, and of human nature give me over you; much less shall I stoop to retort and invective—but the intelligence you say you have received from our army requires a reply. I have taken time, sir, to make a strict inquiry, and find it has not the least foundation in truth. Not only your officers and soldiers have been treated with the tenderness due to fellow-citizens and brethren, but even those execrable parricides,* whose counsels and aid have deluged their country with blood, have been protected from the fury of a justly outraged people. Far from compelling or permitting their assistance, I am embarrassed with the number who crowd to our camp, animated with the purest principles of virtue and love to their country.

“You advise me to give free operation to truth, and to punish misrepresentation and falsehood. If experience stamps value upon counsel, yours must have a weight which few can claim. You best can tell how far the convulsion which has brought such ruin on both countries, and shaken the mighty empire of Britain to its foundation, may be traced to these malignant causes. You affect to despise all rank not derived from the same source with your own. I can not conceive one more honorable than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest source and original fountain of all power. Far from making it a plea for cruelty, a mind of true magnanimity and enlarged ideas, would comprehend and respect it.

“What may have been the ministerial views which have precipi-

* The tories. During the whole war, the conduct of these men caused them to be more thoroughly hated by the Americans than were even the Hessian soldiers

tated the present crisis, Lexington, Concord, and Charlestown, can best declare. May that God to whom you then appealed, judge between America and you. Under his providence, those who influence the councils of America, and all the other inhabitants of the United Colonies, at the hazard of their lives, are determined to hand down to posterity those just and invaluable privileges which they received from their ancestors. I shall now, sir, close my correspondence with you, perhaps for ever. If your officers, our prisoners, receive a treatment from me different from that I wished to show them, they and you will remember the occasion of it."

This letter did close the correspondence between the two commanders for ever. But Washington's humanity would not allow him to retaliate by inflicting punishment upon innocent men because of the savage cruelty of another. The first impulses of his nature were subdued by the generosity of his spirit, awakened by reflection, and while the British prisoners were on their way to Northampton jail, he directed his secretary, Colonel Reed, to write to the committee of that town, requesting them to allow the captives to go abroad upon their parole, immediately after their arrival. Mr. Reed was instructed to add—"The general further requests, that every other indulgence and civility consistent with their security may be shown to them, as long as they demean themselves with decency and good manners. As they have committed no hostility against the people of this country, they have a just claim to mild treatment; and the general does not doubt, that your conduct toward them will be such, as to compel their grateful acknowledgments that Americans are as merciful as they are brave."

The correspondence between Washington and Gage attracted much attention on both sides of the Atlantic. The contrast in temper and spirit displayed by them, was very unfavorable to the British commander; and one of the most significant commentaries upon the whole transaction was the fact, that the first two letters were published by the ministry in the "London Gazette," about six weeks after they were written, but the dignified reply of Washington to Gage was carefully suppressed. Ministers well knew that its

publication would be seriously damaging to their cause, and so they ungenerously concealed it from the British people. The whole correspondence was published, together, in October following, by order of the continental Congress.

The rigid custody which the American army on land, and privateers at sea, exercised over that of the British in Boston, soon began to have a serious effect upon the officers, troops, and people, there. At the close of July, Washington assured his brother, John Augustine, that he had done, and should continue to do, all in his power to distress them. "The enemy are sickly," he wrote, "and in want of fresh provisions. Beef, which is chiefly got by slaughtering their milch cows, in Boston, sells from one shilling to eighteen pence sterling, per pound; and that it may not become cheaper or more plenty, I have driven all the stock within a considerable distance of this place back into the country, out of the way of the men-of-war's boats." Gage had been reinforced since the battle of Bunker's hill, but the new-comers were a burden rather than an aid; for he had the sagacity to perceive, that twice the number of troops then under his command were insufficient to effectually disperse the continental army, backed, as it was, by other thousands ready to step from the furrow to the intrenchments, when necessity should call them. Idleness begat vice, in various forms, in his camp. and inaction was as likely to decimate his battalions as the weapons of his enemy. Rum was cheap. Intoxication was the rule, not the exception; and salt pork and fish produced their legitimate diseases.

In addition to their privations, the British officers were much annoyed by the circulation of incendiary hand-bills among their soldiers. How they found their way into the British camp no one could tell. "They were blown in," says one authority: "They were dispersed among the rank and file by the American sentinels," says another. One of these, preserved in the Massachusetts Historical Society, is a fair specimen. It is a small broadside, printed in London, and contains an address to the soldiers who were about embarking for America. Speaking of the course of the colonists,

the writer says, in a line of large letters, "BEFORE GOD AND MAN, THEY ARE RIGHT." This handbill is endorsed on the back by the following appeal, evidently printed in America, in which allusion is made to the two chief camps: the one on Prospect hill, under Putnam; the other on Bunker's hill, under Howe:—

"PROSPECT HILL.

- I. Seven dollars a month,
- II. Fresh provisions, and in plenty,
- III. Health,
- IV. Freedom, ease, affluence, and a good farm.

BUNKER'S HILL.

- I. Three pence a day,
- II. Rotten salt pork,
- III. The scurvy,
- IV. Slavery, beggary, and want.*

These were secret and powerful emissaries to awaken mutiny and promote desertion; for the soldiers, in their idle moments, pondered much upon the plain truths which these circulars contained.*

The few patriots who remained in Boston suffered greatly. Some, who were suspected of sketching plans of the military works, telegraphing with the provincials by signals from steeples, and various other acts inimical to the royal cause, were cast into prison. At length provisions in the city became so scarce, and the

* An occasional publication, called "The Crisis," was published in London, in 1775, and was republished in New York, to the twenty-eighth number, by John Anderson. One of them was addressed, "To the Officers, Soldiers, and Seamen, who may be employed to butcher their Relations, Friends, and Fellow-Subjects in America." This was a highly inflammatory appeal, and in spite of the vigilance of the government, it obtained a wide circulation where it was intended to have its most potent effects. The boldness of the writer was remarkable. The third number was addressed "To the King." Nothing like it had ever appeared before. It spoke to him of his "fourteen years shameful and inglorious reign;" his "critical and dangerous situation;" his "rotten troop in the present house of commons;" his "venal, beggarly, pensioned lords;" his "polluted, canting, prostituted house of bishops;" and his "whole set of abandoned ministers;" and told him that these, and his whole "army of Scotch cut-throats," could not protect him "from the people's rage, when driven, by oppression, to a state of desperation." It called him a "tyrant," spoke of "the bloody and despotic transactions" of his reign, and warned him, that the people would not "tamely see a mercenary army of soldiers, who are at all times a terror to the peaceful inhabitants of every free state, butcher their brethren and fellow-subjects in America;" and that, "whenever the state is convulsed by civil commotions, and the constitution totters to its centre, the throne of England must shake with it: a crown will then be no security, and at ONE STROKE, all the gaudy trappings of royalty may be laid in the dust." This number, so bold and seditious, was ordered to be burned by the common hangman. The populace of London interfered, and the act of Parliament, authorizing the sending of troops to America, was cast upon the fire with it. "The Crisis" was printed by "Thomas Shaw, Fleet street," and the twenty-eighth number contained his proclamation, as "Protector and Defender of Magna Charta, and the Bill of Rights," concluding with the words, "Given at London, the 28th day of July, in the 15th year of the tyrannical reign of his merciful majesty, George the Third, Defender of the Romish faith, traitors, and murderers, &c., Anno Domini, 1775." It was a scurrilous publication, but it had a powerful effect on the masses.

plundering and foraging expeditions sent out by Gage were generally so unsuccessful,* that the commander determined to make arrangements for the removal of a large number of the inhabitants from the town.† They were notified that the town-major would receive the names of those who wished to leave; at the same time it was stipulated, that no plate should be carried away, and that no person should take more than five pounds in cash. So great was the prevailing want, that, even with these severe restrictions more than two thousand names were handed in. Many persons of property, who knew that all they should leave behind would become a prey to the soldiery, remained, notwithstanding they would gladly have left. Others evaded the restrictions in various ways. Women quilted silver spoons in their petticoats, and coin was smuggled in the same way. These refugees landed principally at Chelsea; and as they were scattered over the country, destitute and suffering, they were received with the open arms of hospitality everywhere, except a few tories who ventured to leave the city. These were treated with bitter scorn, as the worst enemies of the republic, cause, and they became early martyrs for opinion's sake. Others, who remained, felt almost happy because they were secure from the vengeance of those whom they had so much injured by their fratricidal course. One of these, writing from Boston at that time, said: "Although we are deprived of the comforts and luxuries, and some of the conveniences of life, yet our being in a place of safety

* On one occasion success attended his efforts. A small British fleet, cruising in the neighborhood of New London, obtained eighteen hundred sheep, and more than one hundred head of oxen. Frothingham, in his "Siege of Boston," quotes a letter from Gage to Lord Dartmouth, in which this important fact is announced. This letter was published in London; and the "Chronicle," the anti-ministerial paper in that city, contained the following impromptu, the next day:—

"In days of yore the British troops,
Have taken warlike kings in battle,
But now, alas, their valor droops,
For Gage takes naught but — harmless cattle.

"Britons, with grief your bosoms strike!
Your faded laurels loudly weep!
Behold your heroes, Quixote-like,
Driving a timid flock of — sheep!"

† A census made at the close of July, showed the number of residents to be six thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, exclusive of thirteen thousand six hundred troops, and their dependent women and children.

lessens the want of those conveniences; and I heartily wish you and your family were as safe as we are here, out of the reach of the tory-hunters." At the same time many of the tories in Boston were enrolled into the king's service, wore a green uniform, and were called the king's volunteers, under the command of Timothy Ruggles, who was president of the Stamp-act Congress.

The hot month of August now drew to a close. Few military events of general importance occurred, until the last week in the month. A small party of riflemen had cut off the outposts of the British beyond Charlestown Neck, and taken a prisoner; and the enemy, five hundred strong, had marched over the Neck on Sunday, the thirtieth, constructed a breastwork to protect their guard in future, and thoroughly alarmed the American camp. In retaliation for the damage done by these riflemen, a British floating-battery went up the Charles river, and sent some heavy round-shot into the American works; and, at the same time, a party marched out toward Roxbury, drove in the American sentinels, and burned a tavern. A skirmish also took place between two small parties near Charlestown Neck. These simultaneous firings created alarm in Boston as well as in the American camp. The wife of a tory in Boston, whose fears magnified events, writing to a friend, said: "We were aroused about one o'clock, on the morning of the thirty-first, by the most dreadful cannonading I ever heard. It seemed to be a general attack on all sides around us. It is impossible to convey an idea how terrible it was in the dead of night, with the apprehensions which naturally seize every one, either of the enemy breaking in, or the town being set on fire. It appears that they attempted again to cut off our outposts, upon which General Howe attacked their intrenchments with cannon and bombs on that side; and we attacked them in several places besides, at the same time, all in the dark."*

On the following day the lighthouse, which had been partially rebuilt, was again destroyed by a party of three hundred continentals, under Major Tupper. The British, expecting an attack, were

* Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," page 230

prepared to receive them. Major Tupper landed in good order, marched boldly toward the lighthouse, killed about a dozen of the enemy, and took the remainder prisoners. He then demolished the works, but when he was ready to depart he found his vessels aground, and was compelled to await the return of the tide. This dilemma was perceived from the British men-of-war, and boats filled with armed men were sent to attack the Americans. Quite a sharp skirmish ensued, when the shots from a field-piece, which had been planted on Nantasket Point, sunk one of the boats of the enemy, and killed several of the crew. Major Tupper retired with his whole party, with the loss of only one man, while that of the enemy, in killed and prisoners, amounted to fifty-three. On the following day Washington noticed this brave exploit in general orders, and remarked, that he doubted not "but the continental army would be as famous for their mercy as their valor." Small skirmishes continued, solitary shots from rifle and cannon were fired with some effect, and mutual alarms were given.

At length an important movement was made. Washington felt strong enough in numbers, discipline, and munitions of war, toward the close of August, to meet the enemy fearlessly, and he challenged him to battle, by taking possession of and fortifying Ploughed hill (now Mount Benedict), within point-blank shot of Bunker's hill, on the night of the twenty-sixth. For some time rumor had kept the continental camp uneasy with the tale that the British were coming out to storm the American works; and Washington hoped that the taking of this new and menacing position would entice them to the trial.

On the evening of the twenty-seventh, the enemy opened a heavy cannonade upon the Americans on Ploughed hill, from Bunker's hill, and a ship and two floating-batteries in the Mystic river. Two Americans lost their heads; but the cannonade was not returned, except upon the floating-batteries, one of which was thereby sunk, and the other was silenced. The firing ceased at night, and the next day the British were in motion on Bunker's hill, and the Americans, in their new position, were promptly

reinforced by five thousand men. Washington now confidently expected a battle, but the British did not choose to accept the challenge. They contented themselves with bombarding the American works for several days, when, on the tenth of September, their firing ceased, and the continentals remained possessors of Ploughed hill. Soon after this, Doctor Franklin wrote to his friend Doctor Priestley, in England, and said :—

“Tell our dear, good friend, Doctor Price, who sometimes has his doubts and despondencies about our firmness, that America is determined and unanimous; a very few tories and placemen excepted, who will probably soon export themselves. Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed one hundred and fifty Yankees this campaign, which is twenty thousand pounds a head; and at Bunker’s hill she gained a mile of ground, half of which she lost again by our taking post on Ploughed hill. During the same time sixty thousand children have been born in America. From these *data* his mathematical head will easily calculate the time and expense necessary to kill us all and conquer our whole country.”*

Let us now leave the besieging army, for awhile, and note the progress of important events elsewhere, under the control of Washington, as commander-in-chief.

* Sparks’s *Life and Writings of Franklin*, viii., 160.

CHAPTER LV.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CANADA—EFFECT OF THE ADDRESSES OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS—EFFORTS OF SIR GUY CARLETON—SECOND ADDRESS OF CONGRESS—ITS EFFECTS ON THE PEOPLE—ALARM OF THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES—TAMPERING WITH THE PRIESTHOOD—EVENTS ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN—NAVAL ARMAMENT—CAPTURE OF ST. JOHN BY ARNOLD—ALLEN'S RETREAT—SUM OF EXPLOITS ON THE LAKE—BRITISH PREPARATIONS—ARNOLD FITS OUT A FLOTILLA AT CROWN POINT—ARNOLD'S ACTIVITY—HIS CONDUCT—COMMITTEE OF INVESTIGATION—ARNOLD'S ANGER AND RESIGNATION OF OFFICE—PROPOSITION TO INVADE CANADA—COLONEL ALLEN'S LETTER—CAUTION OF THE CIVIL AUTHORITIES—ALLEN AND WARNER IN PHILADELPHIA—CHANGE IN PUBLIC OPINION—ALLEN AND WARNER IN NEW YORK—THEIR RECEPTION BY THE LEGISLATURE—REGIMENT OF GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS TO BE RAISED—INVASION OF CANADA AUTHORIZED BY CONGRESS—SCHUYLER TAKES COMMAND OF THE NORTHERN ARMY.

FROM the beginning of the contest the province of Canada, inhabited by French Roman catholics, had been an object of great solicitude to both parties. The inhabitants there had been affectionately appealed to by the colonists below the St. Lawrence, and invited to join them in seeking a redress of grievances by virtue of reason or the sword; while the imperial government, by enlarging the civil, political, and religious privileges of the people, had created an enthusiastic spirit of loyalty, forgetful, in a measure, of past national animosities, and which could not be easily seduced from its allegiance to the British crown without a sure hope of advantage. This loyalty had been cultivated by the priests, whose power over the consciences of their flocks was almost omnipotent. It had been strengthened by the injudicious use of a little diplomatic duplicity in the addresses put forth by the continental Congress, in 1774.

In their address to the inhabitants of Canada, the Congress said:

"We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation, to imagine that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us. You know that the transcendent nature of Freedom elevates those who unite in her cause above all such low-minded infirmities. The Swiss cantons furnish a memorable proof of this truth. Their union is composed of Roman catholic and protestant states, living in the utmost concord and peace with one another, and thereby enabled, ever since they bravely vindicated their freedom, to defy and defeat every tyrant that invaded them."* This was well calculated to win the hearts of the Canadians. But only five days before, the Congress had said, in their address to the people of Great Britain, alluding to the Quebec act: "We think the legislature is not authorized by the constitution to establish a religion fraught with sanguinary tenets in any part of the globe;" and added: "Nor can we suppress our astonishment, that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country [Canada], a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion, through every part of the world."† This pleased protestant England, where the shout of "No popery!" was daily heard, and the effigies of the Romish pontiff and the devil were burned together, as co-workers in iniquity.

This duplicity, which is considered a negative virtue in the ethics of diplomacy, was an unfortunate mistake, and the government thereby obtained an unlooked-for advantage. The address to the inhabitants of Canada was translated into French, and attracted the favorable notice of many leading Canadians. "The decent manner in which the religious matters were touched," wrote an English gentleman from Montreal, in March, 1775, "and the encomiums on the French nation, flattered a people fond of compliments. They begged the translator, as he had succeeded so well, to try his hand on that addressed to Great Britain. He had equal success in this, and read his performance to a numerous audience. But when he came to that part which treats of the new modelling

* Journals of Congress, i., 60.

† Ibid. i., 41

of the province, draws a picture of the catholic religion, and Canadian manners, they could not contain their resentment, nor express it but in broken curses. 'Oh the perfidious, double-faced Congress! Let us bless and obey our benevolent prince, whose humanity is consistent, and extends to all religions; let us abhor all who would seduce us from our loyalty by acts that would dishonor a Jesuit, and whose addresses, like their resolves, are destructive of their own objects.'"

Sir Guy Carleton, governor of Canada, took advantage of the feeling created by the two addresses of the Congress; and after the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, early in May following, he sought by every means in his power, to conciliate the inhabitants. But their resentment toward "the perfidious Congress," had soon cooled. In their hearts lingered the smouldering embers of national hatred that had been burning for a thousand years, and which could not be easily quenched; and when the address "To the Oppressed Inhabitants of Canada," put forth by the continental Congress, on the twenty-ninth of May, reached them in the form of an excellent translation, multiplied a thousand fold by the printing-press, the old fire kindled, and many a Gallic bosom heaved with irrepressible aspirations for freedom from English rule. The people were disappointed in the operations of the Quebec act. Its promises had not been fulfilled, and all but the nobles were beginning to regard it as deceptive if not tyrannical.

The effects of the address from the Congress were so palpable, that Governor Carleton feared an entire disaffection of the inhabitants to the royal government. He was no longer able to make any favorable impression upon the great body of the Canadians by appeals to their loyalty, and he endeavored to win them by the power of religious authority. For this purpose, Brand, the Roman catholic bishop of Quebec, was approached with seductive smiles, intended to entice him from the exalted duties of a Christian pastor, to engage in the low political schemes of a party placeman. He was solicited to publish a *mandement*, to be read from the pulpits by the curates in time of divine service, and to exhort his people

to take up arms against the colonists. The conscientious and consistent prelate refused compliance, and plainly told Sir Guy, that such efforts and associations would not only stain the purity of his sacred character as a Christian pastor, but they were derogatory to the canons of the Romish church. A few priests and nobles seconded Carleton's views, but their influence was as feeble as the claims of their cause, upon the masses, who were determined, according to the advice of their bishop, to remain neutral.

Now was the auspicious moment for the colonists, who had secured the key of Canada by the capture of the lake forts, to have made an easy conquest of that province, in accordance with the earnest advice of Colonels Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold, then in that region, for the regular troops there were few, the Indian allies from the Six Nations, under Sir John Johnson, had not arrived, and the people were passive.

We have already noticed the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, early in May. On the day when the former fort was taken, Colonel Allen sent a message to Captain Remember Baker, one of his colleagues in the violent boundary disputes between the New Yorkers and the people of the New Hampshire Grants, asking him to join him. Baker obeyed the summons; and when he was going up the lake with his party, he met two small boats, with British soldiers, who were fleeing from outposts at Ticonderoga to St. John, on the Sorel, at the foot of the lake, with intelligence of the reduction of that fortress, and to solicit reinforcements for the garrison at Crown Point. Baker made the men prisoners, and arrived at Crown Point just in time, on the twelfth, to assist Colonel Warner in taking possession of it. Among the spoils secured by that victory, were a hundred and fourteen cannon, of which only sixty-one were fit for service.

A new scene in the progressing drama now opened. Captain Herrick, with thirty men, had been sent from Castleton, when the expedition against Ticonderoga was on its way, with instructions to surprise Skenesborough (now Whitehall), at the head of Lake

Champlain, and seize the son of Major Skene, the proprietor (whose father was then in Europe), and any vessels that might be found there. The surprise was so complete, that no blood was shed. Young Skene, twelve negroes, and fifty tenants, became prisoners, and a schooner and several batteaux fell into the hands of the assailants. With their prisoners and some booty, they hastened down the lake in the batteaux, to join their comrades at Ticonderoga.

Four days after the capture of the fort at Ticonderoga, about fifty Massachusetts men, who had been enlisted in compliance with orders given by Colonel Arnold while on his way, arrived there. They came by the way of Skenesborough, and brought with them Major Skene's schooner. Arnold immediately manned that vessel with the newly-arrived recruits, armed it with some of the guns of the fort, and sailed down the lake to attack St. John, on the Sorel. Colonel Allen, with one hundred and fifty men in batteaux, started at the same time for that destination; but Arnold's schooner out-sailed them, and toward the evening of the seventeenth of May, he approached St. John. The Sorel, the outlet of Lake Champlain, being narrow, he left his schooner, and with thirty-five men, in two batteaux, he pressed forward. At six o'clock the next morning he surprised the garrison of St. John, consisting of a sergeant and twelve men; captured a king's sloop with seven men; destroyed five batteaux; seized four others; put on board of the sloop some valuable stores from the fort, and within two hours from the time of his arrival, he sailed with his prisoners and booty, for Ticonderoga, having been informed that large reinforcements for the garrison were hourly expected from Chamblée and Montreal. He was favored with an auspicious breeze, for the wind had chopped round from south to north just as he had secured his prizes.

When fifteen miles on his return voyage, he met Colonel Allen and his flotilla of flatboats. Arnold was on the king's sloop. There they held a sort of council of war, the result of which was, that Arnold proceeded to Ticonderoga, and Allen went on to St. John, to garrison the fort with a hundred men, and watch the movements

of the enemy there. Allen landed at St. John just before night, marched about a mile toward Laprairie, and formed his men in ambush to intercept the expected reinforcements. There he learned that the approaching force was much larger than his own. He fell back and crossed the river. In that position he was attacked early in the morning, by two hundred men, when he fled to his boats and escaped to Ticonderoga, with the loss of only three companions, who were made prisoners. Thus ended a series of bold exploits. Within eight days the strong fortresses of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, with all their dependencies upon the lake, were wrested from the British by the bold, half-disciplined provincials, without the loss of blood or treasure; and the little fleet of the enemy on the lake—his only strength left—was captured or destroyed in a day.

These events called forth all the efforts of Governor Carleton, and a reinforcement of more than four hundred British soldiers, Canadians, and Indians, were sent to St. John. He also prepared to send some small water craft over from Montreal, and from Chamblée, to be armed and manned at St. John, preparatory to an expedition up the lake to recapture Crown Point and Ticonderoga. Intelligence of these preparations delighted Arnold, for he saw an opportunity to sever the tether of connection with Allen, which so chafed his ambitious spirit. He perceived that naval preparations would be necessary to meet the invader, and having had considerable experience at sea in early life, he assumed the right to command whatever flotilla might be fitted out by the Americans, on the lake. His right was not disputed, and he proceeded vigorously in arming and manning Skene's schooner, the king's sloop, and a small number of batteaux. In the former he mounted four carriage-guns and eight swivels, and in the latter six carriage-guns and twelve swivels. He then appointed his subordinate officers; and, as commodore of the first continental navy, he proceeded, with one hundred and fifty men, to Crown Point, to await the coming of the foe. There, too, he assumed the command of the fort, and became a sort of amphibious leader, ready to fight on land or water.

Always active and ambitious, Colonel Arnold was not idle for a

moment, while waiting the expected approach of the enemy. He busied himself in sending off the ordnance from Crown Point to the army at Cambridge, and in despatching emissaries to Montreal and the Caughnawagas near to ascertain the feelings and intentions of the Canadians and Indians, and to gain intelligence of the actual force under Carleton, and the nature of his preparations. A little later, he wrote to the continental Congress proposing a plan of operations, whereby, he confidently believed, the whole of Canada might be conquered by two thousand men. He asserted that persons in Montreal had agreed to open the gates when a strong continental force should appear before the city; assured the Congress that Carleton could not muster more than five hundred and fifty effective men, and offered to lead an expedition to the St. Lawrence, and hold himself responsible for the consequences. In a postscript to this letter, he added: "In order to give satisfaction to the different colonies, I propose that Colonel Hinman's regiment, now on their march from Connecticut to Ticonderoga, should form part of the army—say one thousand men; five hundred men to be sent from New York, five hundred of Colonel Arnold's regiment, including the seamen and mariners on board the vessels (no Green-Mountain Boys*)."

Colonel Hinman arrived with about four hundred Connecticut troops, a few days after the date of this letter, having been appointed by Governor Trumbull to the command of the lake forts, in pursuance of the expressed willingness of Massachusetts to allow that colony all the honor of the conquest, and to withhold all interference in future operations in that quarter. Difficulties immediately arose between Hinman and Arnold, the latter refusing to give up the command of either post, still claiming to be the chief, by virtue of his commission from the Massachusetts authorities. Everything pertaining to authority and discipline was thus thrown

* Arnold disliked Allen and his *Green-Mountain Boys* from the beginning. On the day when Fort Ticonderoga was taken, he wrote to the Massachusetts committee of safety, saying: "Colonel Allen is a proper man to head his own wild people, but entirely unacquainted with military service, and as I am the only person who has been legally authorized to take possession of this place, I am determined to insist on my right," &c. — See *American Archives*, ii., 557.

into confusion, and Allen and Warner, with a greater portion of the Green-Mountain Boys returned home, the term of the enlistment of the latter having expired.

While Arnold was exhibiting these arrogant assumptions, and meditating glorious schemes for the future; and while gorgeous dreams of personal aggrandizement were created by his fancy, measures that would humble his pride, and cause those dreams to dissolve like vapor, were in preparation. Full details of all the proceedings on the lake had been sent by messengers to the legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and the conduct of Arnold, who was haughty and quarrelsome, was portrayed in a very unfavorable light. These defects in his character—the chief causes of his subsequent degradation—hid from view and sympathy his patriotic zeal and rare energy; and while his faults were magnified, his virtues were overlooked. The confidence of the Massachusetts provincial Congress in Arnold was partially withdrawn, and a committee of inquiry was appointed to proceed to Lake Champlain, and investigate charges made against their colonel.

Arnold was at Crown Point when the committee arrived. Unsuspicious of the nature of their errand, he received them with great courtesy and cheerfulness, and was enthusiastic in his discourses respecting his plans for the future, and his expected victories. When he was informed of the object of their visit, his indignation was fiercely aroused. Conscious of having performed good service, he had expected their approbation; now that they stood before him as inquisitors, on *exparte* accusations, his courtesy was changed to expressions of scorn. He demanded a sight of their instructions, and when he perceived that, after acquainting themselves with his "spirit, capacity, and conduct," they were authorized to order his return to Massachusetts to give a full account of himself, if they should think proper; and that in the event of his remaining, he was to be subservient to Colonel Hinman, who had been ordered from Connecticut to take command at Ticonderoga, he became furious. He declared, with terrible oaths, that he would be second to no man; and throwing up his commission, he discharged

his men on the spot. These became indignant in turn. Some of them refused to serve under any other leader, and others threatened to sail for St. John, independent of all authority. The storm of passion was at length allayed by the judicious management of the committee, and Arnold returned to Cambridge, uttering loud complaints of ill usage by the provincial Congress of Massachusetts.

Colonel Allen, also ambitious of personal renown, and filled with patriotic zeal, had, meanwhile, addressed a characteristic letter to the provincial Congress of New York, several days previous to the date of Arnold's to the continental Congress. It was written at Crown Point, on the second of June. After referring to what had already been accomplished on the lake, he said: "If in those achievements there be anything honorary, the subjects of your government, namely, the New Hampshire settlers, are justly entitled to a large share, as they had a great majority of the soldiery, as well as the command in making those acquisitions; and, as you justify and approve the same, I expect you already have, or soon will lay before the grand continental Congress the great disadvantage it must inevitably be to the colonies to evacuate Lake Champlain, and give up to the enemies of our country those invaluable acquisitions, the key either of Canada or of our own country, according to which party holds the same in possession, and makes a proper improvement of it. The key is ours, as yet, and provided the colonies would suddenly push an army of two or three thousand men into Canada, they might make a conquest of all that would oppose them, in the extensive province of Quebec, unless reinforcements from England should prevent it. Such a division would weaken General Gage, or insure us Canada. I wish to God, America would, at this critical juncture, exert herself agreeably to the indignity offered her by a tyrannical ministry. She might rise on eagle's wings, and mount up to glory, freedom, and immortal honor if she did but know and exert her strength. Fame is now hovering over her head. A vast continent must now sink to slavery, poverty, horror, and bondage, or rise to unconquerable freedom, immense wealth, inexpressible felicity, and immortal fame. I would

lay my life on it, that with fifteen hundred men I could take Montreal. Provided I could be thus furnished, and if an army could take the field, it would be no insuperable difficulty to take Quebec.

"This object should be pursued, though it should take ten thousand men, for England can not spare but a certain number of her troops; nay, she has but a small number that are disciplined, and it is long as it is broad, the more that are sent to Quebec, the less they can send to Boston, or any other part of the continent. And there will be this unspeakable advantage in directing the war into Canada, that, instead of turning the Canadians and Indians against us, as is wrongly suggested by many, it would unavoidably attach and connect them to our interest. Our friends in Canada can never help us, until we first help them, except in a passive or inactive manner. There are now about seven hundred regular troops in Canada."

Colonel Allen then suggested the propriety of making a stand at the low, fortified island of Nuts (Isle aux Noix), about fifteen miles above St. John, if an immediate invasion of Canada should be considered premature. The chief advantage of such a measure, he said, would be better to secure the northern frontier, and the friendship and co-operation of the Indians, and to allow necessary incursions into Canada. He also proposed the raising of a regiment of rangers, which, he averred, he could easily do himself; and concluded by saying: "Probably you may think this an impertinent proposal. It is truly the first favor I ever asked of the government, and, if granted, I shall be zealously ambitious to conduct for the best good of my country, and the honor of the government." He addressed a similar letter to Governor Trumbull.

This was the first distinctly uttered proposition to invade Canada. No one had yet ventured to suggest a movement so bold and hazardous. In fact, the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, as we have seen, startled the continental Congress and the local authorities of New York. While they approved of the act, they were perplexed to know what to do with their prizes, or what future movements to make in that quarter. When Allen applied

to the Albany committee for men and provisions, to enable him to maintain his conquests, that committee, fearing the horrors of civil war on the northern frontier of their province, asked the New York committee for advice. The latter, equally perplexed and cautious, referred the subject to the continental Congress; and we have already seen how cautiously that body proceeded in the matter on the first of June, in deprecating any attempt to invade Canada.

If these actions and expressions of the representatives of the people reflected the sentiments of their constituents, Colonel Allen's letter must have appeared bold and injudicious, if not preposterous. But a change in the opinions of the public councils soon appeared, and the wisdom and far-seeing sagacity of the leader of the *Green-Mountain Boys* were speedily made manifest, but not until it was too late to second his suggestions to the best advantage. This change was wrought partly by advices respecting hostile preparations in Canada, but chiefly by the representations of Colonels Allen and Warner, who, on retiring from Ticonderoga, had proceeded directly to Philadelphia, for the purpose of procuring pay for their disbanded soldiers, and to solicit authority to raise a new regiment in the New Hampshire Grants.

The appearance of the heroes of the North produced quite a sensation in Philadelphia. They were introduced upon the floor of Congress and permitted to make their communications to that body orally. Allen talked long and earnestly in his quaint style and slow-spoken sentences, respecting affairs on the northern frontier, the dangers to be apprehended when the British regulars in Canada should be reinforced, and the great necessity for an immediate invasion of the province, while the arm of the government was weak, and the friendship of the people for the revolted colonists was undoubted. His words had a powerful effect; and it is a notable fact, that on the very day when Colonel Arnold's letter, in which he expressed an ill-natured desire that "no Green-Mountain Boys" should be employed in invading Canada, was received,* the

* Arnold kept up a show of friendship toward Allen, while he secretly disliked him; and that officer was actually the bearer of this very letter of Arnold's to Congress, in which the *Green Moun-*

continental Congress "*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the convention of New York, that they, consulting with General Schuyler, employ in the army to be raised for the defence of America, those called *Green-Mountain Boys*, under such officers as the said *Green-Mountain Boys* shall choose." Their wishes in regard to pay were also complied with, and Allen and Warner, with light hearts, set off for New York, to present themselves before the provincial Congress.

We have mentioned the difficulties between the authorities of the province of New York and the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants, which had continued several years before the breaking out of the Revolution, and in which both Allen and Warner were active participants.* They were outlawed by an act of the New York legislature, and that attainder had not been wiped out by a repeal of the act. This fact embarrassed the provincial Congress (the successor of the legislature), when Allen and Warner presented themselves at the door and asked for admission. These outlaws now came as patriots and heroes, engaged in the same cause with these legislators, and honored by the continental Congress. But there were members among those legislators who had taken a very active part, personally, in the controversy, and they were unwilling to give their old enemies a friendly greeting. Their prejudices, and the scruples of others who could not recognize the propriety of holding public conference with men whom the law of the land had declared to be rioters and felons, produced a strong opposition to their admission to the hall. Debates upon the subject ran high, when Captain Sears, the stanch leader of the Sons of Liberty, and then a very influential man in New York, arose and moved "that Ethan Allen be admitted to the floor of the house." It was carried by a large majority, as was also a similar one in regard to Warner. The old feud was instantly healed; and the New York assembly

tain Boys were so unfavorably alluded to. The name of the writer was cautiously suppressed in the journals, in which the record appears as follows: "A letter from Crown Point, dated June 10th, was laid before the Congress, and read. Information being given, that the two officers who brought the letter were at the door, and had some things of importance to communicate; *Ordered*, That they be introduced, and they were introduced." *Journals of Congress*, i., 117.

* See note on page 523.

decreed that a regiment of *Green-Mountain Boys*, five hundred strong, should be raised. The matter was then referred to General Schuyler, who proclaimed the resolution in the New Hampshire Grants. Allen, grateful for this action, wrote a letter of thanks to the provincial Congress. — “When I reflect on the unhappy controversy,” he said, “which has many years subsisted between the government of New York and the settlers on the New Hampshire Grants, and also contemplate the friendship and union that have lately taken place, in making a united resistance against ministerial vengeance and slavery, I can not but indulge fond hopes of a reconciliation. To promote this salutary end I shall contribute my influence, assuring you, that your respectful treatment, not only to Mr. Warner and myself, but to the *Green-Mountain Boys* in general, in forming them into a battalion, is by them duly regarded; and I will be responsible, that they will reciprocate this favor by boldly hazarding their lives, if need be, in the common cause of America.”

The change in the views of the continental Congress was immediately visible. On the twenty-seventh of June, that body, by unanimous resolution, ordered General Schuyler, if he should “find it practicable, and not disagreeable to the Canadians, immediately to take possession of St. John and Montreal, and pursue such other measures in Canada as might have a tendency to promote the peace and security of these provinces.” These were mild and cautious words, but they were well understood as an express order for the invasion of Canada; and on the eighteenth of July, General Schuyler arrived at Ticonderoga, and took formal command of the northern army.

CHAPTER LVI.

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE NORTHERN DEPARTMENT—TRYON COUNTY—SCHUYLER AT TICONDEROGA—PICTURE OF THE ARMY—TARDINESS OF THE GATHERING TROOPS—GENERAL MONTGOMERY—ALLEN AND THE GREEN-MOUNTAIN BOYS—ALLEN ACCEPTED AS A VOLUNTEER—AGENT SENT TO CANADA—SCHUYLER'S COMPLAINTS—MAJOR BROWN'S REPORT—PREPARATIONS TO INVADE CANADA—CONFERENCE WITH INDIANS—WASHINGTON'S PLAN—MOVEMENTS OF MONTGOMERY—ILLNESS OF SCHUYLER—HEADQUARTERS AT ISLE AUX NOIX—ADDRESS TO THE CANADIANS—ADVANCE TOWARD ST. JOHN.

EVERYTHING connected with the republican cause in northern New York, wore a dark aspect when General Schuyler took formal command of the army of the North, on the eighteenth day of July. When on the point of leaving Saratoga for Ticonderoga, he received letters from Tryon county that were truly alarming. That county was the almost undefined region of New York beyond the western boundary of the present Schenectady county, and included the Mohawk, Schoharie, and Cherry valley settlements, and the country of the Six Nations. For some time, Guy Johnson, in the absence of Sir John, who had gone to Canada, had been holding councils with tribes of this confederacy, stirring them up to make war upon the disloyal white people; and now intelligence reached General Schuyler that full eight hundred savages were about to coalesce with the Scotch Highlanders already mentioned, and other tories, in making forays upon the republican settlers, and in cutting off supplies for the army on Lake Champlain.

This threatening danger detained General Schuyler for two or three days, when a letter from the committee of safety at Albany assured him that many reports were exaggerations, and he proceeded to Ticonderoga. There he found everything in a wretched condition. The supplies were meagre, and the army, but a handful

The garrison, under Colonel Hinman, was about twelve hundred strong, consisting chiefly of Connecticut troops, some New York volunteers, and a few Green-Mountain Boys.* These were quite undisciplined, and the Connecticut troops especially, were extremely insubordinate. Indeed Colonel Hinman appeared to be only nominally commander of the garrison, for very few of his men seemed disposed to obey him. Schuyler was a thorough disciplinarian, naturally authoritative, and precise in all his arrangements, and the utterly confused state of affairs were immediately apparent and greatly annoying to him. On the day of his arrival at Ticonderoga he wrote to General Washington, and in a few words he gave a graphic picture of the state of things in that section.

"You will expect," General Schuyler wrote, "that I should say something about this place and the troops here. Not one earthly thing for offence or defence has been done. The commanding officer had no orders; he only came to reinforce the garrison, and he expected the general. (But this, my dear general, as well as what follows in this paragraph, I pray may be *entre nous*, for reasons I need not suggest.) About ten last night I arrived at the landing place, the north end of Lake George; a post occupied by a captain and one hundred men. A sentinel, on being informed that I was in the boat, quitted his post to go and awake the guard, consisting of three men, in which he had no success. I walked up and came to another, a sergeant's guard. Here the sentinel challenged, but suffered me to come up to him; the whole guard, like the first, in soundest sleep. With a penknife, only, I could have cut off both guards, and then have set fire to the block-house, destroyed the stores, and starved the people here. At this post I had pointedly recommended vigilance and care, as all stores for Fort George must, necessarily, be landed there. But I hope to get the better of this

* On the fifteenth, General Schuyler sent to Washington a return of the troops in the colony of New York, which were under his command. It was acknowledged to be imperfect, but was the best he could prepare from the reports he had received. It showed the whole number to be less than twenty-eight hundred, fit for duty. Of these, there were fifteen hundred Connecticut troops with General Wooster on the seaboard; nine hundred and seventy-three from the same colony, under Colonel Hinman, at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Fort George; and about two hundred Massachusetts troops at these posts.

inattention. The officers and men are all good-looking people, and decent in their deportment, and I really believe will make good soldiers, as soon I can get the better of this *nonchalance* of theirs. Bravery, I believe, they are far from wanting.”*

Washington could fully sympathize with General Schuyler, for his own experience at Cambridge, gave him a keen perception of the feelings of his friend. “I can easily judge of your difficulties in introducing order and discipline into troops, who have, from their infancy, imbibed ideas of the most contrary kind,” he wrote to Schuyler on the twenty-eighth. “It would be far beyond the compass of a letter, for me to describe the situation of things here on my arrival. Perhaps you will only be able to judge of it from my assuring you, that mine must be a portrait at full length, of what you have had in miniature. Confusion and discord reigned in every department, which, in a little time, must have ended either in the separation of the army, or fatal contests with one another.... However, we mend every day, and I flatter myself, that in a little time we shall work up these raw materials into a good manufacture. I must recommend to you, what I endeavor to practise myself, patience and perseverance.”

This communication from the commander-in-chief was consoling, and on the sixth of August, Schuyler thanked him for his “very kind and polite letter.”—“I foresaw,” he wrote, “that you would have an Herculean labor, in order to introduce that proper spirit of discipline and subordination, which is the very soul of an army;” and added—“I can easily conceive that my difficulties are only a faint semblance of yours. Yes, my general, I will strive to copy your bright example, and patiently and steadily persevere in that line which only can promise the wished-for reformation.”

In many respects, these eminent men were alike, and neither of them allowed small matters to disturb their equanimity, or to become obstacles in their path of duty. The character of the materials out of which Schuyler was compelled to form an invading army did not discourage him, but he became exceedingly impatient

* Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

because of the tardiness of the gathering of the troops destined for Canada. Those of Connecticut, under General Wooster, who had been for several weeks in the vicinity of New York, and on Long Island, were very tardy in marching northward, while the New York levies were quite as slow in their movements. General Montgomery, Schuyler's lieutenant, was at Albany, the appointed place of rendezvous, at the middle of July, and yet it was the twenty-first of August before he was able to reach Ticonderoga with the gathered troops. There had been equal tardiness in the formation of the regiment of Green-Mountain Boys; and the restless Ethan Allen, in a letter to Governor Trumbull, expressed that impatience, while it betrayed his ambition. "Were it not," he wrote, "that the grand continental Congress had totally incorporated the Green-Mountain Boys into a battalion under certain regulations and command, I would forthwith advance them into Canada, and invest Montreal, exclusive of any help from the colonies; though under present circumstances I would not, for my right arm, act without or contrary to order. If my fond zeal for reducing the king's fortresses, or destroying or imprisoning his troops in Canada be the result of enthusiasm, I hope and expect the wisdom of the continent will treat it as such; and, on the other hand, if it proceed from sound policy, that the plan will be adopted."*

At that time a feud had separated Colonels Allen and Warner, and their respective friends became antagonistic partisans. This feud caused some delay in the enlistments of the Green-Mountain Boys, and their election of officers did not take place until the twenty-seventh of July. Allen had felt no doubt of his being chosen the commander of the regiment, but a change in the public feeling appeared. Grave men openly expressed doubts of his discretion; and at the election, he was entirely passed by. They omitted to elect a colonel, but gave Warner their suffrages as lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, much to the disappointment and mortification of Allen, who, in a letter to Governor Trumbull, soon afterward, said: "Notwithstanding my zeal and success in my coun-

* American Archives, ii., 1649.

try's cause, the old farmers in the New Hampshire Grants, who do not incline to go to war, have met in a committee-meeting, and in their nomination of officers for the regiment of Green-Mountain Boys, have wholly omitted me."* When this decision was made known to General Montgomery, that officer communicated it to General Schuyler, saying: "it is a change which will be very acceptable to our convention."† Allen, the bold outlaw, whose sins against the authorities of New York were many and heinous in their eyes, was very unpopular with the New York convention, notwithstanding its recent friendly reception of that officer and Colonel Warner. Perhaps this consideration had much to do with the result of the election.

This neglect did not cool the patriotism nor check the love of adventure of Colonel Allen. He immediately repaired to Ticonderoga, and offered his services to General Schuyler as a volunteer. That officer had good cause for disliking Allen, because of his former hostility to the authorities of New York; for in the events of that period, Schuyler had been an active participant. Being aware of the ambitious spirit of the brave applicant, his love of adventure, his hatred of restraint, and his lack of discretion, the general hesitated, for he doubted whether he could keep the restless Vermonter within due bounds. He finally concluded to retain Allen for pioneer duties on the frontier, and in that capacity he was active and judicious until, as the result of one of his daring adventures, he became a prisoner in irons.

On the twenty-third of July, General Schuyler despatched Major John Brown into Canada, as a confidential agent. He had volunteered his services and they were gladly accepted. He was an American, resided on the Sorel or Richelieu river, was well acquainted with the Canadians and their country, and was very popular among them. He was commissioned to ascertain the real temper of the people, to collect information respecting the number and condition of the British forces there, and to judge in what light the Canadians would view an invasion of their province, by

* American Archives.

† MS. Letter, August 4, 1775.

an attempt to take St. John from the British. Other secret agents were employed by Schuyler, and before the middle of August he was well informed upon the subject of inquiry.

Schuyler's army, meanwhile, had increased very slowly. The country had been scorched by a drought, which rendered food for draught-cattle so scarce, that the transportation of timber for boats, and of provisions for the garrison, had been much delayed. "Provisions of the bread kind," Schuyler wrote to Washington, on the thirty-first of July, "are scarce with me, and, therefore, I have not dared to order up a thousand men that are at Albany, lest we should starve here." And the tardiness of the New York provincial Congress in providing means, was very marked. "Not a man from this colony has yet joined me," General Schuyler wrote to the commander-in-chief on the sixth of August, "except those raised and paid by the committee of Albany; nor have I yet received the necessary supplies, which I begged the New York provincial Congress to send me, as long ago as the third of last month, and which the continental Congress had desired them to do." Eight days afterward, Major Brown, on his return from Canada, wrote to Governor Trumbull, from Crown Point, and said: "It seems that some evil planet has reigned in this quarter, this year, for notwithstanding the season is far advanced, and a fine opportunity presents of making ourselves masters of a country with the greatest ease, which, I fear, may cost us much blood and treasure, if delayed, the New-Yorkers have acted a droll part, and are determined to defeat us, if in their power; they have failed in men and supplies."*

Major Brown returned to Ticonderoga on the fifteenth of August, and reported seven hundred regular troops in Canada, three hundred of whom were at St. John, a small garrison at Quebec, and the remainder at Montreal, Chamblée, and some posts further up the St. Lawrence. He had learned that Sir John Johnson was at

* The omission of New York to raise *men*, at that particular time, ought not to be a cause for unqualified censure, for it had been mutually stipulated that Connecticut was to furnish troops, and New York supplies. A little later, when Schuyler was pressing for reinforcements, the New York committee of safety, acting in the recess of the Congress, replied to him despairingly: "Our troops can be of no service to you; they have no arms, clothes, blankets, or ammunition, the officers no commissions, our treasury no money, and ourselves in debt."—See Life of Gouverneur Morris, i., 60

Montreal, with almost three hundred of his tenants from the Mohawk country, and some Indians, and was endeavoring to persuade the Caghnewagas, near that city, to join him. Two large row-galleys, mounting twelve guns each, were on the stocks and nearly finished, at St. John; and there were two batteries, mounting nine guns each, and other strong outworks, at that post. He also reported, that the Canadians were unwilling to take up arms for the colonists, but that they longed to see a continental army penetrate their country and relieve them from British rule. The Indians, he was assured, would go with the Canadians; and he concluded his report by the expression of an opinion, that the conquest of Canada, if undertaken at once, might be easily achieved.

With these facts before him, Schuyler determined, even with a small force, inadequately supplied, to push forward as soon as he should receive orders to do so. "I am prepared," he wrote to Washington, "to move against the enemy, unless your excellency and Congress should direct otherwise." While waiting for a reply, he proceeded to Albany to hold a conference with chiefs of the Six Nations and of the Caghnewagas, leaving the command of the army at Ticonderoga with General Montgomery. This conference had been appointed by General Schuyler, as one of the commissioners for Indians affairs in the northern department, and its results were immediately beneficial.* While there he received a letter from Washington, giving him information of a council he had just held at Cambridge, with the chiefs of the Caghnewaga and St. Francis tribes, who had offered, in behalf of their respective people, to join the Americans in the invasion of Canada. He requested

* The commissioners for the northern department were Major-General Philip Schuyler, Major Joseph Hawley, Turbot Francis, Oliver Wolcott, and Volckert P. Douw. The council above referred to commenced its sittings on the twenty-fifth of August. The results of that council were very satisfactory to both parties. After a consultation of some days, during which time many speeches were made, the Indians declared their intentions to remain neutral and peaceable during the impending war. The reply of the commissioners was conciliatory. After some unfinished business had been transacted, the council closed on the second of September, and the Indians departed, laded with many presents. But the greater portion of the Six Nations were soon drawn into an attitude of hostility to the republicans, through the influence of Sir John Johnson. For a time, however, the people of Tryon county felt secure under the protection of the treaty of neutrality agreed to at Albany, and the committee of safety were enabled to do much in preparing for defence while that sense of security was felt.

General Schuyler to inform him concerning the intentions of Governor Carleton with respect to the Indians, for he was averse to employing the savages, unless compelled to do so by the necessity of meeting Indians with Indians, as he had advised when commanding on the Virginia frontier many years before. At the same time he communicated a plan which he had been contemplating for many days, by which the British forces in Canada would necessarily become divided, in the event of an invasion by way of Montreal and St. John. That plan contemplated an expedition against Quebec, by way of the Kennebec and Chaudiere rivers, and that would make a diversion distracting to Carleton. "The few whom I have consulted on the subject," Washington wrote, "approve it much, but the final determination is deferred until I hear from you. You will, therefore, by the return of this messenger, inform me of your ultimate resolution.... Not a moment's time is to be lost in the preparations for this enterprise, if the advices from you favor it. With the utmost expedition the season will be considerably advanced, so that you will dismiss the express as soon as possible."

General Schuyler was delighted with this plan. After heartily approving of it, he wrote, in his reply: "Your excellency will easily conceive that I felt happy to learn your intentions, and only wished that the thought had struck you sooner."* Concerning Carleton's operations, he expressed his convictions, that he would do all in his power to induce the savages to join the British, and added—"I should, therefore, not hesitate a moment to employ any Indians that might be willing to join us."

While General Schuyler was at Albany, Montgomery received intelligence from a scout, that the armed galleys at St. John were completed, and that Carleton was preparing to send an expedition into the lake. Major Brown, who was well acquainted with affairs in that region, urged Montgomery to proceed at once and prevent the expedition from coming out of the Sorel. No time was to be lost; and without waiting for orders from General Schuyler, Montgomery prepared his little flotilla of batteaux and a schooner, at

* Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

Crown Point, to proceed down the lake, and make a defensive stand at Isle aux Noix. "I am so much of Brown's opinion," he wrote to his general, "that I think it absolutely necessary to move down the lake with the utmost despatch. Should the enemy get their vessels into the lake, 'tis over with us for this summer; for which reason I have ordered two twelve-pounders to be gotten ready to-morrow, if possible, and iron-work to make logs fast together for a boom; and hope to be able, if we can get down in time, to prevent their entrance into the lake by taking post at the Isle aux Noix. This intelligence has involved me in a great dilemma. The moving without your orders I don't like; but on the other hand the prevention of the enemy is of the utmost consequence. If I must err, I wish to be on the right side. The express will go night and day, and I hope you will join us with all expedition. Let me entreat you (if you can possibly), to follow us in a whaleboat, leaving somebody to bring forward the troops and artillery. It will give the men great confidence in your spirit and activity. How necessary this confidence is to a general I need not tell you."—"I most heartily wish this may meet with your approbation," he added, "and be assured I have your honor and reputation highly at heart, as of the greatest consequence to the public service; that all my ambition is to do my duty in a subordinate capacity, without the least ungenerous intention of lessening that merit so justly your due, and which I omit no opportunity of setting in its fullest light.*

This letter, so decisive, frank, and generous, is a fair index of the character of the noble Montgomery, whom Schuyler loved as a brother. His conduct on this occasion, vindicated as it was by subsequent events, was highly approved by his commander; and there was not a moment during the whole campaign that followed, when Schuyler's unquestioning confidence in the judgment, discretion, and military skill of his lieutenant, was withdrawn. Montgomery had entered the field as a patriot, and not merely as a soldier; for no expectations of emolument or military renown could have

* Autograph Letter.

drawn him from the delights of rural pursuits on the banks of the Hudson, and the society of a young wife, and loving friends. On accepting his appointment, he had said to a friend—"It is an event which must put an end, for awhile, perhaps for ever, to the quiet scheme of life I had prescribed for myself; for, though entirely unexpected and undesired by me, the will of an oppressed people, compelled to choose between liberty and slavery, must be obeyed." He had resolved to do his duty well; and when he gave his wife the parting kiss, he said—"You shall never blush for your Montgomery."

On receiving Montgomery's letter, Schuyler immediately set out for Ticonderoga, and arrived there on the evening of the thirtieth, very sick with a bilious fever that had seized him on the way. He was too ill to proceed in a whaleboat: indeed, he was too ill to move at all with comfort or safety. Yet, after ordering the artillery to be forwarded, and other troops at Ticonderoga to follow, he journeyed on the next day, lying upon a bed in a covered flatboat, and on the fourth of September, he overtook Montgomery and his flotilla at the Isle la Motte. Montgomery had been detained at Crown Point by a "barbarous north wind," until the morning of the thirtieth, when he had proceeded down the lake with a thousand men—as many as his small supply of boats could carry.

At Isle la Motte General Schuyler assumed the command of the little invading army, though confined to his bed; and on the evening of the fourth the little flotilla arrived at Isle aux Noix, a low, fertile island of about eighty-five acres, at the entrance of the Sorel from Lake Champlain. It was an important point, and had been quite strongly fortified during the French and Indian war. The small garrison fled at the approach of the Americans; and on their arrival the latter fired three cannon, which was a preconcerted signal to apprise the Canadians (among whom Major Brown, Captain Remember Baker, and others, had established friendly relations) of that auspicious event. There General Schuyler established his headquarters, and on the fifth of September, after making preparations for an immediate attack upon St. John, he issued

the following address to the inhabitants of Canada, in the French language:—

“FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN: The various causes that have driven the ancient British colonies in America to arms, have been so fully set forth in the several petitions, papers, letters, and declarations, published by the grand Congress, that our Canadian brethren, at the extirpation of whose liberty, as well as ours, the various schemes of a cruel ministry are directly tending, can not fail of being informed. And we can not doubt that you are pleased that the grand Congress have ordered an army into Canada to expel from thence, if possible, those British troops who, now acting under the order of a despotic ministry, would wish to enslave their countrymen. This measure, necessary as it is, the Congress would not have entered on, but in the fullest confidence that it would be perfectly agreeable to you; for, judging of your feelings by their own, they could not conceive that anything but the force of necessity could induce you tamely to bear the insult and ignominy that are daily imposed on you, or that you could calmly sit by and see those chains forging which are intended to bind you, your posterity and ours, in one common and eternal slavery. To secure you and ourselves from such a dreadful bondage; to prevent the effects that might follow from the ministerial troops remaining in Canada; to restore to you those rights which every subject of the British empire, from the highest to the very lowest order, whatever his religious sentiments may be, is entitled to, are the only views of the Congress. You will readily believe me, when I say, that the Congress have given me the most positive orders to cherish every Canadian and every friend to the cause of liberty, and sacredly to guard their property; and such is the confidence I have in the good disposition of my army, that I do not believe I shall have occasion to punish a single offence committed against you.

“A treaty of friendship has just been concluded with the Six Nations at Albany, and I am furnished with an ample present for their Caghawga brethren and the other Canadians tribes. If any of them have lost their lives, it was done contrary to orders, and by

scoundrels ill-affected to our glorious cause. I shall take great pleasure in burying the dead, and wiping away the tears of their surviving relations, which you will communicate to them.”*

Supplied with copies of this address, Colonel Allen and Major Brown, with interpreters, were despatched for Canada the next morning, to reconnoitre the country between the Sorel and the St. Lawrence, to distribute the friendly paper, and to ascertain the feelings of the people. This was a delicate and somewhat perilous mission, for the British troops, alarmed by the presence of the invaders, were vigilant, and the Canadians might have been as treacherous as they were timid and fickle. On the same day preparations were made for an immediate attack upon St. John.

* This referred to an unhappy circumstance which had occurred a short time previously, as related by General Schuyler in a letter to members of the committee of safety, at Albany, written from Ticonderoga on his dictation, on the day that he proceeded down the lake. He says: “Captain Baker, of the unenlisted Green-Mountain Boys, having been heretofore employed by me on a scout to Canada, with the view to gain intelligence, and with express orders not to molest either Canadians or Indians, lately went into that country without my leave, with a party of five men, and discovering a boat manned by an equal number of Indians (which, from authentic intelligence sent me from Canada, I learn were of the Caghnewga tribe), attempted to fire on them, but his gun missing, and he putting his head from behind the tree where he stood in order to hammer his flint, received a shot in his forehead and instantly expired, upon which his party returned the fire, and unfortunately killed two of the Indians.” That event offended the Indians, and some of the Caghnewgas joined the British. It was important to conciliate the tribe, and for that reason the last clause in Schuyler’s address was inserted.

CHAPTER LVII.

MOVEMENTS AGAINST ST. JOHN—AMERICANS ATTACKED—SECRET INFORMATION—COUNCIL OF WAR—RETURN TO ISLE AUX NOIX—SICKNESS OF SCHUYLER—HE RETURNS TO TICONDEROGA—ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS—MONTGOMERY PROCEEDS AGAINST ST. JOHN—A SKIRMISH—PREPARATIONS FOR A SIEGE—INSUBORDINATION—ETHAN ALLEN IN CANADA—HIS ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE MONTREAL—HIS DEFEAT AND CAPTIVITY—THE MEASURE CENSURED—CHARACTER OF THE ARMY—CAPTURE OF CHAMBLEE—BRITISH REPULSED AT LONGUEUIL AND SOREL—SURRENDER OF ST. JOHN.

ALTHOUGH the invading army fit for service at the Isle aux Noix did not exceed a thousand men, General Schuyler resolved to proceed against St. John immediately, hoping the measure would have a good effect upon the Canadians, and induce many to join him. Accordingly the invaders moved slowly down the lake in boats, early on the morning of the sixth of September. When within two miles of St. John, a cannonade was opened upon them from the fort, but without effect. They pushed forward half a mile further and landed in a deep, close swamp, where an advanced party of Connecticut troops had a skirmish with some tories and Indians, which resulted in a trifling loss on both sides. This made the Americans more cautious; and on the approach of night the troops were concentrated at one point, where they cast up an intrenchment to defend themselves in the event of another attack. That evening a gentleman of the neighborhood came secretly into the camp and informed General Schuyler of the exact state of affairs in that vicinity.

There were no regular troops in Canada, he said, except the twenty-sixth regiment, under the command of General Richard Prescott, most of whom were at St. John and Chamblée. There were one hundred Indians at St. John; and quite a large body of

savages were with Sir John Johnson near Montreal. The works at St. John, he said, were completed and amply furnished with cannon and stores; and one of the armed vessels nearly ready to sail, was pierced for sixteen guns. The informant expressed his belief that not one Canadian would join the Americans, but that they would remain strictly neutral. He assured the general, however, that they would be pleased to have a continental army penetrate the province, provided the persons and property of the people should remain uninjured, and gold and silver be paid for all that the troops might purchase.

Impressed with the importance of this intelligence, General Schuyler called a council of war on the morning of the seventh,* when it was unanimously resolved, that the weak state of their army and the deficiency in artillery, rendered it inexpedient to attempt the siege of St. John, at that time, and that they should "return without delay to the Isle aux Noix, throw a boom across the channel, and erect the proper works for its defence; there wait for certain intelligence touching the intentions of the Canadians, and when reinforced, send a strong detachment into the country, should the Canadians favor such a design."† They then proceeded, on their return, in the same order as they had advanced; the New York troops in front, the Connecticut troops next, and the row-galleys in the rear. On arriving at the Isle aux Noix, at noon, General Schuyler sent an account of his movements to the president of the continental Congress, in which he remarked—"I can not estimate the obligations I lay under to General Montgomery, for many important services he has done and daily does, in which he has had little assistance from me, as I have not enjoyed a moment's health since I left Fort George. I am now so low as not to be able to hold the pen."‡

Every effort was now made to hasten forward reinforcements, and in the course of a few days, the little army was swelled to

* The council was composed of Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, Colonel Waterbury and Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting of the fifth Connecticut regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel Ritzema of the first New York regiment.

† Schuyler's Order Book.

‡ MS. Letter Books.

more than seventeen hundred men. But there was an enemy at work, insidious and more dangerous than the Indians, Canadians, or regulars. The Isle aux Noix is situated in the midst of a low, marshy country, and the miasma of early September so poisoned the troops, that before the army had been there a week, more than six hundred of them were on the sick-list. The unwholesomeness of the air aggravated General Schuyler's maladies, and he was brought almost to the gate of death. At one time false hopes would cheer him, and then the fever and the rheumatism would renew their attacks and banish all expectations of a speedy recovery. Finally his complicated disorders assumed a type so alarming, during the night of the fifteenth, that on the following morning he gave up the command of the army to General Montgomery, and left for Ticonderoga, on a bed in a covered boat, as he came.

Meanwhile, the plan for attacking St. John had been arranged by Schuyler and Montgomery, to be attempted as soon as reinforcements and artillery should arrive. Some important measures concerning Canada had also been concerted. Some military movements, by small parties, had occurred, but without much effect. Major Brown had been sent, with one hundred and fifty continentals and thirty Canadian recruits, to reconnoitre the vicinity of Chamblée, and make friends of the inhabitants; and Colonel Allen had also been sent toward the St. Lawrence again, to "preach politics," and beat up for recruits.

An hour after his departure, General Schuyler met Colonel Warner, with one hundred and seventy Green-Mountain Boys, in boats, on their way toward the camp. Part of the corps had mutinied and deserted, and the remainder were at Crown Point. On the following day, greatly exhausted, the general reached Ticonderoga, whence Captain Lamb and his artillery company had just sailed for Isle aux Noix. He issued orders for an immediate embarkation of most of the troops at Ticonderoga, for the same destination; and on the twentieth he was well enough to write to General Washington, and say: "I find myself much better, as the fever has left me, and I hope soon to return where I ought and wish to be,

unless a barbarous relapse should dash this cup of hope from my lips."

On the day when Schuyler left the camp for Ticonderoga, Montgomery again advanced upon St. John, with one thousand men. That post was now garrisoned by almost six hundred regulars and two hundred Canadian militia, under the command of Major Preston. Montgomery, with his whole force, landed on the west side of the Sorel, a little above the fort, on the evening of the seventeenth, and on the following morning, he led a corps of five hundred men, in person, down the river to the north side of the fort, where the village of St. John now stands. There he met a detachment from the garrison, returning from the pursuit of a party of Americans under Major Brown, whom they had just repulsed. They had two field-pieces with them. These and the whole detachment might have been captured but for that insubordination, especially of the Green-Mountain Boys, which gave Montgomery so much trouble during his brief leadership in the campaign. Caution, secrecy, and concert of action, were out of the question, and the enemy, after a slight skirmish, retreated with precipitation, but in safety, to the fort. Montgomery then pushed forward to the junction of the roads leading respectively to Chamblée and Longueuil, where he left the five hundred men to form an entrenched camp and cut off supplies for the fort from the interior.* He then returned to his camp to send forward the light artillery, for Captain Lamb, with heavier guns, had not yet arrived.

Montgomery now proceeded to invest the fort. His preparations for a siege were meagre, yet he worked on cheerfully. He caused a battery to be erected on a point of land that commanded the fort and the shipping, and another was cast up on the east side of the river, some distance below the fort. But battery cannon were wanting, and the inexperienced engineer was rendered still more inefficient by unpractised artillerymen. For a week the siege went on slowly, and, meanwhile, disease appeared among the troops, for the ground was swampy, and the trees, small but thick, shut out

* Montgomery's despatch to General Schuyler; Autograph Letter.

the sun. At this juncture Captain Lamb and his company arrived with heavier artillery, and, on the twenty-sixth of September, he bedded a thirteen-inch mortar near the battery on the east side of the river, and hurled many shots and shells against the enemy. But the distance from the fort was too great for his bombardment to have much effect, and Montgomery resolved to abandon the batteries and take a new position nearer the fort, where the ground was firm and the water wholesome. Insubordination was immediately rampant, and the general was informed, that most of the troops would refuse their acquiescence, and would leave if he should attempt coercion. Unable either to punish them for mutiny or to convince them of their error, he yielded so far as to call a council of war. In that council the same spirit prevailed, and he was overruled. This triumph of insubordination made the recusants more bold, and disorder reigned in the American camp. At length, after several precious days had been wasted, a better spirit was manifested. Montgomery, sometimes impetuous and impatient, was judicious and firm. He was eloquent in speech, and possessed most winning ways. These, working with patience, accomplished what official power had failed to achieve, and the plans of the general were adopted. On the seventh of October the camp was moved to the higher ground northwest of the fort, where intrenchments were thrown up, and the investment of the post was made complete. But, for want of heavy cannon, no perceptible effect had yet been made upon the works of the enemy.

While these preparations had been going on, small detachments of Americans, who were joined by friendly Canadians, were active in the vicinity, cutting off supplies for the garrison, and keeping back reinforcements. Sometimes rashness and imprudence marked these movements, and they gave both Montgomery and Schuyler much uneasiness. Colonel Allen was particularly active in these enterprises; and Major Brown was also ambitious to make some movement that should give himself the character of a bold and victorious leader.

Allen had been very successful in his political mission in Canada.

"I passed through all the parishes on the river Sorel," he says, "to a parish at the mouth of the same, preaching politics; and went thence across the Sorel to the river St. Lawrence, and up the river through the parishes, to Longueuil, and so far met with good success as an itinerant."* Within a week after he left the American camp at the Isle aux Noix he was at St. Ours, twelve miles south of the Sorel, with two hundred and fifty Canadians under arms. His boldness, his personal bearing, his zeal, and his large promises captivated the people, and he wrote to Montgomery that within three days he should join him in laying siege to St. John, with at least five hundred armed Canadians. His letter was characteristic of the writer—sanguine, boastful, and elated by success. "I could raise one or two thousand in a week's time," he said; "but I will first visit the army with a less number, and, if necessary, go again recruiting. Those that used to be enemies to our cause come cap in hand to me; and I swear by the Lord, I can raise three times the number of our army in Canada, provided you continue the siege."

While on his way to Montgomery's camp, by way of Laprairie, from Longueuil, with a guard of eighty men, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of September, Allen fell in with Major Brown, at the head of a party of Americans and Canadians. A private conference was held, when Brown informed Allen, that the garrison at Montreal did not exceed thirty men, and might easily be taken; and he proposed that they should, with their respective forces, cross the St. Lawrence at separate points, make a simultaneous attack upon the town, and secure a joint and very important victory. This proposition pleased the ambition of Allen, and his partisan spirit was thoroughly aroused by the enticing prospect of a repetition of the conquests he had achieved on Lake Champlain. Visions of victory and the plaudits of posterity suddenly assumed the shapes of reality in his mind, and he was impatient for action. The plan was soon arranged. Allen was to return to Longueuil, on the southern shore of the St. Lawrence, a

* Ethan Allen's Narrative, page 21, Burlington edition, 1846.

little below Montreal, and cross there, while Brown, with two hundred men, was to cross just above the city; and, at a concerted signal, they were to make a simultaneous attack upon the town. All this was to be done without the knowledge or consent of Montgomery, who was anxiously waiting before St. John for the reinforcements which these leaders were about to employ in this hazardous enterprise.

Allen hastened back to Longueuil and secured a few canoes; and on that very night, according to arrangement, he crossed the St. Lawrence with thirty Americans and eighty Canadians. It was a tedious operation, for the night was dark and windy, the current strong and eddying, and the canoes frail and few. Three times they crossed and recrossed, before all were landed on the opposite shore, and then the dawn began to glow in the east. Allen placed guards in such a way that intelligence of their presence should not reach Montreal, and then anxiously awaited for the three huzzas which Brown's party were to give, as a signal for attack. The sun arose, yet no signal was heard. It advanced toward meridian yet all was silent. The brave Vermonter would then have retreated, but it was too late. An escaped captive had alarmed the garrison, and all but the first canoe-loads must become prisoners, if an attempt should be made to recross the river. "This I could not reconcile to my feelings as a man, much less as an officer," said Allen, "and I therefore concluded to maintain the ground, if possible, and all to fare alike." This generosity cost him a long and wearisome captivity.

The morning wore away, and it was afternoon before the enemy appeared. Allen had taken a position for defence, and resolved to sell life and liberty dearly. Between two and three o'clock forty regular troops, more than two hundred Canadians, and a few Indians who were in Montreal, came down upon the invaders, led by Major Campbell. A sharp conflict ensued, which lasted an hour and three quarters. The brave Allen commanded skilfully and fought gallantly, until only thirty or forty of his men remained, and some of these were wounded. Some had been killed, and the Canadians,

almost to a man, had deserted him early in the engagement. He retreated nearly a mile, for he "expected, in a very short time, to try the world of spirits," as he had no hopes of quarter. He at length surrendered, with promises of honorable terms for himself and his surviving companions, thirty-eight in number, of whom seven were wounded.

They were conducted into the town and delivered to General Prescott, the commander, who was a petty tyrant, and seldom exercised the common courtesies of life toward the unfortunate in his power. His prisoner was rough in manner and personal appearance. His jacket was made of deerskin, his vest and breeches of coarse serge, his stockings of red worsted, his shoes of cowskin, the soles well fortified by hob-nails, and on his head was a red woollen cap. To the eye of Prescott, Allen and his followers appeared more like freebooters than soldiers, and he addressed the leader with that petulance and superficial anger which characterize small minds. He inquired his name, and whether he was the Colonel Allen who took Ticonderoga. When answered in the affirmative, he stormed, shook his cane over Allen's head, calling him many hard names, and denounced him as a rebel, in bitter terms. "I told him," says Allen, "he would do well not to cane me, for I was not accustomed to it, and shook my fist at him, telling him that was the beetle of mortality for him if he offered to strike." A British officer, standing near, reminded Prescott, in a whisper, that it would be dishonorable to strike a prisoner, when Allen and his men were immediately placed under the care of a sergeant's command. They were conveyed on board the *Gaspé* war-schooner, lying at Montreal, placed in irons, and thrust into the hold of the vessel. A bar eight feet long was riveted to the shackles of Allen, and his fellow-prisoners were fastened together in pairs with handcuffs. From that floating prison the captive leader sent the following respectful letter to General Prescott, but it elicited no response from that brutal officer, who had threatened him with a halter at Tyburn:—

"HONORABLE SIR: In the wheel of transitory events I find myself prisoner, and in irons. Probably your honor has certain reasons to

me inconceivable, though I challenge an instance of this sort of economy of the Americans during the late war to any officers of the crown. On my part, I have to assure your honor, that when I had the command and took Captain Delaplace and Lieutenant Fulton, with the garrison of Ticonderoga, I treated them with every mark of friendship and generosity, the evidence of which is notorious even in Canada. I have only to add that I expect an honorable and humane treatment, as an officer of my rank and merit should have, and subscribe myself your honor's most obedient servant."*

Such was the unfortunate termination of a rash enterprise; and its effect upon the Canadians at that critical juncture, when their good opinion was eagerly sought by the continentals, was unpleasant, and damaging to the American cause. The reason of Brown's failure to co-operate with Allen was never satisfactorily explained. Had they acted in concert, according to arrangement, they might have been successful. Half carried out, the plan proved disastrous, and both Allen and Brown were blamed; the one for proposing, and the other for attempting the unauthorized measure. Montgomery was greatly annoyed by this event; and General Schuyler, writing to the continental Congress, said: "I am apprehensive of disagreeable consequences arising from Mr. Allen's improvidence. I always dreaded his impatience of subordination, and it was not until after a solemn promise made me, in the presence of several officers, that he would demean himself properly, that I would permit

* Ethan Allen was then thirty-six years of age, having been born in Roxbury, Litchfield county, Connecticut, in the year 1739. He went to Vermont at an early age, and in 1770, he took an active part in the disturbances between the inhabitants of the province of New York and those of the New Hampshire Grants. He remained five weeks in irons on board the *Gaspé*, at Montreal, when the vessel went down to Quebec. There he was transferred to another vessel, where he was treated humanely, and sent to England to be tried for treason. In his grotesque garb, he attracted much attention at Falmouth, where he was landed. He was confined in Pendennis castle, for awhile, and in the spring of 1776, he was sent to Halifax, the ministry considering it inexpedient to treat him otherwise than as a prisoner-of-war. He was confined in the jail there until the autumn, when he was sent to New York, that city being in possession of the British. There he was kept, part of the time on parole and part of the time in prison, for about a year and a half. In May, 1778, he was exchanged for Colonel Campbell, and returned to his home in Vermont. There he was active in civil life, much of the time until his death, which occurred at Colchester, Vermont, on the thirteenth of February, 1789. His remains repose in a beautiful little cemetery, near Burlington, Vermont. Ethan Allen was a plain, blunt, honest man, of purest virtue and sternest integrity.

him to attend the army. Nor would I have consented then, had not his solicitations been backed by several officers."* Washington wrote to Schuyler, three weeks afterward, and said: "Colonel Allen's misfortune will, I hope, teach a lesson of prudence and subordination to others, who may be too ambitious to outline their general officers, and, regardless of order and duty, rush into enterprises which have unfavorable effects on the public, and are destructive to themselves."

But the troops did *not* all heed the lesson which taught subordination, for many became more and more disorderly and mutinous, while their commander was nobly planning means for the capture of the fort. Nothing but the personal popularity of Montgomery could have prevented utter anarchy. His patience was tried to the utmost; and the sense of responsibility to his adopted country, at this critical moment, alone prevented his resigning his commission with disgust. In a letter to Schuyler, he said: "Were I not afraid the example would be too generally followed, and that the public service might suffer, I would not stay an hour at the head of troops whose operations I can not direct."

The spirit of General Schuyler who yet lay sick at Ticonderoga, was continually chafed by reports of gross irregularities of every description, not only in the camp before St. John, but almost in his immediate presence. "Such scenes of rascality," he wrote to Montgomery, on the fourth of October, "are daily opening to me, as will surprise you to learn." To General Washington he wrote: "The vexation of spirit under which I labor, that a barbarous complication of disorders should prevent me from reaping those laurels for which I have unweariedly wrought since I was honored with this command; the anxiety I have suffered since my arrival here, lest the army should starve, occasioned by a scandalous want of subordination and inattention to my orders, in some of the officers that I left to command at the different posts; the vast variety of disagreeable and vexatious incidents that almost hourly arise in some department or other, not only retard my cure, but have put me

* Schuyler's Letter Books, October 5

considerably back for some days past. But the glorious end we have in view, and which I have confident hope will be attained, will atone for all."* Washington replied hopefully and sympathetically. "The more I reflect upon the importance of your expedition," he said, "the greater is my concern lest it should sink under insuperable difficulties. I look upon the interests and salvation of our bleeding country, in a great degree as depending upon your success."

Foiled as he was in many of his intended movements in detail, Montgomery pressed the siege of St. John with as much vigor as circumstances would allow; and good fortune appeared to supply what the inefficiency of many of his troops caused him to lack. Friendly Canadians gave him much useful information; and at length a scout from among them brought intelligence which led to a most favorable result. He assured the general that the fort at Chamblée, twelve miles below St. John, had but a small garrison and might be easily taken. Carleton had no idea that Chamblée could be reached by the invaders, unless they should first capture St. John, and he had omitted to strengthen the fortress there. On the eighteenth of October, Montgomery sent Colonel Bedell, and Majors Brown and Livingston, with detachments which amounted in all to about three hundred men, to make a night attack upon the fort. These detachments consisted chiefly of Canadians. Cannon were conveyed down the river upon batteaux, under cover of darkness, to the Chamblée rapids, where they were mounted and then dragged to the point of attack. The garrison, surprised and overpowered, made a feeble and brief resistance, and then surrendered.

This was a most important and timely victory for the republicans, for a large quantity of military stores and munitions of war, greatly needed by the besiegers before St. John, were among the spoils. Six tons of powder, a large quantity of provisions, small-arms, shells, balls, and bullets, and rigging for vessels, were very acceptable additions to the commissariat of the continentals. They had also made about ninety men (officers and privates), besides a great number of women and children, their prisoners; and their chief

* Schuyler's Letter Books.

trophy was the flag of the seventh regiment of British regulars, found in the fort. This, the first trophy of the kind captured by the republicans, was sent to General Schuyler at Ticonderoga, and by him to the continental Congress, where it was received with delight. The garrison, with the women and children, were sent to Connecticut, and the ammunition and stores to the camp of the besiegers.*

When intelligence of this victory reached Montgomery, he proceeded to the erection of a battery within two hundred and fifty yards of the fort, and mounted four heavy guns and six mortars upon it. He also raised a blockhouse before the fort on the opposite side of the river, and there mounted one gun and two mortars, and commenced an assault with much earnestness. The late victory inspirited the men, and the future appeared brighter. The garrison was deprived of all supplies from without, yet Major Preston, in daily expectation of relief from Governor Carleton, then at Montreal, held out manfully.

Carleton was at the head of one hundred regulars, several hundred Canadians from the northward of the St. Lawrence, and a few Indians. He had been assured of the co-operation of Colonel Maclean, an experienced Scotch soldier, who had served the British king during the Scottish rebellion thirty years before. That veteran had enlisted three hundred Highlanders at Quebec, and formed them into a battalion, called "The Royal Highland Emigrants." He was to ascend the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Sorel, march along the banks of that river and join Carleton at St. John in the relief of the garrison.

The capture of Chamblée accelerated the movements of Carleton,

* In a letter to his brother-in-law, Robert Livingston, written at St. John, Montgomery said "For some time past matters have worn a gloomy appearance. The prospect now clears up and I have the pleasure to tell you, that the fort of Chamblée has fallen into our hands.... It was a plan of the Canadians; and we have gotten as much powder at Chamblée as will, I hope, finish our business here. I have strong detachments at Laprairie, Longueuil, and Caghnawga; and I believe everybody on this side the St. Lawrence are our friends — indeed the whole are except the *noblesse*... The difficulties I have labored under from want of discipline in the troops (being all generals and few soldiers), want of provisions, ammunition, and men, have made me most heartily sick of this business, and I do think that no consideration can ever induce me again to step out of the path of private life. As a volunteer I shall ever be ready when necessity requires, to take my part of the burden."—Autograph Letter, October 20, 1775

and on the morning of the thirty-first of October, he embarked his motley force upon the St. Lawrence in thirty-four batteaux and flatboats, and attempted to land at Longueuil, a mile and a half below the city. Colonel Seth Warner, with a detachment of three hundred Green-Mountain Boys and New-Yorkers, was on the alert in the neighborhood, and lay in covert where Carleton was about to land. He allowed the boats to get very near the shore, when he opened a terrible storm of grape-shot from a four-pound cannon, and volleys of musketry, which drove them back in great confusion. Carleton retreated to Montreal, leaving behind him some killed and wounded, and four prisoners.

Maclean, meanwhile, had landed at the mouth of the Sorel, and had increased his force by pressing into his service several Canadians in that neighborhood. He was marching toward St. John with full expectations of success, when he was met by Majors Brown and Livingston, flushed with their victory at Chamblée, their forces strengthened by some Green-Mountain Boys. Maclean was driven back to his place of debarkation, where he heard of the repulse of Carleton. There his Canadian recruits deserted him, and his Highlanders were panic-stricken by the perils that environed them. They were all hastily embarked, and before the pursuers reached the mouth of the Sorel, the Scotchmen were fairly on their way to Quebec. The Americans took post at that point, erected batteries, and prepared to oppose the passage of British vessels up or down the St. Lawrence.

Warner sent his prisoners, taken at Longueuil, to Montgomery's camp on the day after the skirmish and repulse. They arrived toward evening, while the guns from the American batteries were playing upon the British works. This had been continued for several hours. They were immediately silenced, and a flag with a letter, accompanied by one of the Canadian prisoners, was sent in to Preston, to acquaint him with the repulse of Carleton, and to demand an instant surrender of the post. Major Preston affected a disbelief of the reported repulse, and asked for a delay of four days. The request was denied, and the demand was renewed

Threatened with famine, and perceiving no hope of relief, the gallant Preston surrendered the fort and garrison into the hands of the republicans on the following morning, the second of November. The siege had continued six weeks, and the bravery and fortitude of the British troops had been so marked, that Montgomery granted them the most honorable terms. They marched out of the fort with the honors of war, and grounded their arms on the plain in the rear. The officers were allowed to keep their side-arms; and the baggage of both officers and men were secured to them. The latter were also allowed each a new suit of clothes from the captured stores. This was carrying courtesy a little too far, under the circumstances, for many of the victorious troops were half-naked, and the rigors of a Canadian winter were just upon them. Both officers and men murmured, and demanded a reconsideration of the capitulation by Montgomery. But that noble man firmly refused, notwithstanding the loud tones of mutinous discontent were heard on every side. "I would not have sullied my own reputation, nor disgraced the continental arms by such a breach of capitulation for the universe," Montgomery afterward said.

The captured garrison consisted of about five hundred British regulars, and one hundred Canadian volunteers. Of the latter there were several nobles, who were leading men in the province; and among the officers was Major André, the unfortunate spy in after-years. Also Captain Aubury and Lieutenant Anstruther, who were exchanged, and again made prisoners with Burgoyne at Saratoga. The former afterward published two interesting volumes concerning his sojourn in America. These prisoners were all sent, in boats, to Ticonderoga, and Montgomery then prepared to march upon Montreal.

We will leave the victorious continentals at St. John, and consider the co-operation of the expedition planned by Washington at Cambridge.

CHAPTER LVIII.

MEMBERS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS AT CAMBRIDGE—WASHINGTON'S PLAN FOR INVADING CANADA—ARNOLD AT WATERTOWN—HIS RECEPTION AT HEAD QUARTERS—HIS MILITARY QUALITIES—ARNOLD AND GATES—ARNOLD COMMISSIONED A COLONEL IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY—EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA ARRANGED—ARNOLD APPOINTED TO THE COMMAND—HIS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTRUCTIONS—DEPARTURE FROM NEWBURYPORT—VOYAGE UP THE KENNEBEC—MARCH THROUGH THE WILDERNESS—RETURN OF A DETACHMENT—HARDSHIPS—DESCENT OF THE CHAUDIERE—ARRIVAL UPON THE ST. LAWRENCE.

Soon after the adjournment of the continental Congress, on the first of August, several of the delegates, especially those of New England, visited the camp at Cambridge, and conferred with Washington concerning the future operations of the army. They did not appear in an official capacity, but the commander-in-chief consulted them freely, and received their opinions with great deference. To them he submitted a plan of co-operation with General Schuyler in the conquest of Canada, which then occupied his mind. They approved of it, and preparations for an expedition across the country, by way of the Kennebec and Chaudière rivers, to attack Quebec, was resolved upon. Washington, as we have seen, communicated an outline of his plan to General Schuyler, in a letter dated the twentieth of August, but deferred his final determination until he should hear from the latter. Schuyler was delighted with the plan; and by the time his approval reached the commander-in-chief the scheme was matured, and the expedition was almost ready for departure.

Colonel Benedict Arnold, who had left Lake Champlain in anger, and was sorely chafed by disappointment, was then at Watertown, engaged in settling his accounts with the committee of safety. Notwithstanding his conduct had been represented in a very un-

favorable light, and himself as a rash and ungovernable adventurer, Washington viewed the whole matter dispassionately, appreciated his services, admired his bravery and zeal, and received him in a friendly manner at headquarters. When Arnold's own story was told and admitted facts corroborated it, the tide of feeling that was rising strongly against him, instantly ebbed, and he found himself borne upon a flood of popular sympathy, especially where the nature of his services and the material of the force on the lakes were best known. In this sympathy Washington participated. Arnold's valor and patriotism were undoubted, and his rashness, so called, was softened into indiscretion, when judged by the logic of the circumstances in which he had been placed. He was adventurous, a good military tactician and disciplinarian, and had the faculty of inspiring his troops with his own zeal and courage. These were exactly the qualities most needed in the leader of an expedition like the one under consideration; and Washington, with his usual discrimination, appointed him to the command of it, and commissioned him a colonel in the continental army.

Before this appointment Arnold appears to have had some enterprise in contemplation, which he had communicated to Adjutant-General Gates, who, at that early period, was beginning to forget the favors he had received from the commander-in-chief, and was meditating independent schemes. That officer, as in duty bound, laid Arnold's plans before Washington. The latter had an interview with the zealous colonel, and the continental commission speedily followed.*

* On the twenty-fifth of August, Gates addressed the following letter to Arnold, from headquarters:—

"SIR: I am confident you told me last night that you did not intend to leave Cambridge entirely, until the express sent by your friend returned from General Schuyler. Lest I should have been mistaken, I am directed by his excellency, General Washington, to request you to resolve to wait the return of that express. I have laid your plans before the general, who will converse with you upon it when you next meet. Your answer by the bearer will oblige, sir, your affectionate humble servant,

"HORATIO GATES, *Adjutant-General.*

"To Colonel ARNOLD, at Watertown."

The above letter was first published in Richardson's "Historical Magazine," for December, 1857, with a note from the person who communicated it, who pronounced it "interesting, as showing that the plan [the expedition against Quebec] was entirely original" with Arnold. The date and tenor of Washington's letter to Schuyler on the twentieth, and the date of Gates's to Arnold above quoted, show that Arnold *did not* originate the expedition arranged by the commander-in-chief.

Preparations for the expedition were immediately made. A detachment of about eleven hundred men was organized for the purpose, consisting of ten companies of New England infantry (a part of them from General Greene's Rhode Island brigade), three rifle companies from Pennsylvania (one of them commanded by Daniel Morgan), and a number of volunteers. Among the latter was Aaron Burr, a lad of nineteen years, who was a wayward grandson of the famous theologian, Jonathan Edwards, and destined to occupy a conspicuous place in the annals of his country. He had been at Cambridge for some time, waiting for an opportunity to serve his country in a manner suited to his peculiar views, and was now confined to his bed by sickness. Hearing of this expedition, he immediately arose, dressed himself, and with five or six intimate friends, joined Arnold at Newburyport. We shall hereafter meet Burr in the camp, the field, and the arena of political strife.

Arnold was invested with ample and even extraordinary powers, for his expedition was of a nature that required much to be left to the discretion of the leader. He was well acquainted with Quebec and its neighborhood, having recently carried on a trade in horses between that city and the West Indies. His field-officers were Lieutenant-Colonel Christopher Greene of Rhode Island (afterward the brave defender of Fort Mercer, at Red-Bank), Lieutenant Roger Enos, and Majors Meigs and Bigelow, of Connecticut; and the whole detachment were well prepared for the perilous enterprise.

Arnold's ambition was now gratified; and only ten days before Colonel Allen, his despised rival on Lake Champlain, was made a prisoner in irons, the former left Cambridge with a chosen corps of over a thousand men, arranged by the commander-in-chief for the invasion of Canada, under circumstances that promised success. He struck his tents on the thirteenth of September, and the detachment marched for Newburyport to embark for the mouth of the Kennebec. On the fourteenth Washington placed in Arnold's hands the following instructions:—

“1. You are immediately, on their march from Cambridge, to

take the command of the detachment from the continental army against Quebec, and use all possible expedition, as the winter season is now advancing, and the success of this enterprise, under God, depends wholly upon the spirit with which it is pushed, and the favorable dispositions of the Canadians and Indians.

"2. When you come to Newburyport you are to make all possible inquiry, what men-of-war or cruisers there may be on the coast, to which this detachment may be exposed on their voyage to the Kennebec river; and if you should find that there is danger of your being intercepted, you are not to proceed by water, but by land, taking care, on the one hand, not to be diverted by light and vague reports, and on the other, not to expose the troops rashly to a danger which, by many judicious persons, has been deemed very considerable.

"3. You are, by every means in your power, to endeavor to discover the real sentiments of the Canadians toward our cause, and particularly as to this expedition, bearing in mind, that if they are averse to it, and will not co-operate, or at least willingly acquiesce, it must fail of success. In this case, you are by no means to prosecute the attempt; the expense of the expedition, and the disappointment, are not to be put in competition with the dangerous consequences which may ensue from irritating them against us, and detaching them from that neutrality, which they have adopted.

"4. In order to cherish those favorable sentiments to the American cause, that they have manifested, you are, as soon as you arrive in their country, to disperse a number of the addresses you will have with you, particularly in those parts where your route will lie;* and observe the strictest discipline and good order, by no

* Washington caused the following "Address to the Inhabitants of Canada" to be printed in handbills, in the French language, for Arnold to distribute on his arrival in that country:—

"**FRIENDS AND BRETHREN:** The unnatural contest between the English colonies and Great Britain has now risen to such a height, that arms alone must decide it. The colonies, confiding in the justice of their cause, and the purity of their intentions, have reluctantly appealed to that Being in whose hands are all human events. He has hitherto smiled upon their virtuous efforts, the hand of tyranny has been arrested in its ravages, and the British arms, which have shone with so much splendor in every part of the globe, are now tarnished with disgrace and disappointment. Generals of approved experience, who boasted of subduing this great continent, find themselves circumscribed within the limits of a single city and its suburbs, suffering all the shame and distress of a siege, while the freeborn sons of America, animated by the genuine principles of liberty and love

means suffering any inhabitant to be abused, or in any manner injured, either in his person or property, punishing with exemplary severity every person who shall transgress, and making ample compensation to the party injured.

"5. You are to endeavor, on the other hand, to conciliate the affections of the people, and such Indians as you may meet with, by every means in your power; convincing them that we come, at the request of many of their principal people, not as robbers or to make war upon them, but as friends and supporters of their liberties as well as ours. And to give efficacy to these sentiments, you must carefully inculcate upon the officers and soldiers under your command, that not only the good of their country and their honor, but their safety, depend upon the treatment of these people.

"6. Check every idea, and crush, in its earliest stage, every attempt to plunder even those who are known to be enemies to our

of their country, with increasing union, firmness, and discipline, repel every attack, and despise every danger.

"Above all, we rejoice that our enemies have been deceived with regard to you. They have persuaded themselves, they have even dared to say, that the Canadians were not capable of distinguishing between the blessings of liberty and the wretchedness of slavery; that gratifying the vanity of a little circle of nobility would blind the people of Canada. By such artifices they hoped to bend you to their views, but they have been deceived; instead of finding in you a poverty of soul and baseness of spirit, they see with a chagrin, equal to our joy, that you are enlightened, generous, and virtuous; that you will not renounce your own rights, or serve as instruments to deprive your fellow-subjects of theirs. Come then, my brethren, unite with us in an indissoluble union; let us run together to the same goal. We have taken up arms in defence of our liberty, our property, our wives, and our children; we are determined to preserve them or die. We look forward with pleasure to that day, not far remote, we hope, when the inhabitants of America shall have one sentiment, and the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free government.

"Incited by these motives, and encouraged by the advice of many friends of liberty among you, the grand American Congress have sent an army into your province, under the command of General Schuyler, not to plunder, but to protect you; to animate and bring into action those sentiments of freedom you have disclosed, and which the tools of despotism would extinguish through the whole creation. To co-operate with this design, and to frustrate those cruel and perfidious schemes, which would deluge our frontiers with the blood of women and children, I have detached Colonel Arnold into your country, with a part of the army under my command. I have enjoined it upon him, and I am certain he will consider himself, and act, as in the country of his patrons and best friends. Necessaries and accommodations of every kind, which you may furnish, he will thankfully receive, and render the full value. I invite you, therefore, as friends and brethren, to provide him with such supplies as your country affords; and I pledge myself, not only for your safety and security, but for ample compensation. Let no man desert his habitation; let no one flee as before an enemy.

"The cause of America, and of liberty, is the cause of every virtuous American citizen; whatever may be his religion or descent, the United Colonies know no distinction but such as slavery, corruption, and arbitrary dominion may create. Come, then, ye generous citizens, range yourselves under the standard of general liberty, against which all the force and artifices of tyranny will never be able to prevail."

cause. It will create dreadful apprehensions in our friends, and, when it is once begun, no one can tell where it will stop. I, therefore, again most expressly order, that it be discouraged and punished in every instance without distinction.

"7. Any king's stores which you shall be so fortunate as to possess yourself of, are to be secured for the continental use, agreeably to the rules and regulations of war published by the honorable Congress. The officers and men may be assured, that any extraordinary services performed by them will be suitably rewarded.

"8. Spare neither pain nor expense to gain all possible intelligence on your march, to prevent surprises and accidents of every kind, and endeavor, if possible, to correspond with General Schuyler, so that you may act in concert with him. This, I think, may be done by means of the St. Francis Indians.

"9. In case of a union with General Schuyler, or if he should be in Canada upon your arrival there, you are by no means to consider yourself as upon a separate and independent command, but are to put yourself under him and follow his directions. Upon this occasion, and all others, I recommend most earnestly to avoid all contention about rank. In such a cause, every post is honorable in which a man can serve his country.

"10. If Lord Chatham's son should be in Canada, and in any way should fall into your power, you are enjoined to treat him with all possible deference and respect. You can not err in paying too much honor to the son of so illustrious a character, and so true a friend to America.* Any other prisoners, who may fall into your

* Lord Pitt was a younger son of the earl of Chatham, and was aid-de-camp to Sir Guy Carleton during the summer of 1775. When the movements on Lake Champlain indicated a speedy war, Chatham, whose friendship for the Americans would not allow him to permit his son to draw his sword against them, became uneasy. In July he was too ill to attend even to private business, and at that time his wife, the countess of Chatham, wrote a very judicious letter to Major Caldwell, then at Quebec, concerning their son, intimating their unwillingness to have him engaged in a war upon the colonists. "I can not help feeling," she said, "a pity for poor people who are irritated to the utmost, from an opinion of being greatly injured: otherwise, I assure, sir, though full of maternal tenderness to my son, I should have been happy in his having had occasion of proving the ardor of that courage which I flatter myself is in him."—Chatham Correspondence, iv., 412.

Pursuant to the advice of his parents, and the convictions of his own heart, young Pitt left the military family of Carleton, and returned to England, bearing despatches from his general to the ministry, dated at Montreal, the twenty-first of September, 1775.

hands, you will treat with as much humanity and kindness as may be consistent with your own safety and the public interest. Be very particular in restraining, not only your own troops, but the Indians, from all acts of cruelty and insult, which will disgrace the American arms, and irritate our fellow-subjects against us.

“11. You will be particularly careful to pay the full value for all provisions, or other accommodations, which the Canadians may provide for you on your march. By no means press them, or any of their cattle into your service, but amply compensate those who voluntarily assist you. For this purpose, you are provided with a sum of money in specie, which you will use with as much frugality and economy as your necessities and good policy will admit, keeping as exact an account as possible of your disbursements.

“12. You are, by every opportunity, to inform me of your progress, your prospects, and intelligence, and upon any important occurrence, to send an express.

“13. As the season is now far advanced, you are to make all possible despatch; but if unforeseen difficulties should arise, or if the weather should become so severe as to render it hazardous to proceed, in your own judgment and that of your principal officers, whom you are to consult—in that case you are to return, giving me as early notice as possible, that I may render you such assistance as may be necessary.

“14. As the contempt of the religion of a country by ridiculing any of its ceremonies, or affronting its ministers or its votaries, has ever been deeply resented, you are to be particularly careful to restrain every officer and soldier from such imprudence and folly, and to punish every instance of it. On the other hand, as far as lies in your power, you are to protect and support the free exercise of the religion of the country, and the undisturbed enjoyment of the rights of conscience in religious matters with your utmost influence and authority.”

In addition to these instructions, Washington, on the same day, addressed a private letter to Colonel Arnold, reminding him that he was about to start on an expedition of great consequence, and that

his own honor, and the safety and welfare of the continent, depended, in a great measure, upon his conduct and courage in the command of it. He charged him, and his officers and soldiers, as they valued their own safety and honor, and the favor and esteem of their country, to consider themselves as marching not through the land of an enemy, but of friends and countrymen, and to regulate their conduct toward the Canadians and Indians accordingly. He reiterated the charge in his instructions, concerning the respect due to the religious feelings of the inhabitants, and said, "While we are contending for own liberty, we should be very cautious not to violate the rights of conscience in others, ever considering that God alone is the judge of the hearts of men, and to him only, in this case, they are answerable."

Thus furnished with instructions and suggestions, and a supply of addresses to the Canadian people, Arnold hastened to Newburyport, and on Monday, the eighteenth of September, embarked his troops on eleven transports, and left the harbor the next morning. They all reached Gardiner in safety, after a night of tempest—wind, lightning, and rain. Two hundred batteaux, constructed by carpenters who had been previously sent for the purpose, were ready for them at Pittston, on the opposite side of the river. The little fleet proceeded up the Kennebec as far as the tide would permit, where the troops went on board the batteaux, with their stores, and pushed on to Fort Western, opposite the present town of Augusta, the designated place of rendezvous. This was on the verge of the wilderness. It was the frontier settlement, and beyond it, toward Norridgewock falls, only a log house here and there appeared.

The way before the little army was now dark and perilous, and chilly nights succeeded bright and pleasant days. They were not wholly without a guide, however. Colonel Montessor, a British officer, had traversed this wilderness fifteen years earlier. He came from Quebec, ascended the Chaudière, crossed the Highlands near the head-waters of the Penobscot, passed through Moosehead lake, and entered the east branch of the Kennebec. Arnold possessed

an imperfect copy of the printed Journal of Montessor, and also a set of plans and a journal, furnished by Samuel Goodwin, of Pownalborough, in Maine, who had resided in that country as a surveyor for twenty-five years. Goodwin was well acquainted with the Kennebec and the Chaudière, and the country between; and the information received from him was of great consequence to the leader of the expedition.

Arnold sent forward a small reconnoitring party to Lake Megantic or Chaudière pond, and another to survey the course and distances of the Dead river, a tributary of the Kennebec. The main body, meanwhile, moved forward in four divisions, a day apart, in time. Morgan and his riflemen formed the van. Greene and Bigelow, with their companies of musketeers, followed next; then Meigs with four other companies; and the rear was composed of three companies under Enos. Arnold was the last to leave Fort Western. He proceeded in a birch canoe, passed several parties in batteaux, and upon a beautiful plain on the eastern side of the Kennebec, at Norridgewock falls, he overtook Morgan and his riflemen.

Now the first severe toils and trials of the little army began. They had already been compelled to carry their boats, provisions, and baggage around several falls and rapids; here up rocky and precipitous banks all these had to be conveyed for a mile and a quarter. When they reached the navigable waters above, they discovered their boats to be leaky, and much of their provisions spoiled or greatly damaged. Yet they pushed forward with cheerfulness, for the weather was fine, and the events of every hour gave food to excitement. But the great fatigues and hardships endured, at length made the weak and timid falter; and when the troops arrived at the great carrying-place, twelve miles below the junction of the Dead river and the Kennebec, early in October, sickness and desertion had reduced the number of effective men to about nine hundred and fifty. Here the stream had become so rapid, that the men with the batteaux had waded more than half the time, for many miles, pushing their vessels against the current. Yet the strong kept their spirits, for they were filled with the enthusiasm

of their leader. From this point Lieutenants Steele and Church were sent forward, with a party to explore and clear the portages; and Jakins, a Canadian, was despatched to the French settlements on the Chaudière, to ascertain the political sentiments of the people. Two Indians were sent forward with Jakins to carry letters, one to General Schuyler, on Lake Champlain, and the other to some friend of the cause in Quebec. They betrayed their trusts, for the latter delivered the letter in his charge to the lieutenant-governor of the province, and General Schuyler never received the communication directed to him.

At this great carrying-place, where the portage was fifteen miles, broken by ponds, Arnold examined his muster-roll and commissariat. The troops were generally strong and zealous, and twenty-five days' provisions were in store. The French settlements on the Chaudière, where food might be obtained, he estimated to be at a distance of about ten days' travel. The lovely Indian summer had just commenced, and the forest had the appearance of early September. The future looked encouraging, and with great alacrity the whole expedition moved forward toward Lake Megantic, or Chaudière pond, which Arnold had designated as a general rendezvous before entering Canada.

The nature of the march was such, that order and discipline were out of the question. Every man not engaged in portage, was left to his own judgment in making his way through the woods, while those in charge of the batteaux, baggage, and stores, had a most wearisome labor. A part of the way the vessels were drawn on sleds, by oxen, while the baggage and stores were carried on the shoulders of the men. Over craggy knolls and tangled ravines, through deep morasses, creeks, and ponds, they pursued their way until late in October, when they launched their batteaux on the Dead river. The clear waters of the ponds had furnished them with ample quantities of salmon-trout; and up to this hour there had been no lack of food.

The surface of the Dead river was smooth, and the waters flowed on in a gentle current in the midst of the magnificent forest, now

rendered gorgeous by the brilliant hues imparted to the foliage by nightly frosts. Occasional falls interrupted their progress, by causing short portages, but the labors of the men were far less severe than they had hitherto been. Suddenly the river became rapid, and the monotony of the vast forest was broken by the appearance of a lofty mountain covered with snow. At its foot Arnold encamped three days, and raised the continental flag over his tent. While there, Major Bigelow and a small party ascended the mountain, expecting to see the spires of Quebec from its summit, but they were disappointed. At this place of encampment is now a small hamlet called Flagstaff, in commemoration of the event; and the lofty eminence bears the name of Mount Bigelow, in honor of the gallant major.

A heavy rain commenced falling on the twenty-first, just as the expedition struck their tents and moved forward. It continued with increasing copiousness; and the torrents rushing from the hills swelled the river so suddenly, that it arose eight feet in one night. The flood came roaring down the valley wherein the Americans were encamped, so suddenly and powerfully, that the soldiers had barely time to retreat to their batteaux, before the whole plain was transformed into a lake. Seven boats were overturned, and the provisions in them lost, and others were in imminent peril in the midst of the waters. Only twelve days' provision now remained. They were yet thirty miles from Chaudière pond, and separated from it by a most frightful country over which to travel and convey their baggage and stores. The storm and exposure made many sick. Despondency supplanted cheerfulness in the minds of the troops; and now, for the first time, a dark cloud seemed to be gathering over the expedition.

A council of war was held on the twenty-third of October, when it was resolved to despatch Captain Hanchet and sixty men toward the settlements, with ten days' provisions; and to send the sick and feeble back to Norridgewock, while the healthy should press forward with vigor. Arnold directed Greene and Enos, who were in the rear, to select as many of their best men as they could supply with

fifteen days' provisions, and come on with them, leaving the others to return to Norridgewock. Enos, either through a false construction of the order, or wilful disobedience, returned to Cambridge with his whole division. His appearance there excited the greatest indignation in the continental camp, and he was regarded as a traitor who had deserted his companions and endangered the whole expedition, until a court-martial acquitted him, on the ground that he was short of provisions, and could not procure any in the wilderness. But he had sacrificed the confidence of the people, and he soon afterward left the army.

Meanwhile Arnold, with the remainder of the troops, pressed onward. The cold increased, and the rain changed to snow. Ice formed upon the water in which the men waded, pushing the batteaux through the numerous ponds and marshes in their path at the sources of the Dead river, as they made their way toward Lake Megantic, near the summit of the water-shed between Canada and New England. The records of that march have no parallel in history. "The company were ten miles wading knee deep among alders the greatest part of the way," says a private soldier, in his journal,* "and came to a river which had overflowed the land. We stopped some time, not knowing what to do, and at last were obliged to wade through it, the ground giving way under us at every step. We got on a little knoll of land and went ten miles, where we were obliged to stay, night coming on, and we were all cold and wet; one man fainted in the water with fatigue and cold, but was helped along. We had to wade into the water and chop down trees, and fetch the wood out of the water, after dark, to make a fire to dry ourselves. However, at last we got a fire, and after eating a mouthful of pork, laid ourselves down to sleep round the fire, the water surrounding us close to our heads. If it had rained hard it would have overflowed the place we were in."

Two women, who had followed their husbands in this expedition,

* Journal of James Melvin, a private in Captain Dearborn's company. The original manuscript is in the possession of Mr. John B. Moreau, of the city of New York. It has been annotated by Mr. William J. Davis, and one hundred copies printed for private circulation. The journal continues until August, the following year, the writer then having been seven months in prison, in Canada.

exhibited the greatest fortitude and endurance in this part of the march. "One was the wife of Sergeant Grier," says Henry in his narrative,* "a large, virtuous, and respectable woman." The other was the wife of a common soldier named Warner. "Entering the ponds," says Henry, "and breaking the ice here and there with the butts of our guns, and feet, we were soon waist deep in mud and water. As is generally the case with youths, it came to my mind that a better path might be found than that of the more elderly guide. Attempting this, the water in a trice cooling my armpits, made me gladly return in the file. Now Mrs. Grier had got before me. My mind was humbled yet astonished, at the exertions of this good woman. Her clothes more than waist high, she waded on before me to firm ground. Not one, so long as she was known to us, dared to intimate a disrespectful idea of her."

Such is a faint picture of some of the appalling difficulties of the march upon those bleak and dreary highlands, in the midst of snow and ice. They had passed seventeen falls on their way up from the Kennebec to the highest point of their march. They crossed a portage of four miles, and then entered a small stream that falls into Lake Megantic. On the twenty-eighth of October, Arnold and a large portion of the expedition reached the lake, and encamped on its eastern shore. There they found Lieutenants Steele and Church; also Jakins, who had returned from the French settlements with a favorable report. He had distributed handbills freely, and kindly feelings for the republicans were everywhere expressed.

The voyage down the Chaudière was fearful. Soon after leaving the lake, the current ran with great rapidity, boiling and foaming over a rocky bottom. Without a guide, they were exposed to imminent peril every moment. They lashed their baggage and provisions to the batteaux, and committed themselves to the mercy of the stream. At length they heard the fearful roar of rushing waters, and in a few minutes they were plunging in the midst of

* Judge John Joseph Henry, who died at the close of the last century, was one of the soldiers in this expedition, and left behind him, for the use of his family, a lucid and exceedingly interesting narrative of the hardships and sufferings of that band of heroes. He was then only seventeen years of age.

rapids. Three of the vessels were dashed in pieces upon the rocks, and their contents lost, but every life was preserved. The others succeeded in obtaining safe moorings in shallow estuaries, while the voyagers were busy in rescuing those in the stream.

This apparent misfortune was a mercy in disguise, for had they not been thus checked, they must all have plunged into destruction over a fall just beyond, which was discovered by one of the rescued men. Passing around this fall, with their boats and provisions, they re-entered the river, and for seventy miles encountered cataracts and rapids. At length they all reached Sertigan, the first French settlement, four miles below the mouth of Des Loupis river, in safety. There the people were friendly, and sold provisions freely.

When the immediate wants of his own party were supplied, Colonel Arnold sent back some Canadians and Indians with flour and cattle for the approaching troops. This relief was timely, for famine had seized the parties in the wilderness in its inexorable grasp. Their boats had been broken and their provisions lost in the rocky rapids, and all were at the point of starvation. Their last ox had been slaughtered and eaten three or four days before, and raw roots were now devoured with avidity. Dog's meat was a luxury; and some of the poor sufferers had carefully washed their mooseskin moccasins, and boiled them, with the hope of procuring a little mucilage to appease the sharp tooth of hunger.* To these miserable men the lowing of approaching cattle was sweetest music for it told of hope and comfort. They were relieved; and in the course of a few days they emerged from the forest in detachments, and united at Sertigan.

It was now important for Arnold to communicate with General Montgomery. He had formed a very favorable opinion of young Burr, who, under every circumstance in the wilderness, had dis-

* Captain Dearborn (who arose to the rank of colonel in the continental army, and was the commander-in-chief of the land forces of the United States at the opening of the war of 1812) said, in a letter to Reverend William Allen, the American biographer, "My dog was very large and a great favorite. I gave him up to several men of Captain Goodrich's company, and killed and divided him among those who were suffering most severely from hunger. They ate every part of him, not excepting his entrails." This circumstance is mentioned in the journal of Melvin, from which we have just quoted.

played cool courage, indomitable perseverance and energy, and great discretion. He had accompanied Arnold and his party to Sertigan; and thence the leader despatched him across the country with a verbal message for Montgomery.

Burr disguised himself as a young Roman catholic priest, and first presented himself to the parish head at Sertigan. His knowledge of Latin and smattering of French enabled him to converse well, and the reverend father received him kindly and cordially. Very soon perceiving that the priesthood and the laity were discontented with British rule, Burr frankly avowed his mission. The good father, regarding him as a mere child (for he was very small in stature and effeminate in feature) tried to dissuade him from attempting the perilous journey. Finding him resolute and unflinching, the priest gave him his blessing, and furnished him with a confidential guide. He was passed from one religious family to another, and reached Montgomery, at Montreal, in safety, at about the middle of November. With great clearness he laid before the general the character, condition, and intentions of the expedition under Arnold. Montgomery had already been informed, through intercepted letters, of Arnold's approach to the St. Lawrence, but this was the first direct communication that he had received from him. He was charmed by the manner, intelligence, and enthusiasm of the messenger, and invited Burr to remain at headquarters. He did so, and was with the noble Montgomery at the siege of Quebec, as his aid-de-camp.

At Sertigan Arnold was joined by about forty Norridgewock Indians, under the famous Natanis and his brother Sabatis;* and, on the third of November, facing a snow-storm, the little army (reduced to about eight hundred men) and their allies started for the St. Lawrence. The fine valley of the Chaudière lay before

* Natanis had been considered an enemy to the Americans, and Arnold had given orders to his advanced party to kill or capture him, because, it was averred, he had been employed by Governor Carleton as a spy. But he was a friend, and when he deserted his cabin in the wilderness, for fear of death at the hands of the Americans, he left a rude map of the river and route toward Canada, drawn upon birch bark. Natanis kept not far from the expedition all the way down the Chaudière, and at Sertigan ventured to come forward. He was wounded in the siege of Quebec, and was made a prisoner. This was the first time that Indians were actually employed in military service, by the Americans, in the war for independence.—Drake's Book of the Indians.

them, filled with friendly inhabitants and abundance of provisions; and the troops marched forward in fine spirits, in expectation of glory speedily to be won by victory at Quebec. Arnold scattered the printed addresses judiciously; and his troops implicitly obeyed the instructions given by Washington to their leader, concerning their deportment toward the Canadians. Everything received from the inhabitants was promptly paid for, and the people rendered aid in return with a hearty good will. A few years ago (1848), when the writer visited that section, many of the old *habitans* were yet living in the beautiful valley, and spoke very highly of "the good Bostonians," whose passage through their country was remembered as one of the greatest events in the quiet lives of those isolated and simple people. Some of the families preserved orders for food, signed by Arnold.

On the ninth of November, Arnold and his followers arrived at Point Levi, opposite Quebec, in the midst of falling snow, after one of the most wonderful marches on record, during almost two months. They had travelled more than three hundred miles, most of the time in a gloomy wilderness. For thirty-two days they did not meet a human being, and elements of destruction menaced them on every side. Their preservation seemed like a miracle. Their existence and endeavors in the wilderness had been made known in Quebec, by the Indian traitor, but no one believed they would ever reach the St. Lawrence at that late season of the year. Lieutenant-Governor Cramahé laughed at the idea of such an invasion, yet he exercised a wise prudence in having all boats kept on the Quebec side of the river. Nobody expected the provincials, and when, quite early in the morning, the little army stood behind the snow-vail upon the heights above Point Levi, they appeared like spectres to the startled inhabitants. Some fled across the river in canoes and gave the alarm. The drums immediately beat to arms in the city, for the fears of those who came with the stirring message, had greatly magnified the number and character of the invaders. By a mistake in a single word, the alarm of the people was much increased, for the news spread that the mysterious army, that had

descended from the wilderness, were clad in sheet-iron! Morgan's riflemen, with their linen frocks, had first been seen, and the Canadians said they were *vêtu en toile*—clothed in linen cloth. The last word was changed to *tôle*—iron plate—and this was the mistake that produced such a fearful panic.

In the midst of a fierce storm, and in the presence of a strong-walled town, with disciplined soldiers within it, Arnold wrote cheerily to Montgomery, declaring his intention to cross the St. Lawrence to attack the enemy, in spite of the "Hunter sloop and Lizard frigate," that lay in the stream to intercept him. And with brief words, he congratulated Montgomery on his victory at St. John, intelligence of which had just reached Arnold, by an express sent by the former.

Many of the survivors of this expedition afterward became eminent men. Arnold was a major-general, but fell like "Lucifer, son of the morning." Burr became an accomplished soldier, and vice-president of the United States. Samuel Spring, the chaplain of the corps, became a beloved doctor of divinity; Daniel Morgan was an honored brigadier-general, whose memory will ever remain green; Dearborn was a colonel in the old war for independence, and the commander-in-chief in that of 1812; and Return J. Meigs was commissioned a colonel, and with Febiger, the gallant Dane (who was in this expedition), he did noble service at Stony Point and elsewhere. Matthias Ogden became an eminent civilian in New Jersey; Christopher Greene nobly defended Fort Mercer, and suffered martyrdom in the cause of Freedom a little later; and Porterfield, the gallant Virginia captain, fell in battle at Camden, with the immortal De Kalb. Others less conspicuous, but no less deserving, as brave men and zealous patriots, lived to fight on during the long struggle of the revolted colonists.

CHAPTER LIX.

MONTGOMERY DETERMINES TO TAKE MONTREAL—UNEASINESS ABOUT ARNOLD—FRESH INSUBORDINATION—MARCH AGAINST MONTREAL—FLIGHT OF CARLETON AND GARRISON—INTERCEPTED AND CAPTURED BY EASTON—MONTGOMERY VICTOR AT MONTREAL—HEARS FROM ARNOLD—CARLETON'S ESCAPE—ARNOLD BEFORE QUEBEC—CROSSES THE RIVER AND SCALES THE HEIGHTS OF ABRAHAM—SENTIMENTS OF THE PEOPLE—INEFFECTUAL ATTEMPTS TO TAKE THE CITY—RETIRES TO POINT AUX TREMBLES—MONTGOMERY'S VEXATIONS AT MONTREAL—DESERTION OF NEW ENGLAND TROOPS—SCHUYLER AND MONTGOMERY TALK OF RESIGNING—CORRESPONDENCE WITH WASHINGTON—JUNCTION OF THE FORCES UNDER MONTGOMERY AND ARNOLD—THEIR ARRIVAL AT QUEBEC.

It was on the same day when Arnold left Sertigan in a snow-storm for the St. Lawrence, that Montgomery's victory at St. John was consummated, by the formal surrender of that post into his hands, in the light of an unclouded sun. That commander, always active and vigilant as well as brave, resolved to secure the advantages he had gained, by pushing on toward Montreal, hoping to have the co-operation of Arnold below, in effecting its capture. This would not only be an important victory in itself, but it would have such an effect upon the Canadians, that Quebec, holding as it did many friends of the Americans, might become an easy conquest.

When Montgomery first heard of Arnold's appointment, he felt some uneasiness, in anticipation of his insisting upon an independent leadership. On the twenty-fourth of September he asked, in a letter to General Schuyler, "Should Arnold come in my neighborhood, has he orders to put himself under my command?" "*You know his ambition,*" he continued; "and I need not point out the bad consequences of a separate command."* This uneasiness was re-

* Autograph Letter.

moved by a letter from Schuyler, written on the thirtieth, in which he said: "When General Washington first informed me that a body of troops was to be sent by the way of Kennebec, I foresaw the necessity of being explicit on the subject of command. And by his of the eighth instant, in answer to mine, he says, 'I shall take care in my instructions to Colonel Arnold, that in case there should be a junction of the detachment with your army, you shall have no difficulty in adjusting the scale of command.'"^{*} In the ninth article of the instructions referred to, Washington, it will be perceived, was very explicit on that point.

Now, when about to penetrate Canada, Montgomery was eager to form a junction with the intrepid leader of the expedition across the wilderness, but no tidings came of his arrival. "Not a word of Arnold yet," he wrote to Schuyler. "I have sent two expresses to him lately, one by an Indian who promised to return with expedition. The instant I have news of him I will acquaint you by express." But he did not tarry and wait upon uncertainties. He issued orders for the troops to march; then the voice of mutiny was again heard. The cold season was near at hand, and the raw troops, unused to the privations of the field, yearned for home, and at first refused to be led further away. But the kind temper, patriotic zeal, and winning eloquence of Montgomery; and a promise that when Montreal should be taken, no further service would be asked of them, won them to obedience, and all but a small garrison left at St. John, pushed on toward Montreal, where Governor Carleton had remained since his repulse at Longueuil.

When Montgomery approached Montreal on the twelfth of November, Carleton, knowing the extreme weakness of the place, and the little dependence to be placed in the loyalty of the French inhabitants, retreated with the garrison, on board a fleet of ten or eleven small vessels lying in the river in front of the town. Perceiving this movement, Montgomery despatched Colonel Easton, with continental troops, cannon, and armed gondolas, to the mouth of the Sorel to intercept these vessels in their passage down the

^{*} Schuyler's Letter Books.

St. Lawrence; and, at the same time he crossed the river from Laprairie. On the following morning he entered Montreal in triumph. He treated the inhabitants humanely, and thus secured their confidence and good will. There he found a large supply of woollen goods, with which he set about clothing a portion of his wretchedly-clad army, and soon those who agreed to follow him further were speedily prepared for the rigors of a Canadian winter. Then, for the first, he was informed, through intercepted letters, of Arnold's arrival in the neighborhood of Quebec; and a day or two afterward, young Burr appeared at headquarters. "I find," wrote Montgomery, "that the king's friends at Quebec are exceedingly alarmed, and expect to be besieged; which, by the blessing of God they shall be, if the severe season holds off, and I can prevail on the troops to accompany me." In the same letter he expressed great uneasiness because of the manifest indisposition of the troops to follow him further. "I make no doubt," he said, "of retaining as many as will hold the ground already gotten; but it is of the utmost importance to finish this business at once, that the ministry may have no hopes left of carrying on their infernal plan in this important quarter."*

Easton and his party reached the Sorel in time to dispute the passage of Carleton's fleet. They were so advantageously posted, with six cannon on shore, and two row-galleys, that the vessels could not pass, and for several days they were kept at bay. Meanwhile Montgomery prepared to attack them with field-pieces in batteaux, but before he could complete his arrangements, the fleet was captured by Easton. General Prescott and several other officers, some members of the Canadian council, and one hundred and twenty private soldiers, with all the vessels and stores, were surrendered by capitulation. But Carleton, whom the Americans were specially anxious to secure, had, under cover of the darkness on the previous night, escaped in a boat rowed by muffled oars, and reached Quebec in safety. The spoils were quite a large quantity of provisions, three barrels of powder, four cannon and artil-

* Autograph Letter, Montreal, November 13, 1775.

lery munitions, a quantity of small arms, balls, musket-cartridges, two hundred pairs of shoes, and some entrenching tools. The prisoners and booty were sent to St. John, and Montgomery, saying, "Until Quebec is taken Canada is unconquered," determined to push on toward that capital to join Arnold in besieging it, despite the increasing inclemency of the season, and the bad conduct of many of his troops.

Arnold, meanwhile, had been very active and daring. He had resolved to cross the river immediately after his arrival at Point Levi, on the ninth, and demand the surrender of Quebec. He had many personal and political friends in the city, and at once found means to communicate his intentions to them, that they might co-operate with him. But the storm that commenced on his arrival increased in violence, and for several days and nights a tempest of wind and sleet raged upon the St. Lawrence.

In the meantime, the troops under the veteran, Maclean, who had fled from the mouth of the Sorel, joined the garrison at Quebec, and Arnold's chances for success were diminished. But he was not discouraged, and when the wind ceased on the evening of the thirteenth, he embarked the first division of his little army in thirty or forty birch canoes that he had procured, and crossed the river a little above the town, unobserved by the British vessels. Before daylight five hundred resolute Americans, with their Indian allies, had safely landed and were gathered at Wolfe's cove, prepared to emulate the heroism of the English army, sixteen years before, by scaling the heights of Abraham, to confront the enemy in the city. One hundred and fifty Americans were yet at Point Levi. It was too late to return for them. No time could be lost without danger to the enterprise, for the garrison would soon be alarmed, and the Plains of Abraham must be reached before the enemy should sally forth. This was accomplished at the first gleam of daylight. Arnold led his men up Wolfe's ravine; and in the gray of early morning, that intrepid band stood upon the heights of Abraham, exposed to keen blasts from the north, yet filled with fiery zeal for the cause in which they were engaged. They were soon joined by their

comrades from Point Levi; and then was presented the strange spectacle of seven hundred and fifty men, without artillery, with almost half their muskets rendered useless, during their march through the wilderness, in the heart of an enemy's country, standing as besiegers before a walled and fortified town! To the superficial observer this would appear like the desperate movement of madmen. It was not so.

The garrison at Quebec, including the regular troops, militia, and marines, was about eighteen hundred strong; quite sufficient to scatter the invaders to the winds, had they all been loyal to the crown. They were not. Most of the leading men in Quebec, and in the surrounding country were disloyally inclined; and the English residents were dissatisfied with the operations of laws that had grown out of the Quebec Act of the previous year. The French citizens and the *habitans* beyond the walls, though petted, so as to be won to a temporary loyalty, could not forget their ancient national animosities, and were willing to see the English discomfited. The unruly conduct of the soldiers had disgusted the people, and some were loud in their complaints against Carleton and his lieutenant, for exposing Quebec, by withdrawing the garrison when Montreal was threatened. The militia, who formed the greater portion of the garrison, sympathized with the people, and were suspected of treasonable proclivities; and the Scotch-Highlanders, under Maclean, were really all that could be relied on by Cramahé. These elements of weakness, well known to Arnold, made him so bold.

Relying upon the friendly disposition of the Canadians, Arnold drew up his men within eight hundred yards of the walls, near the gate of St. Louis, and ordered them to give three cheers, hoping that the regulars would sally out and attack him. In that event, while the gates were unclosed, he intended to rush through, and by the aid of friends within, secure the town. Hundreds of the inhabitants were upon the walls, and many of them huzzaed in return; but the wary Maclean, conscious of the disloyalty that surrounded him, kept the garrison within their secure retreat, quite willing to

leave the bleak winter winds to war upon the invaders. He brought a thirty-two-pound cannon to bear upon the Americans, but not a shot took effect.

Failing in his attempts to draw out the garrison by frequent hostile displays upon the heights, Arnold, in accordance with the grave forms of military usage, performed the ridiculous farce of sending in a flag to Maclean, with a formal summons to surrender, and threatening him with woful disasters if he refused. This excited the regret of his own officers, and the great merriment of the loyalists in the city. Of course no attention was paid to the summons; and Arnold was speedily induced to retire from before Quebec. On the morning of the eighteenth, he made a thorough inspection of his ammunition and stores, and to his great surprise, he found that nearly all the cartridges were spoiled, hardly five rounds to each man being left fit for use. Many of his troops had become sick from exposure and fatigue, and not more than five hundred and fifty men were fit for effective service. At the same time, he was informed that Carleton was approaching Quebec, and that Colonel Maclean was preparing to make a sortie in the course of a day or two. This combination of alarming circumstances caused him to break up his camp on the nineteenth, and retreat to Point aux Trembles, twenty miles above Quebec, there to await the approaching troops under Montgomery.

Carleton had left Point aux Trembles but a few hours before Arnold's arrival there; and shortly afterward the Americans heard the cannonading at Quebec that welcomed the arrival of the governor. On the following day, Arnold despatched a message to Montgomery, by Captain Ogden, informing him of the situation of affairs at Quebec, and suggesting the necessity of employing at least two thousand men in the siege.

Having placed sufficient garrisons at St. John, Chamblée, and Montreal, Montgomery summoned the remainder of his troops to join him in an expedition against Quebec. To his great mortification, he found a large proportion of them indisposed to comply. Some absolutely refused to go further, and became turbulent and

mutinous. Others pleaded sickness; the term of enlistment of many had expired, and they insisted upon returning home; and others, insufficiently clad, made that circumstance an excuse for their refusal. Days, precious days, were consumed in futile endeavors to organize a force sufficient to move forward; and in several of his letters to General Schuyler, Montgomery expressed his mortification because of their being still dated at Montreal. Vexations of every kind harassed and wearied him. He also felt the great responsibility resting upon him, and he yearned for a committee of the continental Congress to be with him as an advisory council, and to exert their influence upon the people of Canada.

Nothing but his patriotic desire to carry out the plans of the campaign, kept Montgomery at the head of the turbulent and unreliable army for an hour. He longed for General Schuyler to come to his relief. "Will not your health permit you to reside at Montreal this winter?" he wrote to his general on the day of the capitulation. "I must go home if I walk by the side of the lake. I am weary of power, and totally want that patience and temper so requisite for such a command." He complained of the coarseness and want of cultivation of many of the inferior officers, and attributed much of the insubordination of the troops, to this fact. "I wish," he wrote, in the same letter, "some method could be fallen upon of engaging *gentlemen* to serve. A point of honor, and more knowledge of the world to be found in that class of men, would greatly reform discipline and render the troops much more tractable."* To this letter Schuyler made a soothing reply, and added a postscript, saying, "It is high time for me to quit this place, as I am lately far from being so well as I have been." His disorders were complicated, and not long afterward he was compelled to retire to his home in Albany.

Montgomery was yet at Montreal on the twenty-fourth of November, unable to move forward, and greatly irritated by an event that caused him to resign. Some of his officers, among whom was

* Autograph Letter.

Captain Lamb, of the artillery, had presumed to remonstrate with him because of his humanity to the British prisoners. "Such an insult," he wrote, "I could not bear, and immediately resigned. However, to-day they qualified by such an apology, as put it in my power to resume the command with some propriety, and I have promised to bury it in oblivion."

Already many of the soldiers had left Montgomery, and made their way up the lake. "I believe you have few of the New England troops left," wrote General Schuyler to him on the eighteenth, from Ticonderoga, "as near three hundred have passed here within these few days, and so very impatient to get home that many have gone from here by land."* To General Washington he wrote, on the twenty-second: "Nothing can surpass the impatience of the troops from the New England colonies to get to their firesides. Near three hundred of them arrived a few days ago, unable to do any duty, but as soon as I administered that grand specific, a *discharge*, they instantly acquired health, and rather than be detained a few days to cross Lake George, they undertook a march from here, of two hundred miles, with the greatest alacrity."† At about the same time, Montgomery wrote, in a letter to Schuyler, from Montreal: "The rascally Green-Mountain Boys have left me in the lurch, after promising to go."

Washington experienced similar trouble with some of the Connecticut troops at Cambridge. He communicated the facts to Governor Trumbull, who replied: "The late extraordinary and

* Schuyler's Letter Books.

† Schuyler's Letter Books. At this time a circumstance occurred at Ticonderoga, which caused much ill feeling toward General Schuyler, among some of the Connecticut troops, who were then at that post. A schooner and row-galley arrived at Crown Point with more than one hundred persons, many of them prisoners, and women and children, from Canada. The ice prevented them from reaching Ticonderoga, and at Crown Point they became destitute of provisions. In this perilous situation they sent an express to General Schuyler, imploring relief. He immediately ordered three captains of Wooster's regiment to proceed with a considerable body of men, in batteaux, to attempt the relief of the sufferers. They manifested great unwillingness to go, and made many frivolous excuses. This display of inhumanity disgusted and irritated the benevolent and high-minded Schuyler, and the next day (the twenty-fifth of November), in general orders, he named the three captains (Porter, Arnold, and Peck), and said: "The general, therefore, not daring to trust a matter of so much importance to men of so little feeling, has ordered Lieutenant Riker, of Colonel Holmes's regiment, to make the attempt. He received the order with the alacrity becoming a gentleman, an officer, and a Christian."—Schuyler's Orderly Book. This was a severe but merited rebuke, and caused much irritation.

reprehensible conduct of some of the troops of this colony impresses me, and the minds of many of our people, with grief, surprise, and indignation; since the treatment they met with, and the order and request made to them, were so reasonable, and apparently necessary for the defence of the common cause, and safety of our rights and privileges, for which they freely engaged."

Sick and feeble as he was, General Schuyler had nobly seconded Montgomery in all his efforts; and his services at Ticonderoga, in forwarding supplies, and as a vigilant medium of communication between the army in Canada, and the continental Congress and Washington, were of the greatest importance. He and Montgomery were high-minded and patriotic. They were skilful tacticians, careful guardians of the public welfare, economical in their management, and exact disciplinarians. Therefore the disorderly spirit manifested by the troops, the peculations of commissaries and others in offices of trust, wastefulness in every department, and the selfishness and sectional jealousy that continually appeared, vexed and annoyed them every hour; and they became so heartily weary of the service, that they expressed a determination to retire to private life at the close of the campaign. "Gentlemen in command," Schuyler wrote to Washington, in the letter above quoted from, "find it very disagreeable to coax, to wheedle, and even to *lie*, to carry on the service. Habituated to order, I can not, without the most extreme pain, see that disregard of discipline, confusion, and inattention, which reigns so generally in this quarter, and I am, therefore, determined to retire. Of this resolution I have advised Congress."*

The value of these officers was well understood by Congress, and by the commander-in-chief. The former entreated General Schuyler not to retire, because it "would deprive America of the benefits of his zeal and abilities, and rob him of the honor of completing the work he had so happily begun;" and they honored Montgomery with a major-general's commission. Washington was much concerned, for he regarded General Schuyler as one of the main

* Schuyler's Letter Books

supports of the continental army, and, on the fifth of December, he wrote to him and said: "I know that your complaints are too well founded; but I would willingly hope that nothing will induce you to quit the service, and that, in time, order and subordination will take the place of confusion, and command be rendered more agreeable.... The cause we are engaged in is so just and righteous, that we must try to rise superior to every obstacle in its support; and, therefore, I beg that you will not think of resigning, unless you have carried your application to Congress too far to recede."

A fortnight later Washington wrote to General Schuyler and said: "Let me ask you, sir, when is the time for brave men to exert themselves in the cause of liberty and their country, if this is not? Should any difficulties that they have to encounter at this important crisis deter them? God knows there is not a difficulty that you both very justly complain of, which I have not, in an eminent degree, experienced, that I am not every day experiencing; but we must bear up against them, and make the best of mankind as they are, since we can not have them as we wish. Let me, therefore, conjure you and Mr. Montgomery to lay aside such thoughts—thoughts injurious to yourselves, and extremely so to your country, which calls aloud for gentlemen of your abilities."*

This appeal was more than sufficient. On the fifth of January, Schuyler replied: "I do not hesitate a moment to answer my dear general's question in the affirmative, by declaring, that now or never is the time for every virtuous American to exert himself in the cause of liberty and his country, and that it becomes a duty cheerfully to sacrifice the sweets of domestic felicity, to attain the honest and glorious end America has in view; and I can, with a good conscience, declare, that I have devoted myself to the service of my country, in the firmest resolution to sink or swim with it." Then, anticipating the question, "Why, then, do you wish to retire from public office?" General Schuyler unburdened his full heart in the confidence of brother with brother, and said: "I have already informed you of the disagreeable situation I have been in

* Sparks's Life and Writings of Washington, iii., 209.

during the campaign, but I would waive that were it not that it has chiefly arisen from prejudice and jealousy, for I could point out particular persons of rank in the army, who have frequently declared that the general commanding in this quarter ought to be of the colony whence the majority of the troops come. But it is not from the opinion or principles of individuals that I have drawn the following conclusion: *that troops from the colony of Connecticut will not bear with a general from another colony.* It is from the daily and common conversation of all ranks of people from that colony, both in and out of the army; and I assure you, that I sincerely lament that a people of so much public virtue should be actuated by such an unbecoming jealousy, founded on such a narrow principle—a principle extremely unfriendly to our righteous cause.”*

This sectional jealousy which has ever been the bane of perfect union in our republic, was the chief cause of many serious difficulties during the earlier years of the war, and at times, threatened the utter defeat of many well-planned measures of the revolted colonists. All of the leading men in the army were subjected to its baneful effects, and none more frequently and pressingly than Washington and Schuyler. The correspondence of these great and pure men abounds with evidences of such annoyance, and unfolds to the student of the history of that period, much of the true philosophy by which events, to be understood, must be examined, analyzed, and explained. And this brief digression has been made for the purpose of giving the reader a clue to otherwise inexplicable circumstances which we shall hereafter consider. We will now resume the narrative.

With the remnant of his army, that had been thoroughly worn out of the turbulent and mutinous, Montgomery sailed from Montreal at the close of November, on board the flotilla captured by Easton, leaving General Wooster in the chief command of the posts that were behind him. On the first of December he joined Arnold, at Point aux Trembles, and took the command of the combined forces, amounting, in all, to about nine hundred men

* Schuyler's Letter Books

only. Those with Montgomery were chiefly New-Yorkers, including Lamb's artillery. He was able to supply Arnold's half-naked troops with clothing; and, on the day after the junction, they all started, on foot, for Quebec, in the face of a driving snow-storm. Their march was slow and extremely fatiguing, for the roads soon became filled with deep drifts, through which they were compelled to drag the artillery. But they overcame every obstacle, and on the morning of the fifth, the little army beheld Quebec. Before night they were all comfortably quartered in houses, in the suburb St. Roque, near the Intendant's palace, close by the St. Charles. Montgomery made his headquarters at Holland house, on the road leading to the church of St. Foi, and Arnold occupied a dwelling near Scott's bridge, that spanned the St. Charles.

Montgomery at once made diligent inquiries respecting the fortifications of the town, the strength and character of the garrison, the disposition of the inhabitants, and the means for supplying the wants of his army. The information obtained convinced him, that with his handful of men, an investment of the city was out of the question. He, therefore, contemplated and adopted other plans.

CHAPTER LX.

WASHINGTON AND THE CANADA EXPEDITIONS—SCHUYLER'S ILLNESS—MONTGOMERY AND WOOSTER—WOOSTER'S NOBLE CONDUCT—BRITISH SQUADRON SAILS FROM BOSTON—CANADIANS TO BE CONCILIATED—WASHINGTON'S ANTICIPATIONS OF SUCCESS IN CANADA—THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC—EFFORTS AND PLANS—AN ASSAULT ON THE CITY—DEATH OF MONTGOMERY—BRAVERY OF ARNOLD'S TROOPS—AMERICANS DEFEATED—HONORS TO GENERAL MONTGOMERY—RELATIVE POSITION OF THE BELLIGERENTS.

FROM his camp at Cambridge, where he was compelled by circumstances to be comparatively inactive, Washington had watched the movements of these two expeditions into Canada with the liveliest interest and anxiety, especially after Arnold left the Kennebec. In view of his departure, the commander-in-chief called upon Governor Trumbull to send on reinforcements to supply the place of Arnold's detachment; and he directed General Wooster, then with a small force of Connecticut troops on Long Island, to join General Schuyler on Lake Champlain, saying in his letter, that that officer was "engaged in a service of the greatest importance to the whole continent, his strength and appointments being far short of his expectations." Wooster obeyed, and on the twenty-eighth of September he embarked, with his battalion, for Albany.

A month later the illness of General Schuyler gave Washington some apprehensions respecting the command of the troops in the northern department. As Wooster was the eldest brigadier, Washington thought he would take rank and command of Montgomery, and this he deprecated. Wooster was an old man, and lacked the necessary activity to conduct and push through a campaign like the one in progress. Washington expressed his apprehensions on that point to General Schuyler, and said: "I am, therefore, much

alarmed for Arnold, whose expedition was built upon yours, and who will infallibly perish, if the invasion and entry into Canada are abandoned by your successors." Fortunately, by the appointment of Putnam over Wooster, and other changes, the former ranked one degree lower than Montgomery; and to prevent all chances for disputes, Schuyler had resolved to keep Wooster at Ticonderoga and send his regiment forward.

Wooster had complained of the appointment of Putnam over him, and his inferior position on the list of generals; and his officers and men, considering that he had been unjustly dealt with, sympathized with him in his complaints, and refused to proceed without him.* This embarrassed Schuyler, and he wrote to Wooster to know on what ground he considered himself to stand. Wooster made a noble and patriotic reply, in which he said: "I shall consider my rank in the army what my commission from the continental Congress makes it, and shall not attempt to dispute the command with General Montgomery at St. John. You may depend, sir, that I shall exert myself as much as possible to promote the strictest union and harmony among both officers and soldiers, and use every means in my power to give success to the expedition."† This determination was communicated to Washington, and gave him great satisfaction. "I much approve your conduct in regard to Wooster," he wrote. "My fears are at an end, as he acts in a subordinate character. Intimate this to General Montgomery, with my congratulations on his success, and the seasonable supply of powder [taken at Chamblée], and wishes that his next letter may be dated from Montreal." At the same time, Washington expressed his great anxiety to hear from Arnold.

Early in October Washington was informed that a small British squadron, bearing six hundred men, had left Boston and sailed northeastward. It was at first supposed that its destination was the destruction of New England coast towns, as the ships bore mor-

* The officers and men under Wooster had already refused to sign the articles of war sent out by the continental Congress, and would only be governed by the militia laws of Connecticut.--Autograph Letter of Wooster to Schuyler

† Autograph Letter

tars and howitzers; but finally, it became apparent that Quebec was the point for which the squadron had sailed. This conclusion gave Washington uneasiness, for such a reinforcement of the garrison at Quebec before the arrival of Montgomery and Arnold, might be fatal to the whole scheme against Canada. He, therefore, waited anxiously for letters from Arnold, but these were much delayed after the expedition left Lake Megantic, because they were sent by way of Montreal, St. John, and Ticonderoga.

At length encouraging intelligence came from both Montgomery and Arnold; and, on the nineteenth of November, Washington expressed, in a letter to Congress, anticipations of precisely what did occur. "It is likely," he said, "that Governor Carleton will, with what force he can collect, after the surrender of the rest of Canada, throw himself into Quebec, and there make his last effort." On the twenty-seventh he wrote joyfully to Richard Henry Lee, and said: "I heartily congratulate you and the Congress on the reduction of St. John. I hope all Canada is in our possession before this. Would it not be politic to invite them [Canadians] to send members to Congress? Would it not be also politic to raise a regiment or two in Canada, and bring them out of the country?"

These measures had already been provided for by Congress, in their instructions to a committee, appointed by that body to proceed to the northern department and confer with General Schuyler. And both Washington and Congress had been anticipated by Montgomery, who, on the day when he entered Montreal as victor, said to the people: "I hope to see such a provincial convention assembled as would enter with zeal into every measure that could contribute to set the civil and religious rights of this and its sister colonies on a permanent foundation." In this, Montgomery was ably seconded by Mr. Price, a merchant of Montreal, who was very active in affording substantial aid to the troops; and, in the spring, that gentleman was appointed deputy commissary-general of the army in Canada.

Early in December, while everything wore a gloomy aspect at Cambridge, Washington was still cheered by intelligence from

Montgomery and Arnold, the former having taken Montreal, and the latter then menacing Quebec. The same intelligence from the North that pleased Washington, alarmed General Howe, at Boston. On hearing of the fall of St. John and Montreal, he wrote to Lord Dartmouth, and expressed his apprehensions that the whole province would speedily fall into the hands of the invaders; and he recommended the fitting out of twelve thousand men for the recovery of it.

On the fifth of December, the day when the combined forces of Montgomery and Arnold reached Quebec, Washington wrote to Schuyler and said: "It gave me the highest satisfaction to hear of Colonel Arnold's being at Point Levi, with his men in great spirits, after their long and fatiguing march.... The merit of this gentleman is certainly great, and I heartily wish that fortune may distinguish him as one of her favorites. I am convinced that he will do everything that prudence and valor shall suggest, to add to the success of our arms, and for reducing Quebec to our possession."

To Colonel Arnold he wrote on the same day: "It is not in the power of any man to command success, but you have done more, you have deserved it; and before this time, I hope, you will have met with the laurels which are due to your toils, in the possession of Quebec. My thanks are due, and sincerely offered to you, for your enterprising and persevering spirit.... I have no doubt but a junction of your detachment with the army under General Montgomery is effected before this. If so, you will put yourself under his command, and will, I am persuaded, give him all the assistance in your power to finish the glorious work you have begun. That the Almighty may preserve and prosper you, is my sincere and fervent prayer."

Finally, on the last day of the year—the day when the Americans stormed Quebec, when all was gloom at Cambridge because of the uncertainty respecting a new organization of the army that was to take place the following day, Washington received cheering news from the North, brought by Captain Freeman, who came directly from the camp before Quebec. He represented the Ameri-

cans as about two thousand strong, while Carleton had only about twelve hundred men, "the majority of these sailors;" and that it was his opinion, that the French would give up the place if they could get the same conditions that were granted to the inhabitants of Montreal. This was pleasant intelligence, but it proved deceptive. Hope told a flattering tale. Almost the next news from the North came in the accents of a voice of wail, for brave men had fallen, and Quebec stood firm against the efforts of the invaders.

Governor Carleton's arrival at Quebec was opportune for the royal cause in that quarter, and Colonel Maclean and other loyalists hailed him with pleasure. Notwithstanding his personal unpopularity, especially with the merchants and other business men, because of his habitual coldness of manner, and his preference for military society, in this hour of danger they felt great confidence in his skill, judgment, prudence, and courage. Carleton well knew the disloyalty that surrounded him, and his first measure was to expel from the city all persons suspected of the least disaffection. Very many left; and while enemies within, who were more to be dreaded than enemies without, were thus deprived of power to do harm, there were many less mouths in the city to fill. This would have been a consideration of great importance, if a competent force had protracted the siege, and cut off supplies from the country.

On the day of his arrival at Quebec, Montgomery despatched a flag to Carleton with a formal summons to surrender. In violation of the rules of honorable warfare, the flag was fired upon, and not permitted to approach the walls. At length Montgomery sent in a letter, by a woman, in which he magnified the number and appointments of his army, demanded an immediate surrender, and threatened the city with the calamities of assault and pillage in the event of Carleton's refusal. By the same messenger he sent letters to leading citizens, promising every indulgence in the event of their immediate submission. The brave governor was not easily frightened, notwithstanding he believed the Americans to be much more numerous than they really were. He well knew that the presence of himself and the troops would keep the friends of the

Americans in the city, on whom Montgomery placed great reliance, very quiet, and, therefore, he did not fear the operation of secret treason. He knew the strength of his defences, and the perils of the elements to which the invaders were exposed outside the walls. Carefully and wisely measuring his chances, Carleton calculated on a successful resistance, and spurned the summons of Montgomery.

The prospect for the Americans appeared extremely unpromising. With a feeble, ill-clad, and ill-fed army, exposed to the severest frosts in the open fields; with no other ordnance than a field-train of artillery and a few mortars; with scanty intrenching tools, and the ground hard frozen to a great depth, the American commander almost despaired of success. Yet his brave heart and generous spirit would not yield, and he resolved to force the people and garrison into a surrender by annoyances. Accordingly, he commenced the erection of a breastwork of ice, within four hundred yards of the walls, in front of St. Louis gate, by arranging gabions (large cylindrical baskets of wicker-work) abreast, filled with snow, upon which water was poured until the whole became a mass of solid ice. This was a severe labor, and was not completed until the fifteenth, when Captain Lamb mounted five field-pieces and a howitzer upon the glittering embankment, and opened a cannonade and bombardment. Several mortars were also placed in the suburb St. Roque; and for five successive days and nights the garrison and citizens were terribly harassed. The guns were too light to make any impression upon the walls, but the bombs set the town on fire in several places. At length heavy balls hurled from the British fortress, shattered the brittle breastworks of the Americans into atoms, and the ice-battery was withdrawn.

Almost three weeks had been consumed in ineffectual attempts to make an entrance or compel a surrender. Mutinous murmurs became audible in the camp; the term of enlistment of many of the men was nearly expired, and the small-pox appeared among the soldiers. Something effectual must be done speedily, or the army would dissolve and utter failure would ensue. Montgomery, perceiving the fearful web of difficulties that was gathering around

him, conceived a bold plan. Mr. Price, of Montreal, and Mr. Antill, of the same place (whom Montgomery appointed engineer, with the rank of captain), had expressed a belief, that if the Americans could obtain possession of the lower town, the merchants and other wealthy citizens would induce Carleton to surrender, rather than expose all their property to destruction. A council-of-war was called, and the general's plan (which he had already communicated to Wooster, at Montreal, by letter on the sixteenth) was laid before it. He proposed to detach one third of the troops, on the first night when a strong northwest wind should be blowing, to set fire to houses in the lower town, at such a point as to insure a communication of the flames to a stockade recently erected, on a rock overlooking the suburb St. Roque, and in the confusion to force the barrier, rush in, and, by aid of the friendly inhabitants, take possession. At the same time, another detachment was to attempt the bastion at Cape Diamond by *escalade*.

This plan was approved by the council, but its execution was delayed by dissensions among some of the officers, fomented at that time, as Montgomery intimated in a letter to Schuyler, by Major Brown, who had quarrelled with Arnold at Ticonderoga, and nurtured in his bosom a viperous feud.* Arnold had used harsh language toward Captain Hanchett before their arrival at Point Levi, on account of alleged misconduct of the latter; and two other captains (Goodrich and Hubbard), took sides with Hanchet. When Brown heard of this, after the junction at Point aux Trembles, he seems to have made it an occasion for annoying Arnold, by widening the breach, and endeavoring to seduce the three malcontents from their leader's command to his own. He was so far successful, that when Montgomery gave directions for carrying out his plan, the three captains and their companies threatened to leave the army unless they were detached from Arnold's corps. Montgomery

* In this letter, dated the twenty-sixth of December, Montgomery mentioned these difficulties, and said: "I am much afraid my friend Major Brown is deeply concerned in this business. I will have an éclaircissement with him on the subject. I will, hereafter, acquaint you more particularly with this matter." This was the last letter General Montgomery ever wrote to General Schuyler and that further information "hereafter" was never given.

refused compliance with their demand. His wisdom and firmness soon restored order, and he waited with impatience for a propitious moment to attempt the execution of his scheme. Everything was properly prepared for the service. A forlorn hope of forty men were, at his own request, placed under the charge of young Burr (who was now Montgomery's aid, with the rank of captain), ladders for the *escalade* were prepared, and Burr thoroughly drilled the men for the perilous duty. Every night that young subaltern reconnoitred the place of intended attack, and made himself fully acquainted with every foot of the locality and its surroundings.

A movement of the garrison convinced Montgomery that his plans had been revealed to Carleton by some deserters, who had fled from his camp and taken refuge in the city, and he changed it. Colonel Livingston was to make a feigned attack on St. Louis gate, and set it on fire, and at the same time Brown was to menace Cape Diamond bastion. Arnold, with three hundred and fifty of his hardy followers, and forty of Lamb's artillery company, was to assail the works in the suburb St. Roque, while Montgomery, with the remainder, was to pass below Cape Diamond bastion, carry the defences at the base of the declivity, endeavor to press forward and form a junction with Arnold. Being thus in possession of the lower town, the combined force was to carry Prescott gate, at the lower end of Mountain street, and rush into the city.

At two o'clock in the morning of the thirty-first of December, the little army took the respective stations preparatory to the attack. The New York regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and a part of Easton's militia, paraded at Holland house, when Montgomery took the immediate command of them. Arnold's detachment and Lamb's artillery paraded at Morgan's quarters; and the small corps of Livingston and Brown formed at their respective parade-grounds. At five o'clock, the hour appointed for moving to the attack, Montgomery and his detachment descended Wolfe's ravine from the Plains of Abraham, and advanced along the St. Lawrence toward the present Champlain street, under Cape Diamond, and Brown made the feigned attack on the bastion

upon its brow, at the proper moment. Arnold, at the same time, advanced from the general hospital around the north side of the town by the St. Charles. Snow was falling fast, and a furious wind was piling it in such frightful drifts, that the progress of the troops, in both quarters, was very slow.

At the narrowest point between the cliff and the river, under Cape Diamond, the British had a battery of three-pounders, loaded with grape-shot, placed in the upper story of a strong blockhouse. This battery was in charge of a captain of Canadian militia, with thirty-eight men; and nine seamen, under Captain Barnsfare, master of a transport, were there to work the guns. In front of this was a strong palisade, extending from the steep precipice of slate to the edge of the river, and with the battery, offered effectual resistance to attack, except by surprise. This Montgomery attempted. In the face of the blinding storm, he cautiously led his troops in the darkness, over masses of broken ice thrown up from the river by the wind and current; and with his own hands he assisted in sawing off some of the pickets, so as to admit his men to the narrow pass leading to the blockhouse.

Convinced that the enemy were not on the alert, for all was silent in front, and that the surprise would be complete and successful, Montgomery placed himself at the head of his troops, and shouting, "Men of New York, you will not fear to follow where your general leads—march on!" rushed boldly forward to capture the battery. But vigilant ears and eyes had observed these movements. The day was faintly dawning when the first barrier was passed, and through the dim light and drifting snow, Barnsfare had watched the approach of the Americans. When they rushed forward, and were within forty paces, he gave the word, the matches were applied, and a storm of grape-shot swept the approaching column with terrible effect. Montgomery and his aid (Captain McPherson), and almost every other man in the narrow pass, were instantly killed; and Captain Cheesman, of the New York troops, was mortally wounded, and died almost immediately. The remainder of the troops, appalled at the dreadful scene, and the loss of

their general, fled in confusion back toward Wolfe's cove, where Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, the quartermaster-general, took the command, but made no further attempts to force a junction with Arnold. For ten minutes that little battery belched its iron hail in the dim space, but after the first discharge there was no enemy there to slaughter.

While these events were transpiring, Arnold was pressing along the St. Charles, at the head of his detachment. The snow was deeply drifted, and they were compelled to march in single file. Arnold was at the head of a forlorn hope of twenty-five men, accompanied by his secretary, Captain Oswald,* and followed by Lamb's company of artillery dragging a field-piece on a sledge. Next to these were a party with ladders and other scaling implements, followed by Morgan and his riflemen; and in the rear of all followed the main body. They passed through the suburb St. Roque, and approached a picketed two-gun battery, at a narrow pass below a projecting crag of the promontory (now the street called *Saint au Matelot*), without being discovered. But just as Arnold, with the advance, entered the narrow pass leading to the battery, they were observed by the sentinels, and the whole detachment were exposed to an enfilading fire from the walls of the town, and pickets of the barrier. Livingston had failed to make the feigned attack upon St. Louis gate, and, therefore, the attention of the enemy was not drawn off from Arnold's movements.

The snow-drifts had now become almost impassable, and the field-

* Oswald was afterward a meritorious artillery officer, and rose to the rank of colonel. The impression has generally prevailed, that Aaron Burr was with Montgomery when he fell, he being one of his aids; and common tradition, under the guise of history, has made him the bearer of Montgomery's body away from the place of his death, in the retreat that immediately followed. A paragraph in Colonel Arnold's letter, written from the general hospital during the progress of the contest by his detachment, appears to show that Burr was with *him*. We have seen that the plan of scaling Cape Diamond bastion, to be attempted by Burr, at the head of a forlorn hope, was abandoned: and then, no doubt, Burr preferred to join Arnold, as a volunteer in the siege, because of his bold and more reckless character, which was in unison with the feelings of the young subaltern. Arnold says, in his letter to Wooster: "The last accounts from my detachment, about ten minutes since, they were pushing for the lower town. Their communication with me was cut off.... The loss of my detachment before I left it, was about twenty men killed and wounded. Among the latter is Major Ogden [Burr's friend], who, with Captain Oswald, Captain Burr, and the other volunteers, behaved extremely well." The only fair inference to be drawn from these words is, that Burr was with Arnold's division

piece became so firmly imbedded that it could not be dragged further. Notice of this impediment was sent to Arnold, and, meanwhile, the artillery company, and the corps prepared for an *escalade*, halted, the latter having orders to keep in the rear of the former. The fiery Morgan, perceiving in an instant what disasters must follow a strict obedience of orders in this case, commanded the scalers to move forward. The artillery company opened for them to pass, and Morgan and his riflemen followed.* They reached the narrow pass just as Arnold and the forlorn hope rushed forward to attack the barrier.

Before Arnold reached the battery he was shot through the right leg, near the knee, with a musket-ball, which completely disabled him, and he was borne away to the general hospital. As he was carried back, he ordered Lamb to abandon his field-piece, and to lead forward his company armed with muskets and bayonets, to co-operate with the forlorn hope, left in command of Captain Oswald. When he reached the hospital Arnold heard of the death of Montgomery, and, although writhing with pain, and faint from loss of blood, he immediately wrote to Wooster, at Montreal, detailing the events of the morning connected with his division, and expressing his determination to give up the command to Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, on account of the severity of his wound.

The command of Arnold's division now devolved on Morgan. When the assailants were close under the muzzles of the battery, it belched forth a volley of grape-shot, and with them came a shower of musket-balls. Only one American was killed, and in less than two minutes the terrible effects of the precision of Morgan's riflemen caused the enemy to abandon the barrier, and flee in confusion to the next, which commanded both *Saut au Matelot* and St. Peter's streets.

The Americans instantly forced the first barrier, and just at dawn, attacked the second. The defences there extended from the cliff to the river, and the present (1858) customhouse, then a private dwelling, had cannon projecting from the wings of the

* Leake's Life and Times of General Lamb, page 129.

gable. There a fierce contest ensued, which lasted three hours, and many were killed on both sides. The Americans at length drove the British from their guns, and captured the battery. By a grape-shot hurled at the last discharge of the cannon, Captain Lamb was severely wounded in the cheek, and was borne off senseless; and other officers were more or less injured. The success at the battery inspirited the troops; and Morgan, full of hope, was prepared to rush into the town, when disastrous intelligence came. Captain Dearborn had been stationed near Palace gate, in the rear, and was discovered by the sentinels at daylight, just as the news of the death of Montgomery and the retreat of Campbell reached Carleton. That officer, relieved by the intelligence, immediately despatched a considerable force in the city toward the suburb St. Roque. They rushed out of Palace gate, surprised and captured Dearborn and his corps, and completely cut off the party under Morgan. Intelligence of this event and of the disasters at Cape Diamond reached Morgan at the same time. Surrounded by foes who were strongly armed and more strongly defended, that brave leader felt compelled to yield, and he and his whole command, four hundred and twenty-six in number, were surrendered prisoners-of-war. The remainder of Arnold's divisions, who were in the rear, retreated, in expectation of immediate pursuit. They left behind them the field-piece, and also some mortars at a small battery on the borders of St. Roque.

In this engagement the Americans lost, in killed and wounded, about one hundred and sixty men. The British loss was only about twenty men. Still suspicious of the loyalty of many of the citizens, Carleton thought it prudent not to pursue. He was content to feel that Quebec was yet spared to the crown, and in comparative security; and he resolved to await reinforcements in the spring, before taking measures to expel the republicans from the province. He treated the American prisoners with the greatest humanity and kindness. The officers were confined in the Seminary, one of the oldest literary institutions in Quebec; and, on the second of January, Major Meigs, one of the prisoners, was sent out

to the American camp to procure the baggage belonging to the captives.

Carleton, Cramahé, Major Caldwell, and other officers in Quebec, were much affected by the death of Montgomery. They had all been his fellow-soldiers in the old war, and were with him in the battle under Wolfe, when the English took Quebec in 1759. Montgomery was loved by the army then for his generous spirit and manly virtues. Now, as soon as hostilities had ceased, Carleton sent out a detachment to search for the body of his old comrade. Those of fourteen Americans were found in the drifts, and with them Montgomery's orderly sergeant, who was dreadfully wounded, but was yet alive. He was conveyed with the slain to the guard-house in the city, where he died an hour afterward, persisting until the last, that his general was not killed. For several hours Carleton was uncertain concerning that event. At length one of Arnold's officers, among the captives, recognised the body of the hero; when Carleton, with streaming eyes, pronounced a touching eulogium over it. Cramahé took charge of the remains, and attended to their burial within the fortifications of the town, where they remained forty-two years. They were then conveyed to the city of New York, and deposited beneath a mural monument on the front of St. Paul's church, which was erected by order of Congress.

Intelligence of Montgomery's death went over the country like the tolling of a funeral bell, and everywhere public honors were paid to his memory. The continental Congress testified its respect by decreeing the erection of a monument in his honor; and the eloquent voices of Chatham, Burke, and Barré, sounded his praise in the British house of commons. North, the prime-minister, acknowledged his worth, while reprobating the cause in which he fell, and said with emphasis, "Curse on his virtues, they have undone his country." Montgomery died in the prime of young manhood, at the age of little more than thirty-seven years.

Colonel Arnold succeeded Montgomery in temporary command at Quebec, and was soon promoted to the rank of brigadier. He could muster only about eight hundred men; and feeling insecure

in his camp under the walls of the city, he withdrew about three miles, intrenched himself as well as he could, and assumed the attitude of a blockade, hoping and intending to cut off supplies for the garrison from the country, and by that means to bring the British to a capitulation before the ice should leave the St. Lawrence. "I have no thought," he wrote, "of leaving this proud town until I enter it in triumph. I am in the way of my duty, and I know no fear." Yet he had some fears concerning the fate of his little army. "Everything remains quiet here at present," he wrote to Wooster. "I believe the enemy dare not venture out, though they threaten it. I pray God they may not, for we are in a miserable condition to receive them." He adds: "Some of the country people came in to our assistance. In general they appear friendly and concerned for us. Many offer to join us who have no arms."*

In this relative position the belligerents at Quebec remained until April, when General Wooster, who had been inactive all winter at Montreal, came down with reinforcements, and being superior in rank to Arnold, took the chief command.

* Autograph Letter.

CHAPTER LXI.

CONDITION OF THE ARMY AT CAMBRIDGE—WASHINGTON'S ANXIETIES—COUNCIL OF WAR CALLED—AN ATTACK ON THE ENEMY PROPOSED BY WASHINGTON—REJECTED BY THE COUNCIL—WASHINGTON'S COMPLAINTS—CONGRESS REBUKED—THEIR PROCEEDINGS—EFFECT OF WASHINGTON'S LETTER ON THE CONGRESS—COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE APPOINTED—GAGE RECALLED AND SUPERSEDED BY HOWE—BRITISH CRUISERS ON THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS—FALMOUTH DESTROYED—GENERAL EXCITEMENT—THE CONFERENCE AT HEADQUARTERS—THE RESULT—NEW ARRANGEMENTS—DOCTOR FRANKLIN AT CAMBRIDGE.

At the beginning of September* Washington felt extremely anxious to measure strength and skill in battle with the enemy. Recruits had come in quite as freely as he had anticipated; his stock of ammunition, though not large, was considered sufficient; and the people throughout the confederacy were beginning to murmur because of the comparative inaction of the troops at Boston. That inaction was deplorable, for Washington well knew that it must necessarily demoralize and weaken the army; and the season was fast approaching when large and costly supplies of clothing, provisions, and shelter, must be procured if the siege should be long protracted. These and similar considerations gave him much uneasiness, for already many of the soldiers were restless with longings for home.

The Connecticut and Rhode Island troops were engaged only until the first of December, and Washington had ample reasons for

* Early in that month, Washington received a letter from Peyton Randolph, dated the sixth, saying: "I have it in command to transmit to you the thanks of the convention of Virginia, for the faithful discharge of the important trust reposed in you, as one of their delegates to the continental Congress. Your appointment to an office of much consequence to America, and incompatible with your attendance on this duty, was the only reason that could have induced them not to call you to the convention. Your brother delegates were unanimous in their acknowledgments; and you will believe it gives me the greatest satisfaction to convey to you the sentiments of your country men, and, at the same time, to give you every testimony of my approbation and esteem."

believing that a larger portion of his army would not agree to serve longer than the approaching first of January. It was important, therefore, that some decisive movement should be made as speedily as prudence would allow; and the commander-in-chief waited impatiently for several days, for the enemy to accept the challenge to combat which he had fairly made by taking position on Ploughed hill. "Unless the ministerial troops in Boston are waiting for reinforcements," he wrote, "I can not divine what they are staying for, nor why, as they affect to despise the Americans, they do not come forth and put an end to the contest at once."

Washington's anxieties at length found expression which led to action. On the eighth of September he addressed a circular letter to the major and brigadier generals of the army, informing them that he should call upon them in a day or two for their opinions concerning matters to which he alluded, and giving them topics for reflection in the meantime. He told them that he wished to know whether a successful attack upon the troops in Boston might be made by means of boats, in co-operation with an attempt upon the British lines at Roxbury. "The success of such an enterprise depends, I well know," he said, "upon the All-Wise Disposer of events, and it is not within the reach of human wisdom to foresee the issue; but if the prospect is fair," he added, "the undertaking is justifiable for the following, among other reasons." He then enumerated those we have already alluded to; and in reference to the impatience of the troops to go home, and the expiring enlistments, he said: "These things are not unknown to the enemy; perhaps it is the very ground they are building on, if they are not waiting for a large reinforcement; and if they are waiting for succor, ought it not to give a spur to the attempt? Our powder, not much of which will be consumed in such an enterprise, without any certainty of supply, is daily wasting; and, to sum up the whole, the expense of supporting this army will so far exceed any idea that was formed in Congress of it, that I do not know what will be the consequences."

The council of war was accordingly assembled at headquarters,

on Monday, the eleventh of September. It was composed of the commander-in-chief; Major-Generals Ward, Lee, and Putnam; and Brigadier-Generals Thomas, Heath, Spencer, Sullivan, and Greene. After mature deliberation, the council unanimously resolved: "That it was not expedient to make the attempt at present, at least." This decision was acquiesced in by Washington, yet it was contrary to his desires. In a long letter to the continental Congress, written on the twenty-first, in which he gave a general outline of his plans, performances, and expectations, and information concerning Arnold's expedition, then pushing on toward the wilderness, he alluded to the result of the council, and said, concerning his proposition to attack the British troops: "I can not say that I have wholly laid it aside; but new events may need new measures. Of this I hope the honorable Congress can need no assurance, that there is not a man in America who more earnestly wishes such a termination of the campaign, as to make the army no longer necessary." Having briefly stated the condition, wants, and importunities of the army, and the perplexities that beset him, he added:—

"It gives me great pain to be obliged to solicit the attention of the honorable Congress to the state of this army, in terms which imply the slightest apprehension of being neglected. But my situation is inexpressibly distressing, to see the winter fast approaching upon a naked army, the time of their service within a few weeks of expiring, and no provision yet made for such important events. Added to these, the military chest is totally exhausted; the paymaster has not a single dollar in hand; the commissary general assures me he has strained his credit, for the subsistence of the army, to the utmost. The quartermaster-general is in precisely the same situation; and the greater part of the troops are in a state not far from mutiny, upon the deduction from their stated allowance. I know not to whom I am to impute this failure; but I am of opinion, if the evil is not immediately remedied, and more punctuality observed in future, the army must absolutely break up. I hoped I had so fully expressed myself on this subject, both by letter, and to those members of the Congress who honored the

camp with a visit, that no disappointment could possibly happen. I therefore hourly expected advices from the paymaster, that he had received a fresh supply."* He then informed them, that matters were brought to such a crisis that no further uncertain expectations were admissible.†

This letter, conveying a palpable rebuke to the Congress for their tardiness, was despatched by an express, and in it Washington urged them to send the bearer back with a reply, "with all possible expedition," unless they had already forwarded the necessary supplies. Thus, it will be perceived, that within three months after his appointment to the chief command of the army, Washington felt compelled to complain of the lack of prompt co-operation of the supreme civil power; and throughout the war, that body often lay like a dead weight upon the movements of the army, embarrassing it by special instructions, and neglecting to give its aid when most needed. It was only during the six months, when Washington was invested with the powers of an absolute dictator, that his most brilliant military achievements were accomplished.

The continental Congress, pursuant to adjournment, were to reassemble on Wednesday, the fifth of September, but the delegates came in so slowly that it was not organized until more than a week later, when representatives from Georgia appeared for the first time.‡ In several colonies, new deputies had, in the meantime.

* Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington*, iii., 98.

† A week later, Colonel Reed, Washington's secretary, writing to a friend, said: "While we deliberate the opportunities are lost. Boston must, I fear, be given up for the common safety. The army and navy here must, at all events, be destroyed this winter. Should it be reinforced, the consequences to America will be dreadful.... The general is anxious to strike some decisive stroke, and would have done it before this, if matters had not been misrepresented to him."—*Life and Correspondence of President Reed*, i. 120.

‡ These were Archibald Bullock, John Houstoun, and Reverend Doctor Zubley. John Adams, in his *Diary*, has given a graphic sketch of some of the leading members in the Congress at that time. "Dr. Zubley," he says, "is a native of Switzerland, and a clergyman of the independent persuasion, settled in a parish in Georgia. He speaks, as is reported, several languages.... He is a man of a warm and zealous spirit.... Houstoun is a young gentleman, by profession a lawyer. He seems to be sensible and spirited, but rather inexperienced. Bullock is clothed in American manufacture." Of the Virginia delegates he remarks: "Nelson is a fat man, like the late Colonel Lee, of Marblehead. He is a speaker, and alert and lively for his weight. Wythe is a lawyer, it is said, of the first eminence. Lee [Francis Lightfoot], is a brother of Doctor Arthur, the late sheriff of London, and of our old friend, Richard Henry Lee, sensible and patriotic, as the rest of the family." Of others he said: "Chase is violent and boisterous, asking his pardon: he is tedious

been chosen, or old ones re-chosen by representatives of the people in convention assembled; and the second session of the continental Congress of 1775, was remarkable for the wisdom and talent it exhibited.

The first important business of the session was an order for the despatch of over half a million of dollars, under a proper escort, to the paymaster-general at Cambridge, for the use of the army besieging Boston, thus anticipating, by a few days, Washington's urgent call for money. Various measures were then adopted for strengthening General Schuyler, and carrying on the war in the northern department; and on the twenty-second of September, a committee, consisting of Doctor Franklin, and Messrs. Rutledge, Jay, Randolph, Johnson, Deane, and Willing, were appointed "to take into consideration the state of the trade of America, and report their opinion."

A committee of accounts or claims was appointed on the twenty-fifth, consisting of one member from each colony; and four days afterward, Washington's letter of the twenty-first was received, and elicited the most profound attention. The justice of his complaints and implied rebuke of the Congress, because of their tardiness, the urgent wants of the army, the dangers to be apprehended on account of delay, and the necessity of the prompt and efficient co-operation of the civil with the military power, were so apparent, that on the same day, it was resolved to appoint a committee of three members, "to repair immediately to the camp at Cambridge, to confer with General Washington, and with the governor of

upon frivolous points. So is E. Rutledge.... a very uncouth and ungraceful speaker; he shrugs his shoulders, distorts his body, nods and wriggles with his head, and looks about with his eyes from side to side, and speaks through his nose as the Yankees sing. His brother John dodges his head too, rather disagreeably, and both of them spout out their language in a rough and rapid torrent, but without much force or effect. Dyer is long-winded, round-about, obscure, and cloudy, very talkative, and very tedious, yet an honest, worthy man, means and judges well. Sherman's air is the reverse of grace; there can not be a more striking contrast to beautiful action than the motion of his hands. Generally he stands upright, with his hands before him, the fingers of his left hand clenched into a fist, and the wrist of it grasped with the right.... Dickinson's air, gait, and action, are not much more elegant." Of Doctor Rush, he said: "He is an elegant, ingenuous body, a sprightly, pretty fellow. He is a republican; he has been much in London; Sawbridge and Macaulay correspond with him.... But Rush, I think, is too much of a talker to be a deep thinker; elegant, not great.

Connecticut, lieutenant-governor of Rhode Island,* the council of Massachusetts, and the president of the convention of New Hampshire, and such other persons" as the committee might deem proper to consult, "touching the most effectual method of continuing, supporting, and regulating, a continental army."† The committee was appointed on the following day, and consisted of Doctor Franklin, and Messrs. Thomas Lynch, of South Carolina, and Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia. A committee of five was then appointed, to draw up instructions for Franklin and his associates: and expresses were despatched, to inform the commander-in-chief and the other authorities named, of this action. The instructions were reported and adopted on Monday, the second of October, and on the fourth, the committee set out for the camp at Cambridge, carrying with them three hundred thousand dollars, in continental money, for the use of the army.

In the meantime, Washington had been urgently importuned for detachments from the army to defend the towns along the New England coasts from threatened pillage and destruction. Early in September, British men-of-war transports were menacing the coasts of Connecticut and Rhode Island. Stonington was actually cannonaded, and New London and Norwich were imperiled by the presence of hostile vessels-of-war. Governor Trumbull, therefore, detained several companies of Connecticut levies, raised for the continental army, to assist the militia in defending these places; but Washington, who needed more strength in the presence of the foe in Boston, could not spare a man. So, as on an earlier occasion, he was compelled to deny the assistance implored, and repeated his resolution to leave the people to rely upon the local militia to defend isolated points. He, therefore, ordered the Connecticut

* Nicholas Cooke, already mentioned, was *deputy-governor* of Rhode Island. When the general assembly of that colony voted to raise a force of fifteen hundred men for the gathering army at Boston, Joseph Wanton, the colonial governor, was displeased. After being rechosen, in May, that year, he failed to appear and take the prescribed oath of office. Mr. Cooke, his deputy, entered heartily into the views of the assembly. In June, the timid Wanton came forward to qualify, but as he had not given satisfaction to the assembly, his demand was unheeded, and Cooke became the acting-governor.

* Journals of Congress, i., 198

levies to march immediately to camp, contrary to the desires of Governor Trumbull. But that patriotic magistrate promptly obeyed orders and sent them on; and to a letter of his to the commander-in-chief, written on the fifteenth, Washington replied on the twenty-first: "I wish I could extend protection to all; but the numerous detachments necessary to remedy the evil, would amount to a dissolution of the army, or make the most important operations of the campaign depend upon the piratical expeditions of two or three men-of-war transports."

A change in the chief command of the British army at Boston now took place. Gage's laurels had faded since the battle of Bunker's hill. That battle was regarded, in England, as a military blunder; and, alarmed at the continued and rapid spread of the rebellion in America, the ministry advised the recall of Gage. It was done in the most delicate manner by the king. Gage was not, apparently, superseded in office. He was summoned home in order to make a personal explanation of affairs at Boston—"to give his majesty exact information of everything that it may be necessary to prepare, as early as possible, for the operations of next year, and to suggest to his majesty such matters in relation thereto, as his knowledge and experience of the service enabled him to furnish;" General Howe to act as commander-in-chief of all the British forces in the revolted colonies during Gage's absence. This summons implied censure, and it wounded the sensitive spirit of the disappointed soldier. Into that wound his tory friends in Massachusetts poured some oil of consolation. The mandamus council, a number of the principal inhabitants of Boston, and several who had taken refuge in the country, in all about seventy persons, addressed him in terms of loyal affection, amounting to panegyric. This was unmerited, for Gage's civil administration had been weak, and his military operations exceedingly inefficient. This was felt by all parties, and his departure was popular with the army. He sailed for England on the tenth of October, and never returned to America.*

* Thomas Gage, the last royal governor of Massachusetts, was a native of England, and was an active officer during the Seven Years' War. He was appointed governor of Montreal in 1760, and,

On the day when Gage departed, General Howe issued the following order: "The king having ordered the commander-in-chief to repair to Britain, and that, during his absence, Major-General Carleton should command his majesty's forces in Canada, and upon the frontiers, with the full powers of commander-in-chief; and that Major-General Howe should have like command within the colonies on the Atlantic ocean, from Nova Scotia to West Florida, inclusive; orders are hereby given to the troops to obey the said major-generals accordingly."

Howe at once adopted rigorous measures; and the continentals, remembering the fine military spirit which he displayed at Bunker's hill, anticipated an early opportunity to engage in battle with the enemy. But Howe had become acquainted with the temper and spirit of the people, and was as averse as Gage had been to meeting them again in open warfare. He compared past events, and drew such logical conclusions therefrom as made him exceedingly cautious. He remembered the bravery of the Americans on Breed's hill, when a fatigued army, greatly inferior in numbers to their opponents, had gallantly maintained their position for hours, behind breastworks cast up in a single night. He properly argued, that an army of the same sort of men, fifteen thousand strong, intrenched behind breastworks constructed by the labor of many weeks, must be more than a match for even his disciplined troops of like number, and he prudently resolved to await expected reinforcements from Ireland, before he should attempt to procure that

at the departure of Amherst for England, in 1763, was commissioned commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. He superseded Hutchinson as governor of Massachusetts, and had the misfortune to enter upon the duties of his office at a time when it became necessary for him, as a faithful servant of his king, to execute laws framed expressly for the infliction of chastisement upon the people of the capital of the colony over which he was placed. From that date his public acts are interwoven with the history of the times, as given in preceding pages. He possessed a naturally amiable disposition, and his benevolence often outweighed his justice in the scale of duty. Under other circumstances his name might have been sweet in the recollection of the Americans; now it is identified with oppression and hatred of freedom. He expected to return to America, but was not allowed to do so. The veteran general Oglethorpe, the benevolent founder of the colony of Georgia, and a hero in the rebellion of '45, was offered the command in America; but he refused to accept the commission, unless he could go to the revolted colonists with assurances from government that strict justice should be done them. The command was accordingly given to Howe—a tacit admission of the corrupt ministry, that justice to the Americans was no part of their policy. General Gage died in England in April, 1787, at the age of about fifty years.

freedom of action in the open country, which he so much coveted. In a letter to Lord Dartmouth, on the ninth of October, he revealed a glimpse of future policy, when he said he hoped "to distress the rebels by incursions along the coasts," and that "Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, would feel the weight of his majesty's arms."

A marauding policy was now inaugurated, in accordance with the hints thrown out by Howe. An event that had occurred at about the middle of the previous month of May, on the coast of Maine, served to give the British some reasonable excuse for this policy of retaliation upon an enemy. When intelligence of the affair at Lexington reached Machias, where a British armed schooner was engaged with two smaller vessels in procuring lumber, a party of young men attempted her capture while the officers were at church on shore. They seized one of the sloops, chased the schooner out of the harbor, and after a severe conflict, compelled her to surrender. In this, the *first naval engagement* of the Revolution, about twenty men on each side were lost. The commander of the Americans on this occasion* soon afterward captured two small English cruisers, and sent the crews to Watertown as prisoners.

On the twelfth of October a naval skirmish occurred at Beverly. A privateer was chased into that harbor by the *Nautilus* man-of-war. Both got aground. The inhabitants carried the guns of the privateer ashore, and pointed them against the British ship. A brisk cannonade was opened between them and the *Nautilus*. The privateer was not much damaged, and when the *Nautilus* was driven away at the rising of the tide, the former was rearmed and manned. These and similar exploits greatly irritated the British; and Admiral Graves, in retaliation, sent an expedition, in October, to burn Falmouth (now Portland), in Maine.

The immediate offence of the inhabitants of Falmouth, was their

* The commander was Jeremiah O'Brien. The honor of the enterprise belongs to Joseph Wheaton, a native of New York, then residing at Machias. He was an energetic young man of twenty years. He first proposed the expedition against the British armed vessels, but modestly named O'Brien for commander. He was active in the whole affair, and his own hands seized the colors of the captured vessel.

compliance with a resolution of the provincial Congress of Massachusetts, to prevent tories carrying away their effects. They had obstructed the loading of a ship, and Graves sent Lieutenant Mowatt, with a small squadron, to chastise them. He anchored before Falmouth on the evening of the seventeenth of October, and sent a letter on shore, warning the inhabitants that within two hours he should burn the town, pursuant to orders. A committee went on board his vessel and asked his reasons for the cruel threat. He replied, that he had orders to burn every seaport town between Boston and Halifax; but he agreed to give them a respite until the next morning, at the same time proposing some unreasonable terms of submission, to secure the safety of the place. Those terms were not complied with, and from early in the forenoon until dark the following day, he hurled about three thousand shot, besides shells and carcasses, upon the doomed town. These, and some marines, kindled a terrible conflagration, and when the curtain of night fell upon the scene, one hundred and thirty-nine houses, and two hundred and seventy-eight stores and other buildings, were in ashes or in flames. But the resolute men of Falmouth, after removing women, children, and furniture, gallantly maintained their ground, repulsed the invaders, and prevented their landing. Fortunately no lives were lost.

This wanton destruction of property created intense excitement throughout the colonies—an excitement engendered by apprehension and indignation. Washington was disposed to believe the cruel assertions of Mowatt, that all the seaport towns of New England were to share the fate of Falmouth. To General Schuyler he wrote: “We expect every moment to hear other places have been attempted, which are better prepared for their reception.”—“The desolation and misery,” he said, in a letter to the committee of Falmouth, a few days afterward, who applied to him for succor, “which ministerial vengeance had planned, in contempt of every principle of humanity, I know not how sufficiently to commiserate. Nor can my compassion for the general suffering be conceived beyond the true measure of my feelings.” And his utter inability

to give them aid, without endangering the very existence of his army, distressed him greatly. "Thus circumstanced," he said, "I can only add my wishes and exhortations, that you may repel every future attempt to perpetrate the like savage cruelties." He sent General Sullivan to Portsmouth, to prepare the fort there for a defence of the town; and to the president of Congress he wrote: "I expect every hour to hear that Newport has shared the same fate of unhappy Falmouth." And General Greene afterward wrote to a friend: "O, could the Congress behold the distresses and wretched condition of the poor inhabitants driven from the seaport towns, it must, it would, kindle a blaze of indignation against the commissioned pirates and licensed robbers."

A general belief in the truth of Mowatt's assertion produced greater vigilance and activity everywhere. It led to the establishment of a board of admiralty by the assembly of Massachusetts, and called the attention of Congress to the vital importance and necessity of a navy. In Great Britain the savage policy thus proclaimed was denounced by the best men; and the ministry, perceiving the proclivity of public opinion toward humane measures, affected to be displeased with the destruction of Falmouth, and endeavored to cast the odium upon the naval officers engaged in the work. But this was hypocritical pretence, unworthy of honest and honorable men, for a despatch from Lord Dartmouth, dated at London, only four days after Falmouth was destroyed, authorized Howe to employ the troops in "attacking and doing their utmost to destroy any towns in which the people should assemble in arms, hold meetings of committees or congresses, or prevent the king's courts of justice from assembling."

On the same day when Falmouth was destroyed, the committee of Congress, who had arrived on the fifteenth, commenced the proposed conference with Washington and others in the camp at Cambridge. Deputy-Governor Griswold and Judge Wales, of Connecticut; Deputy-Governor Cooke, of Rhode Island; Bowdoin, Otis, Sever, and Spooner, members of the Massachusetts council, and Mathew Thornton, president of the provincial convention of

New Hampshire, were present. General Washington was the only member of the council who was skilled in military affairs. He was chosen to preside, and his secretary, Colonel Reed, was appointed to keep the minutes.*

A plan which had been previously discussed and matured in a council of officers, was presented by Washington, and in the main adopted. It was conceded that the American forces ought to be numerically twice as large as those of the enemy in Boston, and, accordingly, a new organization of the army, to take effect on the first day of the following January, was agreed upon. Twenty-six regiments, composed of eight companies each, besides riflemen and artillery, were to be enlisted. This would make an army of over twenty thousand men; and the delegates present expressed their belief that thirty-two thousand men might be raised in the four New England colonies, to serve for one year, the time fixed by Congress for all the enlistments. They estimated that twenty thousand men might be raised in Massachusetts, eight thousand in Connecticut, three thousand in New Hampshire, and fifteen hundred in Rhode Island. They also counted upon retaining a large number then in the army, by re-enlistment.

The committee of Congress continued to sit for several days after the conference was dissolved, and took various subjects into consideration. They revised the articles of war; made regulations for the disposition of prizes captured at sea, for the exchange of prisoners, the employment of Indians, and many local details. Meanwhile, Washington called another council of war, in consequence of an intimation of Congress, borne by the committee, that an attack upon Boston was much desired. It was known that at least two of the committee were in favor of bombarding the town. Doctor Belknap relates, that he was at dinner with several military

* Private affairs demanding Mr. Reed's presence in Pennsylvania, he left the camp on the thirteenth of October, and was succeeded in office by Robert Hanson Harrison, a lawyer of Alexandria, whom Washington well knew and esteemed. Harrison arrived at headquarters soon after the departure of Colonel Reed, received a colonel's commission, and was announced as the aid of the commander-in-chief, in the public orders. Colonel Reed joined the military family of the commander-in-chief, at New York, the following year; but Harrison, who possessed the entire confidence of Washington, served as his secretary during a larger portion of the war.

men and civilians, when both Lynch and Harrison, and Judge Wales, of Connecticut, declared that they would be willing to see Boston burnt. General Lee, who was present, asserted that it could not be done, unless they should send in men with bundles of straw to set it on fire.

Such was Lee's expressed opinion in the council of war, and it was determined that an attack upon the enemy "was not practicable at the present time." Whereupon Washington, among other queries, proposed the following to the committee of Congress: "The general wishes to know how far it may be deemed proper and advisable to avail himself of the season to destroy the troops who propose to winter in Boston, by a bombardment (when the harbor is blocked up), or, in other words, whether the loss of the town, and the property therein, are so to be considered, as that an attack upon the troops there should be avoided, when it evidently appears that the town must, of consequence, be destroyed."* This question was deemed by the committee of too much importance to be determined by them. They referred it to Congress, and that body, after debating the report of the committee, from time to time, from the second of November, agreed to it on the twenty-second of December, and "*Resolved*, That if General Washington and his council of war should be of opinion, that a successful attack may be made on the troops in Boston, he do it in any manner he may think expedient, notwithstanding the town and property in it may thereby be destroyed."† In the letter transmitting this resolution to Washington, President Hancock wrote, in a spirit of noble patriotism: "You will notice the last resolution relating to an attack upon Boston. This passed after a most serious debate in a committee of the whole house, and the execution was referred to you. May God crown your attempt with success, though individually I may be the greatest sufferer."‡

The appearance of Doctor Franklin in the camp at Cambridge produced a great sensation. All classes of the inhabitants had the

* Life and Correspondence of President Reed, i., 122.

† Journals of Congress, i, 281.

‡ Sparks's Correspondence of the Revolution, i., 100.

most profound respect for his character, as the faithful agent, in England, of the Massachusetts Bay colony, and as a statesman, patriot, and sage. They flocked in from the surrounding country to see the great man whom they revered; and early campaigning recollections were awakened in the mind of Washington by his presence, for he remembered seeing Franklin in the camp of Braddock in western Pennsylvania, twenty years before, giving his judicious counsels to that proud and unfortunate general. The officers listened to the philosopher with profound deference; and men and women of every degree eagerly sought opportunities to see his face and hear his voice. Fifty years before, he had left Boston as a runaway apprentice; now he was the representative of a national council, clothed with its deliberative powers, in a military camp before the city of his birth, bearing the accumulated honors of profound statesmanship and scientific renown; and by the voice of two hemispheres, he was an acknowledged leader in the great march of human advancement.

While he was at Cambridge, the Massachusetts assembly paid Franklin the balance of salary due to him as agent of the colony in England. It amounted to the sum of more than nine thousand dollars, the late Governor Hutchinson having refused to sign the bills passed annually by the colonial assembly, ordering the payment of his salary. Franklin improved the opportunity to discharge the duties of a sacred trust reposed in him, by an association in England called the Constitutional Society. That association of liberal men had called the Lexington skirmish a "*murder*," on the part of the ministerial troops, and raised five hundred dollars, "to be applied to the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents of their beloved American fellow-subjects, who had preferred death to slavery."* This sum was sent to Doctor Franklin for proper

* This was an offset against subscriptions then being raised in England for the widows and orphans of the British soldiers who had perished on the same day. The Constitutional Society was supposed to be revolutionary in its character. One of its most active members was the celebrated John Horne Tooke, a vigorous writer, and industrious politician. In the autumn of 1775, he was prosecuted for "a libel upon the king's troops in America," contained in an advertisement of the society. He was sentenced to imprisonment one year, to pay a fine of one thousand dollars, and to give security for his good conduct for three years. Out of the circumstances of his imprisonment

distribution; and he took the occasion of his visit to Cambridge to place it in judicious hands for the purpose. Soon after this, he left for Philadelphia, with his colleagues, and on the second of November, the committee submitted their report to that body.

The consideration of the report was postponed until Saturday, the fourth, when a series of resolutions, concerning the reorganization and supplying of a new army, was adopted. It was first resolved that the "new army to lie before Boston," should consist of twenty thousand three hundred and seventy-two men, officers included; and then resolutions were voted, for determining the division of the army into regiments and companies, and the pay and rations of the officers and soldiers; recommending the civil authorities in the several colonies to keep gunsmiths at work manufacturing firearms; providing for the retention of good muskets belonging to soldiers leaving the service; for clothing the army; bounty for blankets; for the supply of provisions by the commissary-general; to give preference in the new organization to officers in service who should be willing to remain, and fixing the time of all enlistment at one year from the last day of December, 1775; recommending the legislatures of New England to empower the commander-in-chief to impress horses, carriages, vessels, and other needful things for the use of the army; for recruiting from the army then in the field; recommending the assemblies and conventions to pass laws for the infliction of certain punishments in the army; and fixing rewards for those who should apprehend deserters.

On Monday, the sixth, other articles in the report of the committee were agreed to, and the whole were then referred to Secretary Thomson to digest. This digest was laid before the Congress on the following day, when fourteen new rules and regulations for the army were added to those adopted on the thirtieth of June.

arose his letter to Counsellor Dunning, which formed the basis of Horne Tooke's subsequent philological work, entitled "The Diversions of Purley," published in 1780.

CHAPTER LXII.

BEGINNING OF A NAVY—WHAT WAS DONE IN SEVERAL COLONIES—WASHINGTON'S NAVAL PREPARATIONS—VEXATIONS AND DIFFICULTIES—CAPTAIN MANLY'S PRIZE—PILLAGE AT ST. JOHN—WASHINGTON'S NOBLE CONDUCT—PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS ON NAVAL AFFAIRS—THE BRITISH WORKS STRENGTHENED—DESECRATION OF CHURCHES—HOWE'S PROCLAMATIONS—WASHINGTON'S RETALIATORY MEASURES—ENLISTMENT EFFORTS—PLANS OF QUINCY AND M'PHERSON—CHARACTER OF THE LATTER—ENGINEERS NEEDED—HENRY KNOX APPOINTED TO THE COMMAND OF THE ARTILLERY—HIS EXPEDITION TO LAKE CHAMPLAIN—HIS RETURN TO CAMP WITH ARTILLERY AND ORDNANCE STORES.

THE mischiefs effected and threatened by British cruisers on the New England coasts, called forth efforts to confront them. The colonies had not the smallest germ of a navy at the dawn of 1775, and its merchant marine were few in number and small in tonnage. But necessity, the mother of invention, soon transformed many little merchant-vessels of Marblehead and other seaports, into spirited war-craft, manned by resolute men, and seeking, not waiting, for the stately prows of the navy of Great Britain then cruising in American waters.

We have already observed the gallantry and success of the young men of Machias, in May. In June, the assembly of Rhode Island fitted out two small armed vessels to protect Narraganset bay and the neighboring coast, and placed them under the command of Captain Whipple, the leader of the party who destroyed the *Gaspé*, in those waters, in 1772. At about the same time, Connecticut fitted out one or two small vessels in the Thames, to cruise along the coast of that colony, from Fairfield to Stonington; and on the twenty-sixth of June, the provincial Congress of Massachusetts resolved to provide six armed vessels for the public service. But as late as the twelfth of October, according to a letter of

Washington to the president of Congress, none of these vessels had been got in readiness for service. The authorities of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, took similar steps; and finally, the delegates from Rhode Island, under instructions from the assembly of that province, called the attention of the continental Congress to the subject of a navy.

Perceiving the absolute necessity of armed vessels in his operations against the enemy in Boston, whose supplies all came by water, Washington had, at the close of summer, without any instructions from Congress, taken the responsibility under his general delegated powers, of preparing some small ones to annoy the enemy and intercept his supplies. He appointed agents in Salem, Marblehead, Beverly, and Plymouth, to superintend their construction, and to furnish supplies; and, on the second of September, he commissioned Captain Broughton, of Marblehead, a commandant in the navy yet to be created. This was the first commission of the kind that was issued. The work went vigorously on, and before the close of October, six vessels of small size had been armed and manned and sent to cruise as privateers within the capes of Massachusetts Bay.* He had also launched, armed, and manned, two strong floating-batteries in the Charles river.

The first enterprises of the little navy fitted out by Washington were not very fruitful. Being commander-in-chief of the army only, he was very cautious not to assume doubtful powers, and his instructions to the naval commanders were drawn with great caution and precision. He ordered them to "take command of a detachment of the army, with which they were to proceed on board, cruise against such vessels as were found in the service of the enemy, and seize all such as were laden with soldiers, arms, ammunition, or provisions." Some of the officers, lacking all military experience, proved incompetent. The seamen were often mutinous; and a disregard of instructions sometimes led to trouble.

* The names of five of these vessels have been preserved. These were Hancock, Harrison, Lee, Washington, and Lynch. The six commanders were, Broughton, Selman, Manly, Martindale, Coit, and Adams.

On the whole, the difficulties that appeared during the first few weeks after privateers were fitted out, would have discouraged most men; but Washington, full of faith and patience, persevered, for his sagacity perceived the value of even a weak navy. To the capture of British vessels he felt compelled to look for his most abundant immediate supplies of arms and ammunition. He did not complain, but he occasionally gave expression to his feelings. To Colonel Reed, on the twentieth of November, he said: "Our privateersmen go on at the old rate, mutinying if they can not do as they please." And in a letter to the president of Congress, written on the fourth of December, he said: "The plague, trouble, and vexation, I have had with the crews of all the armed vessels, are inexpressible. I do believe there is not on earth a more disorderly set. Every time they come into port we hear of nothing but mutinous complaints."

The crew of the armed schooner *Lee*, under Captain John Manly (the commodore of Washington's fleet), appear to have been an exception. They were orderly and brave, and the services of that gallant officer, during the autumn of 1775, were duly appreciated by the commander-in-chief. On the twenty-ninth of November, Manly captured a valuable store-ship, from England, bound for Boston, which contained a large brass mortar, several pieces of brass cannon, two thousand muskets, one hundred thousand flints, thirty thousand round-shot, thirty tons of musket-shot, eleven mortar-beds, and every kind of implement for artillery and intrenching service. This was a most seasonable prize, for the spoils were precisely what were greatly needed in camp. They were landed at Cape Ann, and Washington sent four companies to receive them, and bear them to headquarters. There was great joy in the camp on their arrival. "To crown the glorious scene," wrote Colonel Moylan to Colonel Reed,* "there intervened one truly ludicrous, which was OLD PUT [General Putnam] mounted on the large mortar, which was fixed in its bed for the occasion, with a bottle of rum in his hand, standing parson to christen, while Godfather Mifflin gave it the name

* December 5, 1775.

of *Congress*. The huzzas on the occasion, I dare say, were heard through all the territories of our most gracious sovereign in this province."

A circumstance connected with these early naval operations occurred in November, and illustrates the character of Washington in the most pleasing colors. The continental Congress had been informed that two brigantines had sailed from England for the St. Lawrence river, laden with arms and ammunition, and without convoy. They directed Washington to despatch two armed vessels to the St. Lawrence, to intercept these brigantines. Captains Broughton and Selman were accordingly sent by the commander-in-chief. They cruised for a while in the gulf, and in the mouth of the river, but did not discover the objects of their search. Unwilling to return empty, they interpreted the spirit of their instructions with the greatest latitude, and without warrant, even from such interpretation, they made a descent upon the island of St. John, broke into and plundered the houses of the governor and other persons, and brought three gentlemen away with them, as prisoners. They seized plate, carpets, mirrors, curtains, table-linen, wearing apparel, and everything else that was portable, carried them on board their vessels, and returned in ignoble triumph to Marblehead. They took their prisoners immediately to headquarters, in expectation of applause; but they received, instead, a severe reprimand from the commander-in-chief, who immediately released the captives, treated them with the utmost kindness, ordered a restitution of the plunder, and, in due time, sent the victims of this ill-judged exploit, back to their distressed families.

One of the prisoners was Mr. Callbeck, president of the council of St. John, and acting-governor of the island. His gratitude to Washington for his kindness, was expressed in a letter to the general, just previous to the governor's departure. "I should ill deserve the generous treatment," he said, "which your excellency has been pleased to show me, had I not gratitude to acknowledge so great a favor. I can not ascribe any part of it to my own merit, but must impute the whole to the philanthropy and humane dis-





Hughes

ACTION BETWEEN THE SIERAPIS & BON HOMME RICHARD.

24th SEPT 1779

position, that so truly characterize General Washington. Be so obliging, therefore, as to accept the only return in my power, that of my most grateful thanks."

Before the completion of his little navy, Washington had established rules for the division of prizes. A captain-commander was to have six shares; a first lieutenant, five; second lieutenant and surgeon, four each; master, three; steward, two; mate, gunner, boatswain, gunner's mate, and sergeant, one and a half each; and privates, one. This method of distribution was confirmed by a resolution of the continental Congress, adopted on the twenty-fifth of November following.

On the thirteenth of October, the Congress authorized two vessels to be fitted out and manned. The first was to be "a swift-sailing vessel, to carry ten carriage-guns, and a proportionate number of swivels, with eighty men," and was to go on a cruise of three months eastward, for the purpose of intercepting British transports. The second was to be of like character, with fourteen guns, and a proportionate number of swivels and men, and despatched on a similar cruise; and Silas Deane, John Langdon, and Christopher Gadsden, were appointed a committee to direct naval affairs. On the thirtieth of the same month, the Congress resolved to fit out two more vessels, one of twenty, and the other of thirty-six guns, and Stephen Hopkins, Joseph Hewes, Richard Henry Lee, and John Adams, were added to the naval committee.

On the twenty-eighth of November, the Congress adopted a code of regulations for the navy; and on the thirteenth of December, they ordered the construction of thirteen additional vessels-of-war.*

* These vessels were ordered to be built as follows: at Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, the *Washington*, 32 guns; *Randolph*, 32; *Effingham*, 28; and *Delaware*, 24. At Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the *Raleigh*, 32. At Boston, Massachusetts, the *Hancock*, 32; and the *Boston*, 24. At Providence, Rhode Island, the *Warren*, 32; and the *Providence*, 28. At Annapolis, Maryland, the *Virginia*, 28. At New London, Connecticut, the *Trumbull*, 28. At Poughkeepsie, on the Hudson, New York, the *Congress*, 28, and the *Montgomery*, 24. On the twenty-second of December, 1775, the Congress commissioned Esek Hopkins, Dudley Saltonstall, Abraham Whipple, Nicholas Biddle, and John B. Hopkins, captains-commandant; and John Paul Jones, Rhodes Arnold, ——— Stansbury, Hersted Hucker, and Jonathan Pitcher, first lieutenants; Benjamin Seabury, Joseph Olney, Elisha Warren, Thomas Wisner, ——— M'Dougal, second lieutenants; John Fanning, Ezekiel Burroughs, and Daniel Vaughan, third lieutenants. At that time five vessels, changed from merchant-vessels into privateersmen, were in readiness, and these five sets of officers took immediate command. Esek

On the following day a marine committee, as it was termed, was appointed, consisting of one member from each colony.* It possessed very little executive power. Naval subjects were referred to it, for examination and suggestions; and upon its reports the Congress predicated their acts and commands. The committee appointed all officers below the rank of third lieutenant, and had the general control, under the sanction of Congress, of all the naval operations. Such was the embryo of the navy of the United States. Let us now turn again to the army blockading Boston and their opponents.

It was evident, before the committee of Congress left the camp, that General Howe had no intention of leaving Boston before spring, if he could avoid it. During September and October, the British had been engaged in strengthening their defences, and making preparations for winter quarters. A large and well-built redoubt was constructed on Bunker's hill; and so confident were they in its strength, that they believed six hundred men, commanded by two field-officers, would be fully sufficient to protect it against the whole republican army. In fact, they invited an attack by levelling some defences on or near Charlestown Neck, and leaving that isthmus open for the approach of the "rebels." The redoubt was nearly completed at the close of September, and General Sir Henry Clinton was placed in command of it. Tents were soon clustered upon the eminences around, and the soldiery were subjected to the most rigid discipline.

At about this time, Washington received intimations from the Congress, that an attack upon the British would be agreeable to them—"an attack upon the first favorable occasion, and before the arrival of reinforcements." But Washington's prudence and cool judgment restrained his desires, and he wrote, in reply, on the fifth of October: "The enemy in Boston and on the heights of Charlestown, are so strongly fortified, as to render it almost impossible to

Hopkins was appointed commander-in-chief of the fleet, with the pay of one hundred and twenty five dollars a month.

* The committee consisted of Messrs. Bartlett, Hancock, Hopkins, Deane, Lewis, Crane, Morris, Read, Chase, R. H. Lee, Hewes, Gadsden, and Houstoun.

force their lines, thrown up at the head of each neck. Without great slaughter on our side, or cowardice on theirs, it is absolutely so. We, therefore, can do no more than keep them besieged, which they are, to all intents and purposes, as closely as any troops upon earth can be, that have an opening to the sea. Our advanced works and theirs are within musket-shot. We daily undergo a cannonade, which has done no injury to our works, and very little hurt to our men. These insults we are compelled to submit to for want of powder, being obliged, except now and then giving them a shot, to reserve what we have for closer work than cannon-distance."

During October, Howe employed six hundred men in making additional fortifications on Boston Neck. At the south end of the city, several houses were removed to make room for military works; the lines on the Neck, toward Roxbury, were much strengthened, and redoubts were erected upon the eminences in Boston not already crowned with fortifications. The enemy also laid violent hands upon public and private property within the city, and no deference was paid to things venerable or sacred. The old South church, where, years before, the sons of Liberty assembled—"where," as a British officer at the time wrote, "sedition had been often preached"—was taken possession of by the troops, and prepared for a riding-school for the use of Burgoyne's light dragoons. It was stripped of its seats and furniture; and a pew that had belonged to a beloved deacon, deceased, handsomely carved and adorned with silk furniture, was taken away and converted into a hog-stye. Another "meeting-house," called the North church, was entirely demolished, and used for fuel.

This desecration of one of the most venerable places of worship in the city, shocked the religious feelings of the people all over the country, wherever the story was told, and made the roots of hatred to imperial rule strike deeper down into the public heart. This was the first of a series of similar outrages committed by the British during the war. They always spared churches that had been consecrated by episcopal rites; but the houses of worship of

all dissenters, to whom they gave the general name of presbyterians, were wantonly profaned. This was a wicked and unwise policy, and always widened the breach which patriots on both sides of the Atlantic desired to close. "When Roman virtue and patriotism were at their height," says Doctor Gordon, when referring to these outrages, "the Roman officers would not allow the religion or temples of the persons with whom they fought, to be insulted and profaned. They were more politic than to exasperate men into a ferocious courage for the defence of their altars."

On the twenty-eighth of October, Howe issued three proclamations, which created much indignation, and drew from Washington some retaliatory measures. The first forbade all persons leaving the town without permission, under pain of military execution in the event of their arrest, and a confiscation of their property if they escaped. The second prohibited all persons who were permitted to go, carrying with them more than twenty-five dollars in cash, under pain of forfeiture; and the third ordered all the inhabitants within the town to associate themselves into military companies, to be commanded by officers appointed by Howe.

These proclamations, and the crimes committed on the New England coasts by marauders, and on the shores of Virginian waters by Lord Dunmore, of which we shall hereafter write, greatly incensed Washington, and he resolved on retaliatory measures. Already General Sullivan had gone to Portsmouth, to assist the inhabitants in fortifying the town and harbor, and he ordered him "to seize upon such persons as held commissions from the crown, and were acting as open and avowed enemies to their country, and hold them as hostages for the security of those towns which," he said, "our ministerial enemies threaten to invade." He issued similar orders to William Palfrey, at Portsmouth, an active whig, who afterward became an aid to the commander-in-chief, paymaster general of the army, and, in 1780, consul-general of the United States in France. In his letter to Mr. Palfrey, Washington said: "For the present I shall avoid giving you the like order in respect to the *tories* in Portsmouth; but the day is not far off, when they

will meet with this or a worse fate, if there is not a reasonable reformation in their conduct."

To Governor Trumbull, Washington wrote at the same time, and asked—"Would it not be prudent to seize on those tories who have been, are, and that we know will be, active against us? Why should persons who are preying upon the vitals of their country, be suffered to stalk at large, whilst we know that they will do us every mischief in their power?" He made similar suggestions to Governor Cooke, of Rhode Island; and these republican magistrates agreed with his excellency, in opinion, and acted accordingly.

Every day the cares, responsibilities, and duties of Washington increased, and every day he appeared to receive fresh and accumulated strength of mind and body, to bear and perform them. When the committee of Congress had left the camp, he commenced the most untiring efforts to reorganize the army and strengthen his position, according to the plan agreed upon, that he might speedily attack the enemy with a prospect of success, or at least to sustain a rigid blockade until starvation should compel him to surrender. He first directed that all officers of the army, who proposed to remain, should signify their intention as early as possible. By the thirty-first of October sufficient returns had come in to enable him to form an estimate of the number who would continue with the army. It was evident that full one half intended to leave; and Washington was concerned to find, that many of these men, not content to abandon the army themselves at this critical juncture, were endeavoring to persuade the troops under them to do likewise. He was advised to dismiss them at once, before their term of enlistment should expire; but he regarded such a measure as fraught with danger and great inconvenience. It was a very critical moment, and the greatest caution, prudence, forbearance, and foresight, were necessary to prevent a complete dissolution of the army.

Washington, at this time, was filled with great anxiety, and in this feeling the whole country participated. Individual minds were

busy in planning schemes to aid him. On the third of November he received quite a long communication from Josiah Quincy (the father of the fervent patriot already mentioned, whose eyes closed in death on shipboard, just as they beheld the hills of his native province, on his return from England), explaining a scheme for preventing the passage of vessels in and out of the harbor of Boston. Mr. Quincy was thoroughly acquainted with every island and ship-channel in the harbor, and his scheme was an admirable one. He had communicated it to Franklin, who advised him to lay it before Washington in detail. It required too many cannon and too much powder to be then adopted, and it was abandoned.

At about the same time, Captain M'Pherson, an old sea-commander, and father of Montgomery's aid of that name, who was killed at Quebec,* visited the camp under a special order of Congress, with a letter to Washington from that body, and laid before his excellency a plan for the total destruction of the British fleet in Boston harbor. Washington examined it, perceived its absurdity, and prevailed upon M'Pherson to communicate his plans to three gentlemen of the artillery, in the army, well versed in the practice of gunnery. They convinced him, says Washington to the president of Congress, "that, inasmuch as he set out upon wrong principles, the scheme would prove abortive." "Unwilling, however," he continued, "to relinquish his favorite project of reducing the naval force of Great Britain, he is very desirous of building a

* John Adams, in his diary, under date of September 18th, 1775, says: "This morning, John M'Pherson, Esq., came to my lodgings and requested to speak with me in private. He is the owner of a very handsome country-seat, about five miles out of this [Philadelphia] city; is the father of Mr. M'Pherson, an aid-de-camp to General Schuyler. He has been a captain of a privateer, and made a fortune in that way, the last war; is reputed to be well skilled in naval affairs. He proposes great things; is sanguine, confident, positive, that he can take or burn every man-of-war in America. It is a secret, he says, but he will communicate it to any one member of Congress, upon condition that it be not divulged during his life, nor after his death, but for the service of his country. He says, that it is as certain as that he shall die, that he can burn any ship." A week afterward he wrote: "Rode out of town, and dined with Mr. M'Pherson. He has the most elegant seat in Pennsylvania, a clever Scotch wife, and two pretty daughters. His seat is on the banks of the Schuylkill. He has been nine times wounded in battle; an old sea-commander; made a fortune by privateering; one arm twice shot off, shot through the leg, &c. He renews his proposals for taking or burning ships." Soon after this, Mr. M'Pherson communicated with the Congress on the subject, and, on the nineteenth of October, that body resolved, "That Captain M'Pherson be requested immediately to repair to the camp, at Cambridge, and confer with General Washington, on the subject contained in his letter to Congress."—Journals, i., 207.

number of row-galleys for this purpose." As Washington had no authority in the matter, he referred M'Pherson to the Congress. On the same day he wrote to Colonel Reed, in Philadelphia, and said: "I have been *happy enough* to convince Captain M'Pherson, as he says, of the propriety of returning to Congress—he sets out this day, and I am *happy* in his having an opportunity of laying before them a scheme for the destruction of the naval force of Great Britain." Washington had evidently been annoyed by the persistent captain, for the words that he emphasized in his letter, express intentional irony.

Another source of Washington's anxiety, at that time, was the want of skilful engineers. "The commissary-general* can inform you," he wrote to Governor Trumbull, "how exceedingly deficient the army is of gentlemen skilled in that branch of business, and that most of the works which have been thrown up for the defence of our several encampments, have been planned by a few of the principal officers of this army, assisted by Mr. Knox, a gentleman of Worcester." Colonel Gridley, the chief-engineer, had been commissioned by the Congress in September, to take command of the artillery of the continental army; but his qualifications for that important post appeared so inadequate, on account of his age, that early in November, a council of officers expressed a unanimous opinion that the command should no longer continue in him. Washington communicated this opinion to the Congress, and at the same time he nominated Knox to fill Gridley's place. He also said, that it was indispensably necessary that the artillery regiment should consist of two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, and twelve companies. That nomination and these suggestions were immediately acted upon by the Congress, and, on the nineteenth of November, Henry Knox was commissioned a colonel, and appointed to the command of the artillery.

Knox's merits entitled him to the honor. He had left the profession of a bookseller for that of a soldier; had fought gallantly on Bunker's hill, and having an aptness for the science of fortifica-

* Joseph Trumbull, a son of Governor Trumbull.

tions, about which he had read much, he had been very useful in planning some of the works already constructed around Boston. And now, when his services were most needed, he came forward as a volunteer, and offered to proceed to Lake Champlain, to procure supplies of artillery and ordnance stores, with which to carry on the siege of Boston. Before the arrival of his commission from Congress, he was on his way toward the frontier. He first examined into the state of the artillery and stores in camp, and then proceeded on his errand, under instructions from Washington, issued on the sixteenth of November, which directed him to proceed to New York, and apply to the president of the provincial Congress for supplies. After performing that duty he was to go to the headquarters of General Schuyler, and, by the assistance of that officer, to procure what was necessary from Ticonderoga, Crown Point, St. John, and Quebec, if the latter place should be in possession of the Americans. He bore a letter from Washington to General Schuyler, requesting that officer to lend Knox every assistance in his power.

With these instructions, and a thousand dollars to pay his expenses, the brave Knox set out for New York. He was then twenty-five years of age, with a fine constitution, an athletic frame, and powers of endurance of a high order. Having despatched his business with the provincial Congress at New York, he ascended the Hudson in a sloop, as far as Poughkeepsie, where further progress was forbidden by strong ice. He proceeded by land, and reached Ticonderoga on the twenty-sixth, where he found General Schuyler, suffering very much from a complication of diseases.

After extraordinary perseverance, labor, and hardships, Colonel Knox had collected a large quantity of artillery and ordnance stores at the head of Lake George on the seventeenth of December, and was prepared to transport them across the country on sledges, the ground being deeply covered with snow. "It is not easy to conceive," he said, in a letter to Washington written on that day, "the difficulties we have had in getting them over the lake, owing to the advanced season of the year and contrary winds ;

three days ago it was very uncertain whether we could have gotten them over until next spring ; but now, please God, they shall go." He placed the spoils on forty-two sleds, drawn by eighty oxen, crossed the Hudson a little above Fort Edward, and went by the way of Fort Miller and Saratoga to Albany. There he again crossed the river on the ice, proceeded to Kinderhook, and then turning eastward, went through Great Barrington and Springfield, and so on to Cambridge, where he arrived in January, with eight brass mortars, six iron mortars, two iron howitzers, thirteen brass cannon, twenty-six iron cannon, two thousand three hundred pounds of lead, and a barrel of flints. This arduous service had been performed with great celerity, considering the inclemency and severity of the season, for the winter set in with extreme cold on the first of December. It was a service of the greatest importance, for the heavy ordnance, the artillery, and other implements of war thus furnished, were much needed in carrying on the siege of Boston. On his arrival, Colonel Knox took command of the artillery ; and he remained at the head of that branch of the military service until the close of the war.

CHAPTER LXIII.

WASHINGTON'S TRIALS—INFLUENCES OPERATING UPON THE SOLDIERY—DEVELOPMENT OF WASHINGTON'S EXCELLENCES—ESTIMATE OF HIS DIFFICULTIES—SECTIONAL JEALOUSIES—SLOW ENLISTMENTS—THE NEW ENGLAND TROOPS—GREENE'S APOLOGY—BAD CONDUCT OF THE CONNECTICUT TROOPS—THE MILITIA TO BE SUMMONED—TRUMBULL'S LETTER—HOSTILE MOVEMENTS OF THE ENEMY—BRITISH REPULSED—NEW FORTIFICATIONS CAST UP—PROMPT ACTION OF THE MILITIA—BRIGHTER PROSPECTS IN THE CAMP—FEARS OF THE BRITISH—WASHINGTON'S ATTENTION TO DOMESTIC AFFAIRS—HIS MANAGER AT MOUNT VERNON—MRS. WASHINGTON'S DEPARTURE FOR CAMP—HER TARRY IN PHILADELPHIA—ARRIVAL AT CAMP—PLEASANT CHRISTMAS HOLYDAYS THERE.

PERHAPS at no time during the war for independence was the judgment, firmness, wisdom, patience, and self-reliance of Washington more thoroughly tried and tested, than during the last six weeks of the year 1775; and at no time were these qualities more signally triumphant in sustaining him in the midst of great labors and trials.

War had actually begun. Blood had flowed; and the love of freedom and the vengeance of lustful power were in rampant strife. A people, free and loyal, had been driven by systematic and long-sustained assaults upon their liberties and franchises, into rebellion to the sovereign power of the realm, to which they had ever been proud of yielding fealty. They were accustomed to the arts and blessings of peace, and had enjoyed the sweets of prosperity and repose. To them a camp was a repulsive necessity, and not a delightful choice. They had been quickly summoned to resist oppression by physical force; and their gathering in battle order had been like the impulsive motion of an arm uplifted for immediate defence. They warded the malicious blow aimed at their dearest rights, taught the foe circumspection and dread, and became.

in a little while, only simple jailors of armed mercenaries, chafing within prison-bars wrought of prudence and fear. The enthusiasm that called them from the workshops and the field, was born of a noble patriotism, and it glowed long after the immediate causes of its nativity had passed away.

But there were other strong impulses at work. The cares and necessities of social and domestic life; the delights of home and the pleasures of security and repose; the calls of love and duty, to the plough and the sickle, the anvil and the plane; in a word, everything pertaining to industrial pursuits and domestic happiness, pleaded eloquently for the soldier to leave the tent for his own roof-tree—the camp for his own cultivated acres. All summer long he had been absent from his home, and many a field lay fallow because of a lack of laborers. Material interests of every kind were suffering; and as men all unskilled in philosophy, jurisprudence, and the teachings of long-past experience chronicled in history, gazed into the political heavens, they saw little else than gathering clouds, that whispered of wo to the land, in mutterings of suppressed thunder.

From over the sea came menaces to awe and fleets to subjugate. The civil power at home was not yet developed, and was but little understood, while that of the imperial legislature which they had defied was well defined and formidable. The confederation just formed was feeble because its chief element of cohesion was immediate danger. Sectional interests and individual opinions were producing discords everywhere; and the whole sea of public life, over which hung the mists of uncertainty, was foaming with turbulence.

No wonder, then, that men accustomed from infancy to almost unlimited freedom, should have been impatient of restraint; no wonder that the enthusiasm of men filled with the vigorous life of the new world, should have felt smothered by inaction; no wonder that the delights of home, and the necessities of common life should have powerfully wooed them from the camp, and made them indifferent to the verdict of posterity concerning their patriotism.

They were men possessed of all the weaknesses of our common humanity, and subject to its sympathetic and demonstrative laws; and we, standing upon the rock of a well-consolidated and homogeneous government, with the blue sky of peace bending over us, and the sunlight of freedom illuminating all things within the bounds of the horizon, can not justly measure the patriotism of men in that hour of doubt, instability, and gloom. We should be modest and lenient in our expressions of opinions concerning them, and be more ready to pity than to blame. Yet they were not *all* blameless.

In proportion as we appreciate the difficulties and dangers of those times, does the noble character of Washington unfold in bolder relief before the vision. He was at the head of a heterogeneous army, then the centre of all hope, and the real focus of all present power. To Washington all eyes were imploringly or hopefully turned. Upon him was laid the task and responsibility of thinking rightly and acting wisely for the nation just struggling into infantile life. The continental Congress, the provincial assemblies, the committees of safety, the military and naval officers, and individuals all over the land, eager for the triumph of right, turned to him for advice and direction. At the same time the care of a fragile army, ready to fall asunder at a touch, and yet an army regarded as the depository of the hopes of the nation, required his sleepless vigilance and unremitting attention. Then it was that the greatness of Washington was made manifest, that the idea of his reliability blossomed into a universal sentiment, and a belief in his wonderful fitness for the duties of a supreme leader, became an integral of the creed of the people, which was never rejected. An innate belief in his inspiration, took the form of unquestioning confidence.

"In our view," says a late writer, "no period of his life is more affecting than the early months of his command, when his prudence was sneered at by the ambitious, his military capacity distrusted even by his most intimate friends, and his 'masterly inactivity' misinterpreted by those who awaited his signal for action. The

calm remonstrance, the inward grief, the exalted magnanimity, which his letters breathe at this crisis, reveal a heroism of soul not surpassed in any subsequent achievement. No man ever illustrated more nobly the profound truths of Milton's sentiment, 'They also serve who only stand and wait.' His was not simply the reticence of a soul eager for enterprise, the endurance of a forced passivity, with vast peril and glorious possibilities, the spur of necessity, the thirst for glory, and the readiness for sacrifice stirring every pulse and bracing every nerve; but it was his part to 'stand and wait' in the midst of the gravest perplexities, in the face of an expectant multitude, with a knowledge of circumstances that justified the 'hope delayed,' and without the sympathy which alleviates the pain of 'hope deferred'—to 'stand and wait' before the half-averted eye of the loyal, the gibes of a powerful enemy, the insinuations of factious comrades—with only conscious rectitude and trust in Heaven for support. How, in his official correspondence, did Washington hush the cry of a wounded spirit; how plaintively it half escapes in the letter of friendship; and how singly does he keep his gaze on the great cause, and dash aside the promptings of self-love, in the large cares and impersonal interests of a country not yet sensible of its infinite need of him, and of its own injustice!"*

Slowly and discouragingly the enlistments for the new army went on. One of the chief difficulties was the new arrangement of officers, under the plan agreed upon by the committee of conference, the old army containing thirty-eight regiments, and the new one to have only twenty-six. The delicate duty of reduction required great judgment, firmness, and discretion. It gave Washington and his general officers infinite concern and perplexity. "The trouble I have in the arrangement of the army," he wrote to the president of Congress on the eleventh of November, "is really inconceivable.... You, sir, can much easier judge than I can express, the anxiety of mind I must labor under on the occasion, especially at this time, when we may expect the enemy will

* Essays, Biographical and Critical; or, Studies of Character. By HENRY T. TUCKERMAN

begin to act on the arrival of their reinforcement, part of which is already come, and the remainder daily dropping in."

Sectional jealousies also produced great trouble—"There appears to be such an unwillingness," Washington wrote to the president of Congress, "in the officers of one government to mix in the same regiment with those of another." And to Colonel Reed he wrote, on the same day: "Connecticut wants no Massachusetts man in their corps; Massachusetts thinks there is no necessity for a Rhode-Islander to be introduced into hers; and New Hampshire says, it is very hard that her valuable and experienced officers, who are willing to serve, should be discarded, because her own regiments, under the new establishment, can not provide for them." Washington felt the justice of some of these feelings, yet he was compelled to act according to the dictates of his judgment, and the resolves of the committee of conference. He was also actuated by an intense desire to inaugurate a union spirit among the troops, by arranging the new organization so that it should be a *continental* and not a *colonial* army.

Contentions and petty conspiracies prevailed among the subordinate officers in the camp when the enlistment orders were given. Those who agreed to remain were zealous in recruiting, and sometimes resorted to the mean practice of seducing men already engaged, into their own companies. They also enrolled tories, boys, and negroes. These practices greatly annoyed Washington, and, on the twelfth of November, he issued such peremptory orders on the subject that these abuses were soon corrected. The fickleness of officers also gave Washington much uneasiness. The soldiers would not enlist until they knew who were to be their officers, so that it was necessary to arrange these first. Many sent in their names with assurances that they would serve in the new army, and then, changing their minds, would withdraw and declare their intentions to retire at the expiration of their term. This conduct produced infinite confusion, and greatly retarded the enlistment service. In fact, at the end of a month's unceasing endeavors to re-enlist those already under arms, the commander-in-chief had

obtained only about five thousand recruits. "Such a dearth of public spirit," Washington wrote to Colonel Reed, at the close of November, "and such want of virtue, such stock-jobbing, and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantage of one kind or another, in this great change of military arrangement, I never saw before, and pray God's mercy that I may never be witness to again. What will be the end of these manœuvres is beyond my scan. I tremble at the prospect. We have been till this time enlisting about three thousand five hundred men. To engage them, I have been obliged to allow furloughs as far as fifty men to a regiment, and the officers, I am persuaded, indulge as many more. The Connecticut troops will not be prevailed upon to stay longer than their time, saving those who have enlisted for the next campaign, and are mostly on furlough; and such a mercenary spirit pervades the whole, that I should not be at all surprised at any disaster that may happen. In short, after the last of this month, our lines will be so weakened, that the minute-men and militia must be called in for their defence; and then, being under no kind of government themselves, will destroy the little subordination I have been laboring to establish, and run me into one evil, whilst I am endeavoring to avoid another. Could I have foreseen what I have experienced, and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command. A regiment or any subordinate department would have been accompanied with ten times the satisfaction, and, perhaps, the honor."

This estimate of the New England troops, and these desponding reflections poured into the ears of a personal friend, were natural under the circumstances. But the more Washington became acquainted with the true character of the majority of the eastern people, the more palpable became the fine gold of its innate composition, embedded beneath the dross of outward manifestations. Washington did not, for a long time, fully comprehend them, and this the sagacious Greene clearly perceived. That officer loved his general with enthusiasm, and sorely lamented the annoyances to which he was subjected, yet his admiration did not blind him. To

his friend Ward, the deputy-governor of Rhode Island, he wrote apologetically for both parties, and said: "He [Washington] has not had time to make himself acquainted with the genius of this people. They are naturally as brave and spirited as the peasantry of any other country, but you can not expect veterans of raw militia from only a few months' service. The common people are exceedingly avaricious; the genius of the people is commercial, from their long intercourse with trade. The sentiment of honor, the true characteristic of a soldier, has not yet got the better of interest. His excellency has been taught to believe the people here a superior race of mortals; and finding them of the same temper and dispositions, passions and prejudices, virtues and vices of the common people of other governments, they sank in his esteem." This apology for the New England troops, it must be confessed, does not give them a very flattering character as disinterested patriots.

Washington's doubts and despondencies prevailed for a moment only. He soon arose above them, and worked faithfully and hopefully on.

The departure of the Connecticut troops occurred earlier than the commander-in-chief had anticipated; and it was under circumstances that needed an apologist even more partial than General Greene, to give it the least color of justification. The time of enlistment of many of them would expire on the first of December, and Washington asked the officers of the several regiments whether their men would be willing to remain until the first of January, or until a sufficient number of the new recruits could be raised to supply their places. The officers expressed their belief that they would; but when November drew to a close, Washington discerned great uneasiness among the Connecticut troops, caused by an irrepressible desire to leave the service and return home. Perceiving the danger to be apprehended by such a sudden weakening of the army, he called a council of his general officers at headquarters, and invited a delegation from the Massachusetts legislature to be present. The object was to adopt immediate measures for the

support and defence of the extensive American lines, by a requisition upon the New England militia.

Here, again, the hands of the commander-in-chief were bound by that wholesome jealousy of military power by which the liberties of a people are faithfully watched. It was the dread of a standing army that caused the enlistments for the new organization to be made for only one year; and when Congress, in general terms, granted to Washington the power to call out the militia, it was significantly asked by wise and patriotic men—"If the commander-in-chief can call out the whole force of the country, when he pleases, where are the prescribed bounds of his power? Is he not a military dictator? and may not some less patriotic leader, pleading this precedent as an excuse, become a despot?" The Congress put an end to fears on this subject, by making it incumbent on the commander-in-chief to gain the consent of the executive authority of each colony, before he summoned its militia.

Delegates from the Massachusetts legislature attended the council, and it was resolved to summon to the camp, on or before the tenth of December, three thousand Massachusetts minute-men and militia, and two thousand of those of New Hampshire. Of this resolve the Connecticut troops were made acquainted, and all were requested to remain until that date, because the liberties of the country would be greatly perilled, should they leave before others should arrive to supply their places. The request was unheeded, and Washington's earnest appeal to their patriotism, their pride, and their honor, was of no avail. The truth is, these men expected a bounty, and when the Congress and Washington exhibited a disinclination to purchase, with money, the services of New-Englanders in endeavors to rescue their capital from the enemy, they resolved to desert the cause. This consideration, says Sparks—"had great weight, perhaps greater than all the rest—the men expected a bounty." Disappointed in this, and yearning for home, they resolved to leave the camp on the first of December. On that day many of them departed, carrying their arms and ammunition with them. "We have, however," Washington wrote to the president

of Congress, "by threats and persuasions, and the activity of the people of the country, who sent back many of them that had set out, prevailed upon the larger part to stay. There are about eighty of them missing."

Washington complained of this conduct of the Connecticut troops to Governor Trumbull, in a letter written on the second of December. "I have enclosed you," he said, "a list of the names of some of those in General Putnam's regiment only, who escaped, and submit to your judgment, whether an example should not be made of these men, who have basely deserted the cause of their country at this critical juncture, when the enemy are receiving reinforcements." The patriotic governor was greatly mortified. Their reprehensible conduct, he said, impressed his mind and those of many other people, "with grief, surprise, and indignation; since," he added, "the treatment they met with, and the order and request made to them were so reasonable, and apparently necessary for the defence of our common cause, and safety of our rights and privileges, for which they freely engaged." The governor then kindly attempted to palliate their offence. He assured the general that the Connecticut assembly, soon to convene, would support the cause with zeal; and concluded by saying: "Your candor and goodness will suggest to your consideration, that the conduct of our troops is not a rule whereby to judge of the temper and spirit of the colony."*

Washington's perplexities in the prosecution of the recruiting service were heightened by the movements of the enemy, the condition of his ammunition and the arms of his soldiery. Most of the latter were so imperfect, that he pronounced them unfit for proper service early in November; and the ammunition was seri-

* This conduct of the Connecticut troops had an unfavorable effect upon others. "I greatly fear its operation amongst the soldiers of the other colonies, as I am sensible this is the genius and spirit of our people," wrote Governor Trumbull. General Greene said, in a letter to Deputy-Governor Ward, at that time: "In my last, I mentioned to you that the troops enlisted very slowly in general. I was in hopes, then, that ours [Rhode Island] would not have deserted the cause of their country; but they seem to be so sick of this way of life, and so homesick, that I fear the greater part, and the best of the troops from our colony, will go home. The Connecticut troops are going home in shoals this day."

ously damaged by long-continued wet weather. "Our powder," he said, "is wasting fast, notwithstanding the strictest care, economy, and attention, are paid to it;" but its spoiled condition was not known, until, on the tenth of November, the enemy made hostile demonstrations that promised a commencement of hostilities. Then it became necessary for the soldiers to examine their cartridge-boxes, when the alarming fact was revealed, that their powder was spoiled.

The demonstrations alluded to was the landing of six companies of light-infantry, and a hundred grenadiers (about four hundred in all), upon Lechmere's point, for the purpose of carrying off some live stock there. They were under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, and came from Boston in boats, protected by the guns of the *Cerberus* man-of-war, and several floating batteries. When the alarm was given, Colonel Thompson led his regiment of riflemen, and a portion of the battalions of Colonels Woodbridge and Patterson, to attack the enemy. With singular courage they waded through the deep water that then covered the causeway to the point, in the face of the British, and drove them to their boats. The enemy captured one American, wounded two others, and carried away ten cows. This performance cost them two human lives and much honor. Washington regarded this as a prelude to other incursions, for he was informed, that "a scoundrel from Marblehead, a man of property,"* had carried to General Howe a true statement of the difficulties in the way of the new enlistment, the temper of the American troops in general, and the apathy and apparent disaffection of some particular corps. It was this apprehension that caused a general inspection of the condition of the army, and led to the alarming discovery concerning the powder.

The increasing cold rendered it necessary to have all intrenching operations performed immediately. Having resolved to take possession of and fortify another eminence in the face of the enemy, Washington sent a detachment of the army, a thousand strong, under General Putnam, to cast up some works on Cobble hill,

* Washington to Colonel Reed.

whereon the M'Lean Asylum now stands. That eminence was within half a mile of the British works on Bunker's hill, and a like distance from the enemy's shipping, at West Boston. It was a bleak spot. The weather was extremely cold, but the soldiers, though thinly clad, worked nobly until the dawn, when they retired. On the following night another party, under General Heath, was sent to complete the works. It was expected that the British would attack these intrenching parties, and preparations were made for their reception, but none appeared. Not a single shot was hurled upon the delvers; and the work which they constructed was so strong, that when it was completed it was called "Putnam's impregnable fortress."

Other works were constructed a little later. Notwithstanding very cold weather prevailed, and a heavy fall of snow covered the earth, two half-moon batteries were erected between Lechmere's point and the mouth of the Cambridge creek. Another small fortification was thrown up at the causeway leading to Lechmere's point, where a bomb-battery was commenced at the close of November. Other intrenchments were marked out between Sewall's point and the American lines at Roxbury; and, at the close of December, Boston was almost circumvallated on the land side.

During several days in the earlier part of December, not a gun was fired by the British upon the Americans engaged in constructing fortifications. Washington could account for this silence only upon the supposition, that it was intended to lull him into a fatal security, to favor some attempt upon the patriots at the close of the month, when the great change in the continental army was to take place. "If this be their drift," Washington wrote on the fifteenth, "they deceive themselves, for, if possible, it has increased my vigilance, and induced me to fortify all the avenues to our camps, to guard against any approaches upon the ice."

The militia ordered to the camp to fill the vacancies occasioned by retiring troops, obeyed the call with great promptness, and, on the eleventh of December, Washington said, in a letter to the president of Congress: "I am much pleased with the alacrity

which the good people of this province, as well as those of New Hampshire, have shown upon this occasion. I expect the whole will be in this day and to-morrow, when what remains of the Connecticut gentry, who have not enlisted, will have liberty to go to their firesides."

At about this time Washington considered his situation a very critical one. His weakness was well known to an enemy who were daily increasing in numerical strength. His recruiting officers made slow progress, while his army was rapidly diminishing. Winter was at hand, and clothing and shelter for the troops were very deficient. Uneasiness and dissatisfaction pervaded the camp, and money was doled out sparingly by Congress to the commander-in-chief, because men appointed to sign the continental bills were strangely apathetic. "For God's sake, hurry up the signers of money that our wants may be supplied," Washington wrote to Richard Henry Lee. "It is a very singular case that their signing can not keep pace with our demands."

But a pleasant and salutary change in the aspect and condition of the American camp soon occurred. The cheering news came from the North, that Montgomery was in possession of Montreal, and Arnold was at Quebec. This greatly inspirited the people. The number of the militia called for were all at the lines at the appointed time; the capture of British vessels with stores by American cruisers, and supplies from other sources, gave the army an ample quantity of provisions, ammunition, and arms; and money came in time, and in sufficient abundance, to meet the demand upon the military-chest. "I have the satisfaction," wrote an American in the camp to his friend, on the thirteenth of December, "to tell you things wear a better complexion here than they have done for some time past. The army is filling up. The barracks go on well. Firewood comes in.* The soldiers are made comfortable and easy.

* The army suffered very much for want of firewood and hay. Energetic proceedings were finally instituted to procure supplies, and these were at length successful. At the close of December General Greene said, in a letter: "We have suffered prodigiously for want of wood. Many regiments have been obliged to eat their provisions raw, for want of fuel to cook it; and notwithstanding we have burnt up all the fences, and cut down all the trees, for a mile round the camp, our sufferings have been inconceivable. The barracks have been greatly delayed for want of stuff.

Our privateers meet with success in bringing in vessels that were going to the relief of Boston.”*

From this time until the close of the year, very little of general importance occurred in the two armies, except an occasional exchange of almost harmless shots. On the seventeenth of December, while thick fog lay upon the city, the harbor, and the surrounding country, General Putnam, with a party of four hundred men, broke ground on Lechmere's point, for a new work to connect with those on Cobble hill. The fog disappeared at noon, and revealed the workers to the enemy on land and water, and provoked an attack. The *Scarborough*, anchored near, opened a broadside of round and grape shot upon them, and shells were hurled from mortars on Barton's point, in Boston. The Americans, who had one soldier wounded, were compelled to flee, but at night they were there again, under the brave old veteran, and prosecuted their work with vigor. Early the next morning, Captain Smith, of the American artillery, opened a fire upon the *Scarborough*, with two eighteen-pounders on Cobble hill, and made her withdraw to some distance from her anchorage; and General Heath, with another party, proceeded to prosecute the work. An ineffectual fire upon them was kept up for some time, when it ceased, and in the afternoon Washington and his staff visited the eminence and inspected the work, upon which the mortar taken by Manly, and christened “Congress,” was to be mounted. Upon this work Washington placed great reliance for future operations.

The other fortifications were prosecuted with vigor, in spite of the cannonading of the British, and much to their annoyance. In allusion to the new work on Lechmere's point, a British officer wrote: “If the rebels can complete their battery,

Many of the troops are yet in their tents, and will be for some time, especially the officers. The fatigues of the campaign, the suffering for want of food and clothing, have made a multitude of soldiers heartily sick of the service.” All this was known to the enemy. “The provincial troops before Boston,” wrote a British officer, early in November, “are in want of clothing and firing to a degree scarcely to be credited, and must break up their camp before winter, but will, probably, attempt a *coup de main*. They have burnt all the fruit-trees, and those planted for ornament, in the environs of Cambridge, and are mutinous beyond measure.”

* Frothingham's “Siege of Boston,” page 274.

this town will be on fire about our ears a few hours after; all our buildings being of wood, or a mixture of brick and wood-work. Had the rebels erected their battery on the other side of the town, at Dorchester, the admiral and all his booms would have made the first blaze, and the burning of the town would have followed. If we can not destroy the rebel battery by our guns, we must march out and take it sword in hand."

The absorbing cares and multifarious duties of the camp, did not prevent the thoughts of Washington going out frequently to his far-off home on the Potomac, where his wife was dwelling, near common dangers that threatened the province, and where peaceful pursuits beckoned him from the turmoil of military life, with powerful appeals. But duty was ever more powerful than inclination in its control of the actions of Washington. The good of his country demanded his constant presence before the enemy, and the expectation that he should return to his wife "in the fall" could not be realized. He, therefore, wrote to Mrs. Washington, by express, in November, inviting her to Cambridge, to spend the winter with him at headquarters. A little later he wrote to Mr. Lund Washington, the general superintendent of his affairs at Mount Vernon, concerning the management of the plantations. He was a distant relative, and managed Washington's agricultural affairs during the whole war, with great fidelity, communicating almost every week, to the general, a minute report of operations under his control. These letters Washington regularly answered, and returned full instructions to his manager respecting crops, laborers, et cetera.

In his letter to his superintendent at this time, Washington expressed a desire to engage him as a permanent agent. After referring to difficulties to be apprehended in promising to pay wages in cash, he reveals a picture of domestic policy at that time, by saying: "I will engage for the coming year, and the year following, if these troubles and my absence continue, that your wages shall be standing and certain, at the highest amount that any one year's crop has produced to you yet. I do not offer this as any temptation to induce you to go on more cheerfully in prosecuting

these schemes of mine. I should do injustice to you, were I not to acknowledge, that your conduct has ever appeared to me as above everything sordid; but I offer it in consideration of the great charge you have upon your hands, and my entire dependence upon your fidelity and industry." After expressing his satisfaction that his affairs were in such faithful keeping, he added:—

"Let the hospitality of the house, with respect to the poor, be kept up. Let no one go hungry away. If any of this kind of people should be in want of corn, supply their necessities, provided it does not encourage them in idleness; and I have no objection to your giving my money in charity, to the amount of forty or fifty pounds a year, when you think it well bestowed. What I mean by having no objection is, that it is my desire that it should be done. You are to consider, that neither myself nor wife is now in the way to do these good offices. In all other respects, I recommend it to you, and have no doubt of your observing the greatest economy and frugality; as I suppose you know, that I do not get a farthing for my services here, more than my expenses. It becomes necessary, therefore, for me to be saving at home."

Mrs. Washington left Mount Vernon on the fifteenth of November, accompanied by her son (John Parke Custis), and his wife, with servants. They travelled in the elegant state then common among the wealthy families of Virginia, riding in a chariot drawn by four bay horses of purest English blood, and driven by black postilions arrayed in livery of scarlet and white. They made easy journeys, because the roads were bad and Washington was always extremely careful of his horses. Their first night was passed at Georgetown, and thence they made their way, in the course of two days, to Baltimore, escorted long distances between their halting-places by volunteer guards of honor, composed of the gentry of the country and villages through which they passed. From Baltimore they proceeded by way of the head of Elk, Wilmington, and Chester, and arrived at Philadelphia on the twenty-first. From Gray's Ferry, on the Schuylkill, they were escorted into the city by the second battalion of light-infantry, and a troop of light-horse.

Mrs. Washington received unremitting attentions in Philadelphia, for which the general expressed his gratitude to Colonel Reed, then there, saying: "I am so much indebted for the civilities shown Mrs. Washington on her journey hither, that I hardly know how to go about to acknowledge them. Some of the enclosed (all of which I beg the favor of you to put into the postoffice), are directed to that end. I shall be obliged to you for presenting my thanks to the commanding officers of the two battalions of Philadelphia, for the honors they have done her and me, as also to any others equally entitled."

Before her arrival, a ball in honor of Mrs. Washington, to be held at the New City tavern, had been arranged, and she accepted an invitation to attend it. Such an assembly being in violation of the spirit of the eighth article of the American Association, adopted by Congress a year before, much feeling against the ball was manifested. It was ascertained that Mrs. Hancock would attend it with Mrs. Washington; and Christopher Marshall, who has left a record of the affair in his diary, volunteered to see President Hancock on the subject. The ball was to take place on the evening of the twenty-fourth, and at three o'clock that afternoon, Mr. Marshall called at Mr. Hancock's lodgings. He had not yet returned from the State-House, and thither Marshall went, and requested Samuel Adams to be called to the door. He told Mr. Adams where and when the ball was to be held, and requested him to ask Mr. Hancock to call on Mrs. Washington and state the nature of the objections made.

Meanwhile, a meeting of leading whigs had assembled at the Philosophical Hall to consider the matter, so tenacious were they of preserving the honor of the city and colony, by being obedient to the solemn covenant about to be violated. It was resolved by them that the ball must not be held; and they appointed a committee of four gentlemen to wait upon Mrs. Washington, to express their regard and affection for her, and request and desire her not to grace the company that evening, to which she was invited. Major Bayard, who was chairman of that committee, performed the

duties gracefully. Mrs. Washington thanked them for their kind care and regard in giving such timely notice, and assured them that their sentiments "were perfectly agreeable unto her own." Marshall says, that in the evening, while he was at the lodgings of Samuel Adams, Colonel Harrison, of Virginia, came in and rebuked the Puritan delegate from New England, "for using his influence for the stopping of this entertainment, which he declared was legal, just, and laudable. Many arguments," continued Marshall, "were used by all present to convince him of the impropriety, at this time, but all to no effect; so, as he came out of humor, he so retired, to all appearance."

After being entertained in Philadelphia several days, Mrs. Washington left for Cambridge on the twenty-seventh, attended by the troop of horse, two companies of light-infantry, and a cavalcade of civilians. She passed through New York, but made only a short visit there, for she felt anxious to join her husband, from whom she had been separated several months. All through New Jersey, New York, and New England, she received the same delicate attentions, and arrived at Cambridge on the eleventh of December. Her advent there was a joyful occasion, not only for the commander-in-chief, but for the whole army. It was at the moment when affairs in camp began to brighten; and the presence of Mrs. Washington seemed to shed a genial light upon the rough visage of war. The wives of other officers arrived soon afterward; and the Christmas holydays were spent in Cambridge in the enjoyment of all the innocent pleasures which a half-camp and half-town life afforded. Dinner and evening parties at headquarters, and among the neighboring inhabitants, were frequent, and the best feeling prevailed.





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